CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

PART I

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

EDITED BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART I

WITH 3 MAPS AND 61 PLATES

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PREFACE

THE work of editing Volume IV of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum entitled Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era was offered to me by the Director General of Archæology in India in his letter of the 7th March 1935. As I was already interested in the study of these records for a long time and had also edited some of them, I gladly accepted the offer, though not without some diffidence; for my official duties as Professor of Sanskrit at the Morris College, Nagpur, left me little leisure, and I knew full well 'how easy it is to glean a few straws, and how laborious to mow a whole field.' After spending most of my spare time during nine years on this work, I made over the typescript of it to the Director General of Archæology on the 6th March 1944. Its printing could not, however, be taken up immediately on account of war conditions then prevailing. The delay was not without an advantage ; for it enabled me to include in the present Volume some important records which were discovered subsequently, and to shed some more light on the epoch of the Kalachuri era. At last, the work of printing commenced in June 1949. It was again delayed for some time for want of matrices with the necessary diacritical marks, but was ultimately completed in December 1954.

The present Volume has been planned to contain all inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, by whatever dynasty they may have been issued. It therefore includes, *inter alia*, records of the Ābhīras and their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, the Early Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas of Gujarat, the Hariśchandrīyas as well as the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī, Tripurī and Ratanpur, and their feudatories. For completing the sources of the history of the Kalachuris it was found desirable to include a few more records of the rulers of Tripurī, Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, though they are dated in other eras. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa have, however, been excluded as none of them are dated in the Kalachuri era. The records have been arranged dynasty-wise in the chronological order, and named uniformly after the reigning kings. Some more inscriptions, because of their being spurious, or for not mentioning the name of any particular king, or due to some other reasons, have been grouped under the heading Miscellaneous Inscriptions and, for convenience of reference, have been inserted in three places where they were chronologically and territorially connected. As the Volume was going through the press, some more records, either dated in the Kalachuri era or allied to those already included, came to light. They have been inserted at the end under the heading Additional Inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been edited from their originals or mechanical ink impressions. In the case of a few other inscriptions, however, the original stones or copper-plates have since been lost and their facsimiles have not been published Their texts, where possible, have therefore been given from previous editions or notices, with translations added, in an Appendix under the heading Supplementary Inscriptions. As this matter was being composed, one of these records which had been very briefly noticed before and had long been given up for lost, *viz.*, the Gōpālpur stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha, was rediscovered at Jabalpur. I was consequently able to include its text from an excellent inked estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra, though it was too late to have its plate prepared for the present Volume.

The Introduction discusses first the important question of the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era which has been at issue among scholars for nearly a hundred years. When Dr. Kielhorn attempted to fix it in 1888, he had only fourteen dated records with the necessary details available to him, on which he based his conclusion. Since then twenty-six more dated inscriptions containing details necessary for computation have come to light, which have enabled me to fix the epoch of the era more accurately. The Introduction next gives the political history of the dynasties that used the era, and an account of the administration as well as the religious, social and economic conditions of the times as gleaned from the inscriptions. The next two sections deal with the literature of the age and the coins of the Traikūṭakas and the Kalachuris.

In my editions of inscriptions I usually give their texts in the Nāgarī characters. The same method is followed here. As the book is printed in monotype, some of the conjunct letters could not be displayed exactly as in the original records. As regards diacritical marks, I have used them in all ancient names, whether of persons or of places, and also in some modern place-names which were not sufficiently well-known. They were not considered necessary in the case of such well-known modern place-names as Nasik, Banaras or Allahabad.

The Volume became too bulky to be issued in one part. It has therefore been divided into two parts : the first part containing the Introduction, early inscriptions of the Kalachuri era and inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, and the second, the remaining records of the era, additional and supplementary inscriptions and the Index to both the parts.

For some years past I have been suffering from a recurring eye-disease which makes reading difficult and painful. At one time it was even apprehended that I might lose my eye-sight altogether. Though this has, fortunately, not come to pass, my sight is still far from normal. The first 374 pages of the Texts and Translations, which were rushed through the press during 1950-51, when the disease was very troublesome, contain a considerable number of typographical and other errors, for which I crave the indulgence of the reader. The Additions and Corrections are inserted at the beginning of both the parts, which the reader is requested to notice.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the distinguished scholars who previously edited many of the records included here, though I have had occasion to differ from them in some places. For the verification of dates I have used throughout S. K. Pillai's indispensable *Indian Ephemeris*. With the help of the tables given in that work I have myself calculated some early dates, the equivalents of which in the Christian era have not been given therein. To the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology, who first turned my attention to the editing of epigraphic records, encouraged and helped me in various ways, I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I cannot adequately express in words. I am obliged to Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, the present Director General of Archæology, for kind consideration and help. My thanks are also due to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who, as Government Epigraphists, supplied excellent ink impressions of several records and got illustrative plates prepared for the Volume. Dr. Chhabra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. M. N. Mitra, and Prof. N. R. Navalekar went through parts of my typescript and made some useful suggestions, for which I feel very grateful. I must also thank Mr. G. S. Ramanathan of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for the help he rendered me in the correction of proofs when my eyesight became very defective. I am obliged to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the

Central Museum, Nagpur, who supplied casts of the gold coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Museum, and to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, who placed at my disposal the copper coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Mahakoshal Historical Society. Mr. N. H. Kulkarni, Artist of the Social Welfare Department, Madhya Pradesh, kindly drew the three maps showing places mentioned in the inscriptions, for which my thanks are due to him. I am also obliged to Mr. L. R. Kulkarni, Mr. V. P. Rode, Mr. J. K. Abhyankar and several other friends for the help they rendered me in various ways. Finally, I thank the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records, and the Manager, Allahabad Law Journal Co., Ltd., for the consideration he showed to me while the work was going through the press.

NAGPUR :
The 22nd December, 1954. V. V. MIRASHI.

CONTENTS

PART I

PART II

[*Part II of this Volume contains the Texts and Translations of the Inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, Additional and Supplementary Inscriptions, and Index to both the Parts.*]

LIST OF PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. I. A. —Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden).
A. B. O. R. I.—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A. C. A. I.—Allan, Coins of Ancient India.
A. C. S.—Antiquities of the Chambā State.
A. H. D.—Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Daccan.
AK.—Amarakōśa.
A. R.—Asiatic Researches.
A. R. *A. D. G. S.*—Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.
A. R. *A. S. I.*—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. R. *A. S. M.*—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore.
A. R. *B. I. S. M.*—Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
A. R. *S. I. E.*—Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A. S. W. I.—Archæological Survey of Western India.
BK.—Bhārata-Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I.
Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.
B. R. *W. W.*—Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World.
BS.—Bṛihatsaṁhitā.
B. V.—D. R. Bhandarkar Volume.
C. A. D.—Rapson, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bōdhi Dynasty.
C. A. I.—Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.
C. A. S. I. R.—Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Reports.
C. H. I.—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. I. M.—Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India.
C. T. I.—Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
C. W. B.—Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).
D. H. N. *I.*—H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
DK.—Hēmachandra, Dvyāśrayakāvya.
D. K. *A.*—Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.
D. K. *D.*—Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
E. D. H. I.—Elliot and Dowson, History of India.
E. H. D.—R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III).
Ep. Carn. (or *E. C.*).—Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
G. i. L.—Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur.
H. A. S.—Hyderabad Archæological Series.
H. C. I. P.—History and Culture of the Indian People.
H. D. L.—Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra Literature.
H, I. S. I.—Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.

H. P. D.—Ganguli, History of the Paramāra Dynasty.
H. P. K.— Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī.
H. T. M.--R. D. Banerji, Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments.
HV.—Harivaṁśa (Chitraśālā Press, Poona).
I. B.—N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.
I. C. P. B.—Hiralal, Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar (Second Edition).
I. C. T. W. I.—Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India.
I. I. B. S.—Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State.
I. M. C.—Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
I. N. I.—D. R. Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India.
Ind. Ant.— Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cult.—Indian Culture.
Ind. Hist. Quart. (or *I. H. Q.*).---Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. P.—Bühler, Indian Palæography.
J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. A. O. S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. B. T. S.—Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
J. M. S. G. U.— Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad University.
J. N. S. I.— Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J. O. R.— Journal of Oriental Research.
J. R. A. S. (N. S.)—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
J. R. A. S. B.— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
KM.—Rajaśēkhara, Kāvyamīmāṁsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
K. AS.— Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra.
K. D. G.—Khandesh District Gazetteer.
KVS.—Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya ed. by F. W. Thomas.
M. A. S. B.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
M. A. S. I.—Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
MBH. Cr. Ed.—Mahābhārata (Critical Edition) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
MSM.—Manusmṛiti (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
MP.—Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa.
M. S.—Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, Monuments of Sāñchī.
M. W.—Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
N. H. I. P.—A New History of the Indian People.
N. I. A.—New Indian Antiquary.
NSCH.—Navasāhasāṅkacharita (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
NVA.—Sōmadēva, Nītivākyāmṛita ed. by Nathuram Premi.
O. Y. C.—Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
PCH.—Merutuṅga, Prabandhachintāmaṇi, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni.
PCHU.—Kṛishṇamiśra, Prabōdhachandrōdaya (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
P. H. A. I.—Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India.
P. I. H. C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
P. R. A. S. W. I.—Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western India.

P. T. A. I. O. C.—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
P. V. O. C.—Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section.
Q. B. I. S. M.—Quarterly of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
RCH.—Sandhyākaranandin, Rāmacharita (published by the Varendra Research Museum).
RM.—Rāsamālā ed. by H. G. Rawlinson.
SA.—Vallabhadēva, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
SHC.—Siddhahēmachandra.
S. I.—Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.
S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
S. I. M. H.—Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History.
SKM.—Vallabhadēva, Saduktikarṇāmṛita ed. by H. D. Sharma.
SKM.—Jalhaṇa, Sūktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
S. M. H. D.—Khare, Sources of the Mediæval History of the Daccan (Marathi).
SNS.—Śukranītisāra edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar.
VDCH.—Bilhaṇa, Vikramāṅkadēvacharita edited by Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
VP.—Vāyu Purāṇa.
VSHP.—Vishṇu Purāṇa.
W. C. V.—Woolner Commemoration Volume.
Y. S.—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Page ii, para. 2, line 5—*For* thesame *read* the same.
„ iii, para. 2, line 12 — *For* 423 *read* 443.
„ v, para. 1, last line —For *purṇimānta* read *pūrṇimānta*.
„ xxvii, para. 1, line 1—*For* 709-10 A. C. *read* 710-11 A. C.
„ xxxiv, para. 3, line 5—Mr. G. H. Khare takes *Cōpuka-pālaka*, mentioned in the Tāsgaon plates, over whom Kēśava obtained a victory, in the sense of 'the king of Goa'.
„ xxxvii, line 2—Recently silver coins of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (*circa* 550-575 A. C.) have been found at Nandurbār in Khandesh.
„ xli, para. 1, last line—*For* rules *read* rule.
„ xlvi and xlvii—*For* Krishṇarāja *wherever it occurs read* Kṛishṇarāja.
„ xlvi, para. 2, line 12—Recently a silver coin of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja has been found at Bhērā-Ghāṭ near Tewar in the Jabalpur District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
„ xlvii, para. 5, line 2 from the bottom—*For* Saṅkaragaṇa *read* Śaṅkaragaṇa.
„ lvi, para. 2, line 4—*For* 740 A. C. *read* the 21st October 739 A. C.
„ lviii, f. n. 2—The Nāgad and Kāsārē plates have since been edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. He takes Nikumbhāllaśakti to mean Allaśakti of Nikumbha, and apparently understands Nikumbha as a family name. The Kāsārē plates show, however, that Nikumbha was another name of Bhānuśakti, the founder of the family. It was used by his descendants as a *biruda*. Their family name was Sēndraka.
„ lix, f. n. 2—The facsimile of the Mundakhēḍē plates has since been noticed in a subsequent issue of the same Marathi journal *Prabhāta* (Vol. II). I have edited the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
„ lxiv, line 10—*For* 740 A. C. *read* 739 A. C.
„ lxv, para. 2, line 5—For *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* read *Anivartakanivartayitṛi*.
„ lxxi, para. 2, line 1—One more record of the reign of this Śaṅkaragaṇa has recently been discovered at Muriā, 3½ miles from Bōriā on the Jabalpur-Saugor road. It is fragmentary and records the construction of some meritorious work (*kīrti*) by one Bhattikaradēva during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa. I have edited the record with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 20 ff.
„ lxxii, para. 4, line 5—For *Vallabharāia* read *Vallabharāja*.
„ lxxxv, para. 2, lines 9 and 13 —*For* Kāliyā *read* Kāliya.
„ lxxxvi, para. 4, line 5—*For* Sōmēśvara *read* Sōmasvāmin.
„ lxxxvi, para. 5, line 1—Recently a fragmentary stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa III has come to notice at Jabalpur. It opens with a verse in praise of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu). Line 8 of the inscription states that Śaṅkaragaṇa defeated with ease a Gurjara king. The latter was probably the Pratīhāra king Vijayapāla whose Rājōrgaḍh inscription is dated V. 1016 (959 A. C.). The inscription has been edited by me with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 25 ff.
„ lxxxvii, line 6—Mr. M. Venkataramayya has recently discussed the identification of Vāchaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa, mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 56 ff. He identifies this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and thinks that his minister Vāchaspati defeated the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇarāja II, as the latter had set at nought the authority of the Rāshṭrakūṭas over Malwa and Lāṭa in marching across those territories as far as Sōmanāth Pāṭan. He further says that these raids of Lakshmaṇarāja were undertaken at the instigation of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. This view does not appear to be correct. There is no basis for the supposition that the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris, who had been matrimonially connected for several generations, became hostile to each other during the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja II. Far from assisting the Gurjara-Pratīhāras by his raids in Gujarat and Saurashtra, Lakshmaṇarāja II is known to have fought with them. His son Śaṅkaragaṇa III continued the hostilities as stated in the preceding note.

Page lxxxvii, line 8—The Māsēr inscription has since been edited by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. He thinks that Narasiṁha of the Śulkī family, who fought with the Kalachuris, held sway over the Bilhāri region. He identifies the territory Viḍa-dvādaśa (Viḍa-12) which he held with the village Vīḍā donated by the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā to the god Śiva. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command Narasiṁha fought against the Kalachuris was, according to Mr. Venkataramayya, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. It is difficult to accept these identifications. Viḍa-12 was probably a fairly large territory. It must have been situated somewhere outside the Kalachuri dominion, and cannot therefore be identified with the small village Vīḍā near Bilhāri. Again, the Māsēr inscription shows that Narasiṁha not only fought with the Kalachuris but killed a Kalachuri king; for he is said to have initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command he did this is not likely to have been the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, who is known to have married a Kalachuri princess.

„ xci, para. 1, line 7—*For* Mahipāla *read* Mahīpāla.

„ xcv, f. n. 10, line 3—*For* the conqueror *read* to the conqueror.

„ xcvii, para. 1, line 14—*For* Karṅa *read* Karṇa.

„ xcvii, para. 2, line 2—Two earlier dates of the reign of Kīrtivarman are also known, *viz.*, V. 1132 (1075 A. C.) of the Darbat image inscription (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.) and V. 1147 (1090 A. C.) of the Kālañjar stone inscription (*A. R. A. S. I.* for 1936-37, pp. 92 ff.).

„ ci, lines 5-6—In the Kudlur plates of Mārasiṁha II the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is called *Narapati* (lord of men). So the reference to *Narapati* in Karṇa's title may signify his victory over the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I—Āhavamalla. As stated before (p. xcvi), an Apabhraṁśa verse mentions Karṇa's defeat of Sōmēśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI.

„ cviii, para. 1, line 2—For *Mahārājakumāra* read *Mahākumāra*.

„ cxiii, line 6—*For* reign *read* reigns.

„ cxxiii, last line—*For* Sāmantas *read* Sāvantas.

„ cxxvi, f. n. 8—For जिनय read जिनये.

„ clv, line 10 from the bottom—For the Māsēr inscription, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇarāja mentioned in this inscription with the Rashṭrakūṭa Kṛishna III proposed by the editor, see above, *add.* to page lxxxvii, line 8.

„ clix, para. 2, line 2—*For* bigotted *read* bigoted.

„ clxi, para. 1, line 3—The complete name of the work is *Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*.

„ clxxi, para. 1, line 19—*For* absoutely *read* absolutely.

„ clxxiii, para. 1, line 4—Since these remarks were drafted, Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University has kindly informed me that he has discovered a MS. of the *Udāttarāghava*. From the extracts of its *Prastāvanā* and *Bharatavākya*, which Dr. Raghavan has favoured me with, it appears that its author was identical with that of the Sanskrit play *Tāpasavatsarāja*. Like the latter work, this MS. gives his name as Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha, the son of Narēndravardhana. How Mātrarāja came to be known as Māyurāja is not known. If Rājaśēkhara's statement that he belonged to the Kalachuri family is correct, we have two more names in the Kalachuri genealogy, *viz.*, Narēndravardhana and his son Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha.

„ clxxiii, f. n. 3—For वालिवघो *read* वालिवधो.

„ clxxiv, line 1—Another work of Bhīmaṭa named *Manōramā-Vatsarāja* is cited in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 14.

„ clxxx, line 16 from the bottom—Some Traikūṭaka coins have also been found in the excavations at Maski in the Hyderabad State. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.

„ clxxxii, line 2—Coins of Kṛishṇarāja have recently been found also at Nandurbār in Khandesh and Bherā-Ghāṭ near Tewar. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.

„ clxxxv, f. n. 2—For a detailed examination of Mr. Nath's view about the attribution of these coins, see my article in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

„ 17, para. 4, line 7—*For* Bhāradvāja *read* Bharadvāja.

„ 17, para. 6, lines 6 and 9—*For* Daśārṇa *read* Daśapura.

„ 18, para. 2, line 7—*For* Sejwānik *read* Sējwāni.

„ 18, Text-line 2, —*For* –यक्तका– *read* –य(यु)क्तका–

„ 20, Text-line 1—*For* (1*) *substitute* [1*].

„ 20, Text-line 2—*For* (स्थान ?) read [स्थान ?].

Page 20, Text-line 12—*For* (1*) *substitute* [1*], *and for* भाच्छत्ता *read* आच्छ(च्छे)त्ता.
„ 21, Translation, para. 1, line 1—*For* Māhushmatī *read* Māhishmatī.
„ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 4—*After* offerings *insert* for (*the worship of*) the divine Buddha.
„ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 8—*For* constructed *read* made.
„ 21, f. n. 2 line 2—*For* Guriaras *read* Gurjaras.
„ 21, f. n. 6, line 1—For *udranga* read *udraṅga*.
„ 21, f. n. 6, line 4—For *s-ōdranga* read *s-ōdraṅga*.
„ 22, Title of the record—*For* **PLATE** *read* **PLATES**.
„ 22, para. 6, line 5—The word *Vākāṭaka* should be in the Roman type.
„ 24, f. n. 2—*Insert* Vol. XVI *after* *J. B. B. R. A. S.*
„ 25, f. n. 1, line 2—*For* n. 12 *read* n. 9.
„ 27, f. n. 11—*For* –परिहीणायाहार– *read* –परिहीणायहार–.
„ 31, Page-title—*For* 246 *read* 245.
„ 31, f. n. 7, lines 2-3—For *Śuprabhāyāḥ* read *Suprabhāyāḥ*.
„ 31, f. n. 10, line 2—*For* diety *read* deity.
„ 32, Translation, line 6—Enclose *and* in round brackets.
„ 34, line 2—Delete the comma after *dūtaka*, and *for* Rēvaḍhyaka *read* Rēvāḍhyaka.
„ 35, f. n. 9—*For* पौपिच *read* पौपिच्.
„ 36, f. n. 2, lines 4-5—*For* Yaśōvarman *read* Yaśōdharman.
„ 36. f. n. 4, line 1—*For* councillor *read* minister.
„ 36, f. n. 6, line 1—For *Nāgarika* read *Nāgaraka*.
„ 37, line 2, from bottom —*For* 30 *read* 90.
„ 38, para. 3, line 3—*For* *au* read *ō*.
„ 39, para. 1, line 4—*Insert a comma after* was.
„ 39, f. n. 2, line 2—For *rūp-* read *rūpa-*.
„ 39, f. n. 3, line 2—For *sali-lāsvādita-* read *salil-āsvādita-*.
„ 39, f. n. 3, line 7—*Insert* pillar *after* stone.
„ 39, f. n. 4, line 6—For *prātibhēdika* read *prātibhēdikā*.
„ 40, para. 3, line 8—*For* A. D. *read* A. C.
„ 40, f. n. 3, line 4—*For* A. D. 247-48 *read* 247-48 A. C.
„ 41, f. n. 12—*For* –विचीपुमि– *read* –दिचचीपुमि–.
„ 43, f. n. 9, line 5—For *varjja(m)* read *-varjja[m]*.
„ 43, f. n. 10, line 1—*For* proprictory *read* proprietary.
„ 44, line 3—For *sākhā* read *śākhā*.
„ 44, line 16—*Delete the comma after* lunar.
„ 44, line 17—For *Mahāpīlupatī* read *Mahāpīlupati*.
„ 45, para. 1, line 8, and para. 4, line 7—It seems better to take the name of the village as Śrīparṇakā in stead of Śrī-Parṇakā, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 39 f.
„ 46, Text-line 4 —*For* –क्मोगिक– *read* –क्मौगिक–.
„ 46, Text-line 5—*For* –स्ताहुव(इ)ला– *read* –स्ताहु्व(इ)ला–
„ 46, Translation, line 14—*For* **Śrī-Parṇakā** *read* **Śrīparṇakā**.
„ 46, f. n. 15,—*Insert* Read *before* भद्रनृपतिभि:.
„ 47, line 12 from the bottom—For *ī* read *i*.
„ 48, f. n. 1, line 2—*For* Pillay *read* Pillai.
„ 48, f. n. 1, line 5—*For* Epoch des *read* Epoche der.
„ 49, line 2—For (*vāṭāka ?*) read (*vāṭaka ?*).
„ 49, Text-line 14—Put a hyphen after –स्सकल.
„ 50, Text-line 30—*For* मह्रि मह्रीमतां *read.* मह्रि(ह्रीं) मह्रीमं(म)तां.
„ 50, f. n. 6—*For* स्यादिति *read* –स्स्यादिति.
„ 51, line 11—*Delete the note-reference* 1.
„ 51, line 21—Insert *agnihōtra* after *vaiśvadēva*.
„ 51, line 2 from the bottom—*For* well-done *read* well done.
„ 53, line 8—*Close the bracket after* District.
„ 54, Text-line 6—*For*—बहृचा[4]भिना—*read*—बहृचा[4]शोभिना.
„ 55, line 6 from the bottom —*For* **Brihannārikā** *read* **Bṛihannārikā**.
„ 55, f. n. 6,—*For* –संयुक्त: *read* –स्संयुक्त:.
„ 56, line 2—Insert *agnihōtra* after *vaiśvadēva*.

Page 59, line 6—*For* 248-49, A. C. *read* 248-49 A. C.,.
,, 59, f. n. 5—*Delete the comma after* lines.
,, 61, Text-line 25—For प्रभुत्व read प्रभुत्वं(त्वं).
,, 62, Text-line 47—For नरक read नरके.
,, 64, f. n. 2,—For (*kalā*) read *kalā*.
,, 65, para. 2, line 3, and f. n. 6, lines 3-4—*For* Chāturvēdins *read* Chaturvēdins.
,, 66, para. 1, line 5—*For* lovely a *read* lovely as.
,, 66, f. n. 1, line 1—For *charaṇaṣ* read *charaṇas*.
,, 66, f. n. 1, line 2—For *gōrra* read *gōtra*.
,, 66, f. n. 1, line 3—*For* Kauthum *read* Kauthuma.
,, 66, f. n. 2, line 1—*For* Iśvara *read* Īśvara.
,, 67, para. 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after* plates.
,, 67, para. 3, line 7—For *rūp-ānurūpam* read *rūp-ānurūpaṁ*.
,, 67, para. 3, line 14—For *jihvāmūliya* read *jihvāmūlīya*.
,, 70, f. n. 10—*For* चतुस्त्रिंशद्रूपो— *read* —श्चतुस्त्रिंशद्रूपो—.
,, 71, Text-line 49—*Delete the visarga after* [षु:].
,, 71, line 12 from the bottom—For *udranga* read *udraṅga*.
,, 71, f. n. 1 *For* विन(भ)वा— *read* —न्विन(भ)वा-.
,, 72, line 19—*Insert a comma after* District.
,, 73, para. 3, line 14—*For* Mātṛibhaṭa *read* Mātṛibhaṭa.
,, 75, line 3—*Insert* (*and*) 1 *after* 90.
,, 75, line 14—*Insert a comma after* District.
,, 76, para. 4, line 1—*Insert a comma after* Nāndīpura.
,, 76, para. 4, line 3—*For* Malwā *read* Malwa.
,, 77, f. n. 8—*For* Read. अन्यैवगामि— *read* Read —रन्यैवगामि-.
,, 78, Translation, line 9—*After* **Suvarṇārapallī** *insert* and the junction with (*the boundary of*) the village **Aṭavīpāṭaka.**
,, 78, Translation, line 16—*For* **Dāśapura** *read* **Daśapura.**
,, 80, f. n. 10, line 1 —*Insert a comma after* which.
,, 80, f. n. 12—*For* विभवा— *read* —न्विभवा—.
,, 81, Translation, para. 1, line 6—*For* Sāka *read* Śāka.
,, 81, Translation, para. 1, line 7—*For* Sālmalī *read* Śālmalī.
,, 82, para. 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after* **copper-plates.**
,, 82, para. 2, line 9—*Delete the comma after* seal.
,, 82, para. 3, line 9—*Insert* a *before* curve.
,, 82, para. 3, lines 13—14—*For* Nāgari *read* Nāgarī.
,, 83, para. 4, line 2—*For* great-grand-father *read* great-grandfather.
,, 84 f. n. 2, lines 4 and 6—*For* A. D. *read* A. C.
,, 84, f. n. 8, line 2—*For* in 'Kārwān *read* 'in Kārwān.
,, 85, Text-line 7—*For* —वगुष्ठित— *read* —वगुष्ठित— *and add a hyphen after* —स्तस्यात्म.
,, 87, f. n. 2—*For* square *read* rectangular.
,, 88, para. 3, line 4—*For* full-moon *read* full moon.
,, 88, para. 3, line 11—*For* the *Mahattaras* and *read* and the *Mahattaras* of.
,, 89, line 14—Enclose *now* in round brackets.
,, 89, line 15—*For* Chāturvēdins *read* Chaturvēdins.
,, 90, para. 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after* copper-plates.
,, 92, line 1—*Insert a comma after* 460.
,, 92, para. 1, line 7—*Insert* the *before* Karjan.
,, 94, Text-line 23—*Delete the visarga after* करिल्लिणी.
,, 94, Text-line 31—*Insert a visarga after* कर्षयत.
,, 95, line 7 from the bottom—*For* defind *read* defined.
,, 96, line 1—*For* Brāhamaṇa *read* Brāhmaṇa.
,, 97, para. 2, line 6—For *krishṇa-* read *kṛishṇa-*.
,, 99, Text-line 7 —*For* —रंजित(न)— *read* —रंजित(त)-.
,, 99, f. n. 7—*Add a hyphen after* —स्तात्यि.
,, 100, Text-line 17—*For* क्याषेषे *read* क्याषे(से)षे.
,, 100, Text-line 24—*For* तुष्टये *read* चतुष्टय.

Page 101, Translation, para. 1, line 8—*Close the bracket after* night.
" 101, Translation, para. 4, line 5—*For* king *read* kings.
" 101, f. n. 1—For *tithi* read *tithi*.
" 106, Text-line 26—*For* –सिवार *read* –सिवार:.
" 107, Text-line 41—*For* भुजत: *read* भुंजत:.
" 107, Text-line 50—*For* संन्वत् *read* संव्व(व)त्.
" 110, f. n. 1—For *Mediaval* read *Mediaeval*.
" 111, para. 1, line 9—*For* new moon *read* new-moon.
" 111, f. n. 2—For *chakshū-bhūtaḥ* read *chakshu-bhūtaḥ*.
" 111, f. n. 6, line 4—*For* No. 19 *read* No. 29.
" 111, f. n. 6, line 11—*For* n. 41 *read* n. 4.
" 111, f. n. 7—I have recently noticed that a facsimile of the record was published in Vol. II of the same monthly *Prabhāta*. I have edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
" 112, para. 2, line 11—*For* Vikarma *read* Vikrama, *and for* as with often as *read* as often as.
" 113, Text-line 18—*For* त्रिकूटमालल्कशाचित *read* त्रिकूटमाल्कशाचित.
" 114, Text-line 21—*For* [प]र्णान्वदि(री)– *read* [प]र्णान्वनदि(री)–.
" 115, Page-title—*For* YEAR 204 *read* YEAR 404.
" 115, f. n. 6, line 1—*For* Sōtā's *read* Sītā's.
" 116, line 4—*Delete the bracket after* worshipped *and insert it after* gods.
" 116, para. 1, line 2—Enclose *his* in round brackets.
" 117, para. 3, line 19—For *-dhikarik-* read *-dhikārik-*.
" 117, para. 3, line 20—For *-kārik-adīn* read *-kārik-ādīn*.
" 119, f. n. 7—For सेन्द्रकराजान-र. read सेन्द्रकराजाना-.
" 120, Text-line 15—For यथा स(सं)बध्य- *read* यथास(सं)बध्य-.
" 120, Text-line 18—*For* ट[टा]सुक्तक- *read* ट(टा)युक्तक-.
" 122, line 2—*Substitute a semicolon for the comma after* intellect.
" 122, para. 1, line 2—*For* full moon *read* full-moon.
" 124, para. 2, line 6—*For* 429 *read* 421.
" 127, line 17—*Insert a comma after* Nasik.
" 129, f. n. 3—*For* occuirng *read* occurring.
" 131, f. n. 1, line 1—*For* Allasakti *read* Allaśakti.
" 133, para. 4, line 1—*For* ll. 36-3 *read* ll. 36-37.
" 135, Text-line 28—*For* चवत्रयाणि *read* चैत्रयाणि.
" 136, line 8—*Insert* Satyāśraya *before* Pulakēśivallabha (II).
" 137, Translation of line 36—*For* forty three *read* forty-three.
" 138, line 14—*Delete the semicolon after* in.
" 138, line 16—For *Prithivī* read *Prithivī*.
" 139, para. 1, line 7—*For* 737 A. C. *read* 739 A. C.
" 139, para. 2, line 4—*For* the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḷi . . . . Kāñchaḷe *read* the *Dvivēda* Brāhmaṇa Kañchaḷa, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḷi.
" 141, Text-line 35—*Add a hyphen after* त्रिय.
" 143, para. 5, line 6—*For* whole-world *read* whole world.
" 144, line 5—*Delete the note reference* 2.
" 144, line 20—*For the note reference* 1 *read* 2.
" 144, para. 2, line 3—For *Mahākārṭtikī* read *Mahākārttikī*. *After Mahākārttikī, insert* for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites.
" 144, f. n. 2—*For* p. 143 *read* line 1.
" 147, para. 2, lines 6-7—*For* Simhavarmarāja *read* Siṁhavarmarāja.
" 147, f. n. 2—*For* are *read* is.
" 148, para. 1, line 3—*For* Vikaramāditya *read* Vikramāditya, *and for* grand-father *read* grandfather.
" 148, f. n. 2, line 3—*Insert*) *after* pp. 304 ff.
" 148, f. n. 2, line 5—*For* Durgādēvi *read* Durgādēvī.
" 149, line 2—*Insert a comma after* Trikūṭa *and* the Traikūṭakas.
" 149, line 8—*Insert a comma after* Mairikā.
" 151, Text-line 39—Insert [1*] after वर्षे १००, *and delete that after* –विषये.
" 151, Text-line 59—*For* स्य(म्न): *read* स्य(म्न:).
" 152, f. n. 2,—*Insert a comma after* at first.

Page 153, line 17—Delete the comma after (*and*).
„ 153, f. n. 4—*Kāvīra* may be the fee of registration. See Introduction, p. cxlii.
„ 154, Translation of line 54—*After* **sixty-one** *insert* 400 (*and*) 60 (and) 1.
„ 154, Translation of lines 56 ff., line 6—*For* rupees *read rūpakas.*
„ 155, para. 3, line 6—*For* Simharāja *read* Simhavarmarāja.
„ 156, f. n. 3, line 1—For *kumāri-* read *kumārī-*.
„ 157, Text-line 9—*For* -सहृस्म- *read* -सहृस-.
„ 158, Text-line 35—*For* द्वात्रिंशति- *read* -द्वात्रिंशति(व्)-.
„ 158, Translation of line 28, line 1—*For* **Bhōgaśaktī** *read* **Bhōgaśakti.**
„ 158, Translation of line 29, line 3—*For* **Ambēyapallikā** *read* **Ambayapallikā.**
„ 158, f. n. 11—*Umura-bhēda* in Text-line 33 is probably identical with *ummara-bhēda* which occurs in the expression उन्मरभेदो न करणीयो राजपुरुषेण in the grant of Vishṇushēṇa, dated V. 649. See *P. T. A. I. O. C.*, Vol. XV, p. 272. It probably means the forcible breaking of a house-door. *Umura* is probably the same as Marathi *umbarā* meaning a threshold. The intended meaning seems to be that the royal officers were forbidden to break open the doors of houses for the recovery of stolen property in the resettled village.
„ 162, para. 1, line 7—For *Kalpaumam* read *Kalpalumam.*
„ 163, line 1—*For* G. 405 (724-25 A. C.) *read* G. 403 (723-24 A. C.).
„ 163, line 7—*For* Māṅkaṇi plates *read* Māṅkaṇikā grant.
„ 163, Text-line 1—*For* -निषृष्ट- *read* -निषृष्ट-.
„ 164, f. n. 14—*For* पद्चत्वारिंश- *read* षट्चत्वारिंश-.
„ 167, para. 1, line 12—*Insert a comma after* issued.
„ 168, para. 1, line 17—*Insert a comma after* is.
„ 168, f. n. 1—For *Ibid.* read *Bom. Gaz.*
„ 169, Text-line 9—*For* -विषयान्तर्गत सन्धियर- *read* -विषयान्तर्गतसन्धियर-.
„ 172, para. 1, line 12—*For* Iśvara *read* Īśvara.
„ 172, para. 1, line 25 —*For* Narmaṇ *read* Narman.
„ 174, para 3, line 4—*For* stone inscription *read* stone pillar inscription.
„ 174, f. n. 6, line 2—For *Vāmorājadēva* read *Vāmarājadēva.*
„ 175, line 8—*Insert a comma after* Dēuka *and delete that after* king.
„ 175, Translation, para. 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after* Dēuka.
„ 176, Title of the Inscription—*Insert* **PILLAR** *after* **STONE.**
„ 176, para. 1, line 8—*Insert a comma after* remarked *and for* what *read* What.
„ 176, f. n. 4—*For* pp. 17 ff. *read* pp. 170 ff.
„ 177, Page-title—*For* SANKARGANA *read* SANKARAGANA I.
„ 178, line 6 from the bottom—*Delete the comma after* Lakshmaṇarāja II.
„ 179, line 4—*For* right hand-side *read* right-hand side.
„ 179, para. 3, line 10—*For* someone *read* some one.
„ 180, line 25—*For* grand-father *read* grandfather.
„ 181, f. n. 4—*For* Archælogical *read* Archæological.
„ 182, Translation of lines 11-12—For *Śrutis* read *Śruti.*
„ 184, Translation, line 3—*For* was *read* is.
„ 185, Translation, line 6—*For* (Lines 6—7) *read* (Lines 7—8).
„ 185, line 18—*After* No. 41 *add* (No Plate).
„ 185, para. 2 from the bottom, line 1—*Insert a comma after* alphabet *and delete that after* closely.
„ 187, para. 1, line 6—For *jihvāmulīya* read *jihvāmūlīye.*
„ 189, Text-line 8—For ेर्यत्रिके read तौर्यत्रिके.
„ 189, Text-line 11—*For* वषिमिदु:करं *read* वषिमिर्दु:करं.
„ 190, f. n. 2—*Delete the comma after* admitted.
„ 193, Translation of v. 19, line 4—*For* straight-forward *read* straightforward.
„ 193, Translation of v. 20, line 2—*Insert a comma after* front.
„ 193, Translation of v. 20, line 3—*For* gods *read* demons.
„ 193, f. n. 1—*After* a sacrificial ladle in general, *insert* including *juhū* made of palāśa, *upabhṛit* of aśvattha and *dhruvā* of vikankata.
„ 195, Translation of v. 39, line 2—For *karsha* read *karshas.*
„ 195, line 2 from the bottom—*For* consits *read* consists.
„ 196, line 4 from the bottom—*For* Kēsari *read* Kēsarin.

Page 196, line 11—For *vrabma-stamba* read *vrabma-stamva.*

„ 196, line 8 from the bottom—The Māser inscription has since been edited by Mr. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇa mentioned in that record with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III proposed by him, see above, *add.* to p. lxxxvii.

„ 196, line 5 from the bottom—*For* Kalachuri kings *read* a Kalachuri king.

„ 196, f. n. 1, line 1—For *simbābvayam* read *Siṁbābvayam.*

„ 198, line 2—*For* Siva *read* Śiva.

„ 199, para. 4, line 5—*Insert a comma after* ruins.

„ 201, Text-line 25—*For* ततस्स्वमरिकोवरे *read* ततस्स्वमरिकोवरे.

„ 202, f. n. line 3—For *dikō-bbāsu* read *dik-śōbbāsu.*

„ 204, line 14—*For* (V. 19) *read* (V. 20).

„ 204, line 15—*Delete the mark of interjection after* letters.

„ 206, para. 2, line 5—For *Vikaramāṅka-* read *Vikramāṅka-.*

„ 206, para. 2, line 13—*For* Simhavarman *read* Siṁhavarman.

„ 206, para. 4, line 7—*For* king of **Avanti** *read* king **Avanti.**

„ 206, para. 4, line 8—*For* Śabdaśiva *in two places read* Sadāśiva.

„ 208, f. n. 1, line 2—*For* Lakśhmaṇasēna *read* Lakshmaṇasēna.

„ 209, Text-line 1—*For* य[स्विं]ल्लोल- *read* य(स्विं)ल्लोल-.

„ 209, Text-line 4—*For* सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति *read* सोमाभिधानस्तिलकयति. *Insert a hyphen after* प्रोच्छलज्ज्वा-(ज्ज्वा).

„ 210, Text-line 7—*Insert a hyphen after* प्रणयिसै and after कालाद्व(द्व).

„ 211, Text-line 13—*Delete the visarga after* कोप:.

„ 211, Text-line 14—*For* -वर्योद्धतधिया- *read* -वर्योद्धतधिया.

„ 212, Text-line 15—*For* यस्तु *read* यस्तु.

„ 212, Text-line 16—*For* भर्तुः [३७॥*] *read* [३७॥*] भर्तुः, *and for* मरुद्गणानां *read* मरुद्गणानां.

„ 212, Text-line 18—*For* -स्तस्याभूद्- *read* -स्तस्यामभूद्.

„ 213, f. n. 3—*For* तस्य *read* तस्य.

„ 216, f. n. 2, line 1—For *avyābat-ēchcham* read *avyābat-echchbaṁ.*

„ 217, Translation of v. 18, line 2—*Insert* more *before* exalted.

„ 217, f. n. 1, line 3—*For* killed *read* conquered.

„ 218, Translation of v. 24—*For* polity *read* policy.

„ 218, Translation of v. 28, line 2—*Insert a comma after* rage.

„ 218, f. n. 3, line 1—*For* good conduct *read* prudent behaviour.

„ 220, Translation of v. 46, line 2—*For* **Lakshmparāja** *read* **Lakshmaṇarāja.**

„ 223, Translation of v. 80, line 2—*For* by every measurer *read* on every measure.

„ 223, f. n. 2, line 2—*For* pavillion *read* pavilion.

„ 223, f. n. 7, line 3—For *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 221 read *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 121.

„ 223, f. n. 9, line 2—For *Pūtaka* read *Pūlaka.*

„ 224, Translation of v. 85—*Pūrvā* in this verse may have the sense of *praśasti* as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, p. 22. He translates the second half of this verse as follows:—"May this composition—this fame, this eulogy—endure as long as the creation." I do not agree with Dr. Chhabra that all the three words *kṛiti*, *kīrti* and *pūrvā* in this verse refer to the eulogy. *Kṛiti* probably refers to the composition of Siruka, *kīrti* to the temple of Nōhalēśvara, and *pūrvā* to the eulogy of the Kalachuri princes.

„ 225, para. 1, line 9—For *samadhayō* read *samādhayō.*

„ 225, f. n. 4, line 2—*For* from *read* form.

„ 226, para. 2, line 10—*For* **Poṇḍik** *read* **Pōṇḍikā.**

„ 226, para. 2, line 20—*Insert a comma after* mentioned *and* Prabōdhaśiva.

„ 227, f. n. 9—*For* tw overses *read* two verses.

„ 228, Text-line 15—For -शैला[लो]क्य- read -शैला(लो)क्य-.

„ 229, Text-line 38—For य[कल्लित) read य[ल्लि]-.

„ 233, Translation of vv. 36-37—*Insert a comma after* **Sārasaḍōllaka.**

„ 233, Translation of vv. 38—40, line 3—For *Siddbāntas* read *Siddbāntas.*

„ 233, Translation of v. 42—*For* the Śiva *read* (*the god*) Śiva .

„ 233, Translation of v. 44, line 1—*For* **Madu** *read* **Madhu.**

„ 233, Translation of v. 46—*For* artist *read* artisan.

„ 236, para. 3, line 1—*Insert a comma after* Wilford.

Page 237, para. 2, line 12—For *I* read *i*.
„ 237, para. 2, line 21—For *kim=v=aparṇa* read *kim=v=āparṇa*.
„ 238, line 10—On further consideration I think it more likely that this Srī-Harsha is the Guhila prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Pratīhāra Bhōja I. See Introduction, p. lxxv.
„ 241, line 2—*Insert a comma after* Banaras.
„ 242, Text-line 14—Delete the *visarga* after (हृर्षः).
„ 242, f. n. 9—*For* are *read* is.
„ 242, Text-line 19—*For* जनना *read* जनता.
„ 243, Text-line 23—*Insert a hyphen after* ज(य).
„ 243, Text-line 24—*For* कुलथेनरपतिथि भ *read* कुलनरपतियियेभ.
„ 243, f. n. 9—For *danda* read *daṇḍa*.
„ 244, Text-line 39—*For* प्रन(ण)श्रे *read* प्रन(ण)त्वे.
„ 245, Text-line 41—*For* विश्वाय *read* विषाय.
„ 245, Text-line 47—*For* वा प्रतिमानि *read* वान्तप्रतिमानि.
„ 245, f. n. contd. from last page—*For* प्रतिसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धा *read* प्रतिसांवत्सरिकश्राद्ध.
„ 248, Translation of v. 25, line 1—*For* **Gāṇgēyadēva** *read* **Gāṅgēyadēva.**
„ 248, Translation of v. 25, line 2—*Substitute a semicolon for the comma after* Kōkalladēva (II).
„ 248, f. n. 1, line 1—*Insert a semicolon after* here.
„ 249, para. 3, line 3—*Substitute a comma for the full point after* place.
„ 249, f. n. 20—*For* Audāla *read* Audala.
„ 251, Page-title—*Insert* PILLAR *after* STONE.
„ 251, Text-line 5—*For* न्या[ये]* *read* न्या[ये*].
„ 251, f. n. 8, line 1—*For* भक्तयात्र *read* भक्त्यात्र.
„ 251, f. n. 16, line 2—For *ta* read *tā* and for प्रसादात् read प्रसादात.
„ 253, line 4—For *chh* read *chha*.
„ 253, para. 1, line 12—For *grāmaṇi* read *grāmaṇī*.
„ 253, para. 1, line 18—For *pūtkara* read *pūtkāra*.
„ 254, para. 3, line 8—*For* full moon *tithi read* full-moon *tithi*.
„ 254, f. n. 5—*Insert a comma after* 1030 A. C.
„ 256, Text-line 16—*For* योगमाजां *read* योगभाजां.
„ 256, Text-line 17—*For* स्फुटित *read* स्फुटितं.
„ 257, Text-line 21—*For* -मेक व्याजेन- *read* -मेकव्याजेन.
„ 258, Text-line 31—*For* स्फुरद्घोषणा: *read* स्फुरद्घोषणाः.
„ 258, Text-line 34—*Delete* पति *after* माहेश्वर.
„ 260, Translation of v. 14, line 4—*For* of Indra *read* to Indra.
„ 261, Translation of v. 17, line 2—*Insert a comma after* Aṅga.
„ 262, Translation of v. 27, line 3—*For* enmy's *read* enemy's.
„ 262, Translation of Line 33, line 11—*Insert* in *before* the village.
„ 264, f. n. 3, line 2—For *Kācharasya* read *-kiṁkarasya*.
„ 268, f. n. 1, line 3—*For* note worthy *read* noteworthy.
„ 268, f. n. 2, line 1—*For* Śrāvasti *read* Śrāvastī.
„ 269, Text-line 9—*For* आक्रमा- *read* -आक्राम-.
„ 270, f. n. 11, line 1—*For* यस्मिन्सुखकप्रभव *read* यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे.
„ 274, Translation of v. 38, line 2—*For* **Kēyastha** *read* **Kāyastha.**
„ 277, f. n. 12—*For* -गुप्तावाशीवाद *read* -गुप्तावाशीर्वाद-.
„ 280, para. 3, line 6—*For* Gujoerat *read* Gujarat.
„ 280, f. n. 3—*For* also *read* above.
„ 282, Text-line 16—For (सान्त): read (सान्तः).
„ 282, f. n. 3—*Omit* Read स्वयं.
„ 283, f. n. 2—For *Upajātī* read *Upajāti*.
„ 284, Translation of v. 8, line 2—*Insert a comma after* father.
„ 286, Text-line 5—*For* (र्त्तों) *read* (र्त्ती).
„ 287, Text-line 11—*For* प्रता[पे]नावि- *read* प्रता[पे]नारि-.
„ 287, Text-line 19—*For* स्तधुना *read* स्तदधुना.
„ 288, line 18—*Insert a comma after* inscription.
„ 289, 291, 293, 295, and 297, Page-title—*For* PLATE *read* PLATES.

Page 289, last para., line 5—For *li* read *lri*.
" 289, last para., line 6—For *klipta* read *klripta*.
" 290, f. n. 3—*For* Kāsī *read* Kāśī.
" 291, para. 2, line 1—*For* **Yaśaḥkaraṇa** *read* **Yaśaḥkarṇa.**
" 292, f. n. 3, line 2—*Insert a comma after* however.
" 292, f. n. 3, line 3—*Insert a comma after* Gaṅgā.
" 295, f. n. 6, line 5—*For* –त्रिपराय: *read* –त्रिप्रवराय.
" 298, Translation of v. 15, line 1—*Insert* the *before* Kalachuris.
" 298, f. n. 9, line 2—*For* Kāśyapa *read* Kāśyapā.
" 301, para. 3, line 4—*Insert* to *before* 1078-79 A. C.
" 302, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—*Delete the note reference* 5.
" 302, f. n. 5, line 1—*For* हेमाद्रि– *read* हैमाद्रि–.
" 304, f. n. 6—For *danda* read *daṇḍa*.
" 304, f. n. 15, line 3—*For* p. 19 *read* l. 19.
" 307, f. n. 10—For *Śālini* read *Śālinī*.
" 308, f. n. 5, line 1—For *matrī* read *maitrī*.
" 310, line 7—*For* the **Chandrakara** *Āchārya read* the *Āchārya* **Chandrakara.**
" 311, Translation of C, para. 4, line 3—For the holy **Chandrakara** *Āchārya read* the holy *Āchārya* **Chandrakara.**
" 311, Text-line 5—*For* संज्ञक *read* सज्जक–.
" 311, Translation of C, para. 3, line 1—*For* Srēshṭhi *read* Śrēshṭhi, *and for* thim *read* him.
" 311, f. n. 4—Insert a comma after *aksharas*.
" 311, f. n. 8—*For* n. 3 *read* n. 2.
" 311, f. n. 9—*Add* n. 3 *after* Loc. cit.
" 312, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—For *śapāla* read *sapāla*.
" 313, para. 2, line 3—*For* **Gāṇgēyadēva** *read* **Gāṅgēyadēva.**
" 313, f. n. 2—*For* Mahīdhara *read* Dharaṇīdhara.
" 314, para. 1, line 4—*For* Godavari *read* Gōdāvarī.
" 315, Text-line 5—*For* पूंसां *read* पुंसां.
" 316, Text-line 21—*For* व(ब)न्धुप– *read* व(ब)न्धुर–.
" 318, f. n. 5—For *Brahmāṇḍa* read *Brahmāṇḍa*.
" 322, Text-line 8—*For* श्रीव(ब)लल्लाल– *read* श्रीव(ब)ल्लाल–.
" 323, para. 4, line 4—*For* 28 miles *read* 36 miles.
" 323, f. n. 2—For *Bhāgīrathi* read *Bhāgīrathī*.
" 324, f. n. 3—*For* तटाश्म्बिका– *read* तटाम्बिका–.
" 326, line 3 from the bottom—*For* date *read* day.
" 326, f. n. 3—*For* des *read* der.
" 326, f. n. 4—*For* Pṛithvīdēva *read* Pṛithvīdēva II.
" 327, Text-line 6—For पूंसि read पुंसि.
" 330, Translation of L. 25, line 3—*Insert* at **Tripurī** *after* in the **Rēvā.**
" 333, para. 1, line 6—*Insert a comma after* Jayasiṁha.
" 333, para. 2, line 4—*For* Nannadēva *read* Nāmadēva.
" 334, Text-line 8—*For* –स्तीर्वे *read* –स्तीर्थे.
" 336, Text-line 24—*For* समकरोल्लेका– *read* समकरोल्लोका–.
" 341, line 2—*For* sons' *read* son's.
" 343, Text-line 12—*For* –मापयन्त– *read* –मापयेन्त–.
" 343—*For* the text-line number 81 *read* 18.
" 345, para. 5, line 1—*For* Sīkhā *read* Sūkhā.
" 346, Translation, line 2 from the bottom—*For* Kēsāva *read* Kēśava.
" 346, line 5 from the bottom—For *li* read *lri* and for *praklipta* read *praklripta*.
" 346, f. n. 4, line 2—*Delete* p. 295.
" 347, line 14—For *darśanāut* read *darśanān*.
" 347, line 19—For *girāṁ* read *giraṁ*.
" 347, line 20—*For* **Vijayasimhadēva** *read* **Vijayasiṁhadēva.**
" 347, f. n. 3, line 3—For *Chandrasimbī* read *Chandrasiṁbī*.
" 348, para. 1, line 6—For *taṅkakas* read *ṭaṅkakas*.
" 348, para. 3, lines 6—7—*For* councillor *read* counsellor.

Page 348, line 2 from the bottom—*For* inscriptions *read* inscription.
" 349, line 1—*For* numerical symbols *read* numerical figures.
" 349, para. 2, line 8—*For* Vikarma *read* Vikrama.
" 350, f. n. 2, line 2—For *Yājñavalkya-smritii* read *Yājñavalkya-smriti*.
" 350, f. n. 14—*For* फित्य *read* फित्यं.
" 351, Text-line 11—For विलसितृं read विलसितुं.
" 353, Text-line 25—For मूर्द्धिन read मर्द्धिन.
" 355, Translation of verse 20 , line 4—*Delete the comma after* confidence *and insert it after* prowess.
" 356, Translation of v. 29, line 1—*For* Rāmasiṁha *read* Raṇasiṁha.
" 359, line 17—*Delete the comma after* consonants.
" 360, para. 1, line 4—For *paravaras* read *pravaras*.
" 360, para. 2, line 1—*Insert* of *after* the date.
" 362, Translation of L. 2, line 5—*For* **Vāmādēva** *read* **Vāmadēva**.
" 362, f. n. 13—*For* also occurs *read* occurs also.
" 362, f. n. 15, line 1—*Insert a comma after* Bhāratī.
" 363, Translation, para 2, line 2—For *mahaśabda* read *mahāśabda*.
" 364, f. n. 9— *For* or one of her sons *read* her son or grandson.
" 365, line 5 from the bottom—*For* the semicolon *after* predecessors *substitute* a comma.
" 366, f. n. 11—*For* कोट्टपाल *read* महाकोट्टपाल.
" 367, Text-line 17—*Insert the note reference* 2 *after* [९*][६][४] and delete that after [म*].
" 368, para. 3, line 5—*Insert a comma after* Cunningham.
" 369, line 11 from the bottom—*Insert a comma after* Rewa.
" 370, para. 2, line 8—*For* Alaura *read* Alaurā.
" 371, Text-line 5—*Insert* a hyphen *after* विराजमान.
" 372, f. n. 10—For यावार्द्धरण्यं read यावद्धिरण्यं.
" 374, f. n. 2—*For* Alaura *read* Alaurā.

PLATES

Plate XXVIII, Title—*For* Spurious Plates *read* Spurious Kaira Plates.
" XXIX B, Title—*For* Stone Inscription *read* Stone Pillar Inscription.

For Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXII, *read* Bargaon Stone Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXIII.

INTRODUCTION

THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

ALTHOUGH some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Saka eras which were then current in different parts of India, or from the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance, the date of the Banaras plates of Karṇa discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford, was taken by him to correspond to 192 A. C.[1] The date *Saṁvat* 932 of the Kumbhī plates published in 1839[2] was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama Saṁvat and taken to be equivalent to 876 A. C.[3] The Kaṇhēri plate was discovered by Dr. Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who, on considerations of palæography, referred the inscription to about the sixth century A. C.[4] But he then made no conjecture about the era to which its date 245 should be referred, beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Kshatrapas, as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type, and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as *Gupta-kāla, Guptasya kāla, Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhukti* or *Saṁ*. Dr. Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows: "From the form of the characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era; the Trikūṭakas, like the Valabhī Sēnāpatis, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence; or it may have been adopted from Gujarat."[5] The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī, dated *Saṁvat* 907, and the Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva, dated *Saṁvat* 928.[6] Finding that Alhaṇadēvī was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayāditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about 1100 A. C., as her grandfather Udayāditya, who reigned between Bhōja (*circa* 1050 A. C.) and Naravarman (1104 A. C.), might have flourished about 1075 A. C. Now, Alhaṇadēvī's sons, Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha, were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively, and her great-grandson was a minor[7] in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates

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[1] *A. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 108. On this General Cunningham remarked, "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states, 'the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192'." *C. A. S. I. R.* Vol. IX, p. 82.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[4] *I. C. T. W. I.* (A. S. W. I., No. 10), p. 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 59, n. 2.

[6] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 502. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

[7] The Kumbhī plates, dated K. 932 (Appendix, No. 4), record a grant made by Gōsaladēvī, mother of Vijayasiṁha, not his wife as Hall wrongly stated. Again, the grant was made by Gōsaladēvī during the reign of her son Vijayasiṁha and with his consent as explicitly stated therein. It was not made by her for her minor son Ajayasiṁha as Hall thought. Among the persons to whom the royal order is addressed is mentioned *Mahākumāra* Ajayasiṁha. He had not ascended the throne then, but there is nothing to show that he was a minor at the time.

refer. He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about 250 A. C. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Sālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya. But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhī with some epoch other than 319 A. C., or some other era till then unknown.

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, that he had found, among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces in 1873-74, two[1] which were actually dated in the *Chēdi Saṁvatsara,* and two others[2] in the *Kalachuri Saṁvat.* He identified the two eras, as 'the princes of Chēdi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in 249 A. C., the year 250 A. C. being the year 1 of the Chēdi Saṁvat.

In his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Vol. IX (A tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75), pp. 111 ff., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that 249 A. C. was the initial point of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Saṁvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in thesame way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week-days obtained by calculation in the following form[3] :—

Chēdi Saṁvat	A. C.	Month and day		Calculated Weekday
793	1042	Phālguna vadi 9, Monday	..	Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	..	*Wednesday
898	1147	Āśvina sudi 7, Monday	..	Saturday
902	1151	Āshāḍha sudi 1, Sunday	..	*Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśiras sudi 11, Sunday	..	*Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, Wednesday	..	Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaṇa sudi 6, Sunday	..	Monday
928	1177	Māgha vadi 10, Monday	..	*Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results, as only in four out of the above eight cases[4] the dates were found to be regular. In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day—an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases[5]. Even with his epoch, the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, 1042 A. C., and the sixth, for intercalary Śrāvaṇa, to Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1158 A. C.[6] Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added

[1] These were Nos. 98 and 100.

[2] See Nos. 87 and 88.

[3] I give the names of months *etc.* in this table as we should spell them now.

[4] They are starred in the table given above.

[5] On p. 86 of the same Volume (IX) Cunningham, says, "By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D. or 793 of the Chēdi Saṁvat, according to this reckoning, the 9th day of *Phālgun badi* was a Monday."

[6] Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be *nija* Śrāvaṇa; for, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *nija* Śrāvaṇa *commenced* 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday.

249 to the Chēdi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Ashāḍha or in Phālguna, as if the Chēdi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt; for, the dates he assigned to the Kalachuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties.[1] In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abū Rīhān,[2] writing about 1030-31 A. C., referred to Gāṅgēya as a contemporary king of Ḍāhala and that from his *Vikramāṅkacharita* Bilhaṇa seemed to have resided at the court of *Rājā* Karṇa of Ḍāhala from 1070 A. C. to 1075 A. C. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalachuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the meanwhile, some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty were discovered in Western India. The dates *Saṁvat* 380 and 385 of two of them, *viz*., the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II,[3] were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant, *viz*., the Ilao plates of Dadda-Praśāntarāga[4], which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Śaka era, the dates of the aforementioned two Kairā grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvī plate[5] of Jayabhaṭa subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Śaka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji published the Navsāri grant of Jayabhaṭa (III),[6] dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Māgha, *Saṁvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhaṭa, that he protected a prince of Valabhī against the Emperor (*Paramēśvara*) Śrī-Harshadēva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harshavardhana of Thānēśvar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 A. C. to 648 A. C. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Navsāri grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. C., it was clear that the date 456 of the Navsāri grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhaṭa could not be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Chālukya dynasty discovered in Gujarat, two of which, made by Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, were found to be dated in *Saṁvat* 421 and 423, the third, made by Maṅgalarāja, in *Śaka* 653, and the fourth, by Pulakēśivallabha Janāśraya, in *Saṁvat* 490. From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasiṁhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakēśin II, the famous king of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 456 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Chālukya grants referred to an era, different from the Śaka era, which was used in Gujarat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. He conjecturally fixed 244-45 A.C. as the initial year and 245-46 A.C. as the year 1 of that era, and identified it with

[1] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84-87; 100-11.

[2] He is more widely known by his name Albērūnī.

[3] These were discovered about 1827 A.C. They were first published by J. Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. and subsequently by Dowson in *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. and by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

[4] Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 19 ff. and, with facsimiles, by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

'the era of the Trikūṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate.'[1]

The nearness of the epoch 244-45 A. C. suggested by Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Chēdi era (249 A. C.) led General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Navsāri grant, 'Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of *Saṁvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,' corresponded to the 2nd February 706 A. C., which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate 'Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashāḍha of *Saṁvat* 486' regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June 736 A. C.[2] In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Chēdi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Chēdi era was not 249 A. C., but 249-50 A. C.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārḍī plates of Dahrasēna, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XVI, p. 346), Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat commenced in 249 A. C., but he pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūṭakas in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which he had deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

In the same year, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar published his *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed.), in which he questioned the correctness of Dr. Bhagvanlal's view that the date 421 of Śryāśraya Śilāditya's grant is in an era with 250 A. C. as its initial date, on the ground that the interval between the two brothers—Maṅgalarāja and Śryāśraya—becomes 60 years, which unquestionably is too long.[3] He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era 'which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat.'

In 1886, Dr. Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr. Bhandarkar's view—that the grants of the Gujarat Chālukyas are dated in the Gupta era—would lead to the conclusion that Śryāśraya reigned as *Yuvarāja* from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Maṅgalarāja who was a 'king'—which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious conjectures about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was king Īśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and whose coins, dated in the first and second years of his reign, show that he assumed the titles *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa*. "Other kings", he proceeded to state, "bearing names which end in *datta*, have left their records in the caves of Nasik, and state that they are Ābhīras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Ābhīra dynasty which, probably coming by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa its capital. Īśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kshatrapas. After he had consolidated his power, he issued his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vīradāman and his brother Vijayasēna. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kshatrapa era. If we take this to be the Śaka era, the time of

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 76.

[2] See Fleet's note on Pandit Bhagvanlal's article on the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77.

[3] *E. H. D.*, (first ed.), p. 102.

Iśvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūṭaka or Kalachuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Iśvardatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long, as Vīradāman's son Rudrasēna appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūṭakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kalachuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Trikūṭa at the time of the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power. Dahrasēna must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year 207+170 or 377 of the Saka era."[1]

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Chēdi or Traikūṭaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* of its actual commencement was first made by Prof. Kielhorn,[2] who, in his letters published in the *Academy* of December 10 and 24, 1887, and January 14, 1888,[3] announced that his calculations of numerous week-days of later Chēdi inscriptions showed that the Chēdi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. C. Later on, in an article published in the *Nachrichten der Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, Göttingen (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff.) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed, from an examination of twelve dates of the Kalachuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi Saṁvat 0=248-49 A. C. and Chēdi Saṁvat 1=249-50 A. C., and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, 249 A. C.=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and if the dates were to be worked out by a uniform process, the former would appear to be even more suitable than the latter. He preferred, however, the *Bhādrapadādi* year because 'Albērūnī *does* mention a year beginning with *Bhādrapada*'.[4] As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the *purṇimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the bright half.

Kielhorn's calculations, made on the basis of the epoch of 248-49 A. C., showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Chēdi year was *Āśvinādi*, and expired if it was *Bhādrapadādi*.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Saka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar[5] and others in connection

[1] See *P. V. O. C.* (1886), p. 221-22.

[2] Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with the epoch of 248-49 A.C., but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Fleet in the Introduction to *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 9 (published in 1888). The dates of the grants of the Uchchakalpa kings, which Fleet referred to the Kalachuri era (*ibid.*, introduction, pp. 8 ff.), are probably recorded in the Gupta era. See my article on the subject in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215, n. 5.

[5] See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1889), pub. in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, Part II (1887-1889), pp. 80 ff.

with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr. Fleet[1] in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or as expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* and in another on the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,[2] Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed 247-48 A. C. as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799—"The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is celebrated on the 10th lunar day." Kielhorn thought that the *Āśvinādi* year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year, and as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 248 A. C. as the first day of the first current year, and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 249 A. C. as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalachuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.[3] The two dates of the Navsāri and Kāvī plates of Jayabhaṭa III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, published in 1898-99 as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.[4]

Three more Chēdi dates containing sufficient data for verification, which were discovered subsequently, were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, *viz*., (1) the Sārnāth fragmentary Buddhist stone inscription of the time of Karṇa, dated '*samva[tsarē* 8]10 *Asvina* (*Āśvina*) *sudi* 15 *Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058 A. C.[5]), (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja, dated *Samvata(t)* 965, *Bhādrapadē vadi* 10 *Mriga-ri(ri)kshē So[ma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current year 965, to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C.[6]) and (3) Tahankāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated *Samvat* 966.... *Isva(śva)ra-saṁvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūry-ōparāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A.C.[7]). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, *viz*. (4) that of the Shēorinārāyaṇ image inscription, which he now read as *Kalachuri-saṁvatsarē* ॥898॥ *Asvina-sudi* 7 *Sōma-dinē* from a photograph supplied by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and which he found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September 1145 A. C.[8]

[1] See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhī Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

[2] Kielhorn first expressed his view briefly in an article published in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 5th to the 12th September 1892.

[3] *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53-56.

[4] See p. 57, nn. 6 and 7.

[5] *A. R. A. S. I.* (1906-1907), p. 100.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129. [7] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129-30. [8] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is 247-48 A. C. was confirmed by these new dates; for, while two of them (*viz.*, 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the other two (*viz.*, 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in 248 A. C. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.[1]

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Chēdi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas and was actually founded by a king named Īśvaradatta whom the Pandit considered to be an Ābhīra, and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about 248-49 A. C. in Saurashtra—held the field for a long time. But in 1905, in his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era',[2] Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujarat and the Thana District in Bombay and none from Saurashtra and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭaka era; for, the expression in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 of (an unspecified era).' Dr. Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father, the Ābhīra Sivadatta, if he did reign.

In 1908, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, etc.*, Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūṭaka era in connection with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji to the coins of Īśvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed that the only interval to which the coins of Īśvaradatta could be assigned was that between 158, the last recorded date of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasēna, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśōdāman I appears as *Mahākshatrapa*, *i.e.*, between 236 and 239 A. C.[3] He further drew attention to the fact that the Ābhīra Sivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Īśvarasēna, which seems to indicate that the latter was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Īśvaradatta. He thus placed both Īśvrasēna and Īśvaradatta before 249 A. C. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era, he observed, "It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra Empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."[4]

In 1911, a large hoard of Kshatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvāṇiā in the former Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In his detailed account of it published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for* 1913-14, pp. 227 ff., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined

[1] See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), second edition, p. 375.
[2] *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.
[3] *C. A. D.*, pp. cxxxv-vi.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. clxii.

Prof. Rapson's view that Īśvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 158 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvāṇiā hoard contained a coin of Yaśōdāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśōdāman and his predecessor by one year. "It is still not impossible", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "to adjust the two years of Īśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, *viz*., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160, now existing, will also be completely filled."[1] Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Īśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (188-190 A. C.) when the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasiṁha suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of *Kshatrapa*. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time; for, the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna can, on the evidence of palæography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription[2] shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as *Kshatrapa* of Rudrasiṁha himself the post of *Sēnāpati* or Commander-in-Chief was held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kushāṇa Chronology' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works *Heou Han Chou* of Fan-Ye and *Wei-lio* of Yu Houan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136, found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, must be referred to the Saka era beginning in 78 A. C. Kanishka who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after 214 A. C. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Majumdar put forward the view that Kanishka founded the so-called Kalachuri era of 248-49 A. C. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kshatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (245-46 A. C.) the Western Kshatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kushāṇa Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the south to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushāṇas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kushāṇas, of such a rival dynasty in the south, which curtailed the power of the Western Kshatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that the reign of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushāṇas, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudēva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudēva, was occupied about 350 A. C. by the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvatī (or Pawāyā, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā).[3] The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas, not the Kushāṇas, were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.[4]

In 1928, in his article entitled 'The Kalachuris of Tripurī', published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff., Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal

[1] *A. R. A. S. I. for* 1913-14, p. 229.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1840, p. 650.
[3] *A. H. D.*, p. 31.
[4] For other objections, see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 468-69.

tried to revive Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas, by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūṭa from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūṭa or Amarakaṇṭak, the Sālakūṭa or Sālēṭēkri in the Balaghat District and the Madhukūṭa or Mōhtur in the Chhindwara district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujarat and Western Maharashtra—is fatal to Dr. Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikūṭa in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the *Raghuvaṁśa* that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or North Konkan,[1] and this is corroborated by the discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Pṛithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti of the (Chēdi) year 461, in which a Trikūṭa *vishaya* is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Purī-Koṅkaṇa (*i. e.*, North Konkan).[2]

In 1933, in his *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal attempted to prove that the Chēdi era was started by the Vākāṭakas. "The Purāṇas," he observed, "after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently ...... Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasēna I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors, *i. e.*, the Kushāṇas, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position."[3] Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasēna I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I as 76 and 100 respectively, and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Giñjā inscription of *Mahārāja* Śrī-Bhīmasēna to the Chēdi era dating from the rise of the Vākāṭaka power. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful.[4] Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.[5]

In 1936, while editing the Kōsam stone inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman, dated in the year 130, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., Mr. A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palæographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed *ś*, the unlooped *sh* and *s*, and the undeveloped curves representing medial *i*—peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kushāṇa rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Chēdi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Praushṭhaśriya, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman were found at Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh, and some of them were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere.[6] These records exhibited the same palæographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Chēdi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lent colour to this view.

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[1] Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

[2] No. 31, l. 38.

[3] *History of India*, 150 *A. D. to* 350 *A. D.*, p. 111.

[4] See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 130 ff.

[5] Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, p. 26.

[6] See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff; Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and pp. 253 ff. *etc.* Also *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.

It was, therefore, believed that these records of the Magha kings found at Giñjā, Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh supplied the early dates of the Chēdi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which, though written as early as 1941, was, on account of the Second Great War and other reasons, not published till 1952.[1] In this article it was pointed out that if the dates of the Magha records are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But, strange as it may seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence.[2] They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kanishka. As for the palæographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kushāṇa age.

Till 1937, Dr. Kielhorn's view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time and showed that, though they verified the epoch of 247-48 A. C. fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Chēdi year could not have commenced in Āśvina. It must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśirsha to Phālguna, it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durgā which is, to this day, celebrated with great *éclat* not only in Madhya Pradesh but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Chēdi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was, except in very early times, not included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris.[3]

In 1944, the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates and also the date 117 of the Sirpur plate of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must, therefore, have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Maharashtra.[4]

In 1945, the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwāni plate of *Mahārāja* Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.[5]

In 1946, the present writer, again, showed that the date of the Kānākherā stone inscription of the Saka Srīdharavarman, which he read as 102, also refers to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.[6]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

[2] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

[3] For a full discussion of this matter, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

[4] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

[5] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.

In 1949, in an article entitled 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalachuri Era' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 81 ff., the present writer showed that the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, which had been discovered in the preceding year, probably referred to the Kalachuri era, and that the details of the date recorded in the grant indicated a new epoch of the era, *viz.*, 250-51 A. C.[1]

We have so far seen how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. We shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Leaving aside the date of the Nagardhan plates which appears exceptional, we find that the dates of the Kalachuri era fall into two groups, *viz.*—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra where, as shown below, the era had its origin, and (2) the later ones from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalachuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn[2] that the same epoch does not suit these two groups of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalachuri-Saṁvat 0=248-49 A. C., while in regard to the second, the equation is Kalachuri-Saṁvat 0=247-48 A. C. In both the periods the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were generally *amānta*, while in the later one they were generally *pūrṇimānta*.

EARLY DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

As the epoch for these dates is 248-49 A. C., the first day of the first current year of that era is the *amānta* Kārttikā śu. di. 1 (25th September) in 249 A. C. (corresponding to the expired Saka year 171). Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 171 in all other cases. Similarly to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era, there are only five which contain the details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years, and the remaining two, in current ones, as shown below :—

Dates in Expired Years

1. Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 21, p. 82)—Lines 30-31—*Māgha-śuddha-pañchadaśyāṁ chandr-ōparāgē*, 'on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed in both words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l. 43 the *tithi* (now completely lost) and the week-day (which, judging from the traces left, was either Monday or Tuesday) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, *i. e.*, Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 456 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year 456+171=627) is Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A. C. On that day, the aforementioned *tithi* ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* falls on the 14th January 705 A. C., which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar

[1] The same epoch appears to be applicable in the case of the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, which should be read as *Saṁ.* 463, not as *Saṁ.* 663. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. XXVI, pp. 163 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

eclipse on that day. In 704 A. C. also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the epoch 247-48 A. C. which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.[1]

2. Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 22, p. 90)—Line 30—*Āśvayuja-bahul-aikādaśyāṁ Tulā-saṁkrāntē ravau*, 'on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the Tulā-*rāśi* (the zodiacal sign of Libra).' Line 39 gives the same *tithi* together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols). The occurrence of the Tulā-saṅkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 460 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 460+172=632), to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A. C. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina *commenced* 45 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 45. m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the *tithi* of the Kāvī plate of K. 486 (No. 23) this was, therefore, a *kshaya-tithi*; but as the Tulā-saṅkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as *current*, the Tulā-saṅkrānti falls on Āśvina pūrṇimā (the 23rd September 709 A. C.), not on Āśvina va. di. 11 as required. In 708 A. C. also, the Tulā-saṅkrānti did not occur on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3. Kāvī plate of Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 23, p. 96)—Lines 15-16—*Ashāḍha-śuddha-daśamyāṁ Karkkaṭaka-rāśau saṁkrāntē ravau*, 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Karkkaṭaka.' Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āshāḍha śu. 12,[2] Sunday, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the Karkaṭa-saṅkrānti in the *expired* year 486 (*i.e.*, in the expired Śaka year 486+172=658) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June 736 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha commenced 21 m. *after* mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of the following day. It was, therefore, a *kshaya-tithi*; but as the Karkaṭa-saṅkrānti took place during the tenth *tithi*, it is coupled with it. Again the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on Sunday (the 24th June 736 A. C.) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the *current* year 486, on the other hand, the saṅkrānti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June 735 A. C., which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In 734 A. C. also, the saṅkrānti did not occur on Āshāḍha śu. di. 10. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4. Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti (No. 25, p. 110)—Lines 31-33—*Saṁ 404, Āshāḍha ba A(A)māvasyā[ṁ*] sūrya-grab-ōparāgē*, 'in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha in the *current* year 404 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year 404+171=575) fell on the 1st June 653 A. C., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the *amānta* Āshāḍha of this year.

[1] According to this epoch of 247-48 A.C., the date should fall in 704 A.C. if the year 456 was a current year, and in 705 A.C. if it was an expired one.

[2] As regards the reading of the number of the *tithi*, see below, p. 98.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the date would fall in 654 A. C., but there was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* should fall in 652 A. C. or 653 A. C., according as the year 404 was current or expired. In 652 A. C. there was no solar eclipse at all. In 653 A. C., of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated *tithi* as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a *uniform* process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C.

5. Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha (No. 28, p. 127)—L. 19—*Chaitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyāṁ Vishuē* (*Vishuvē*), 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox.' Line 28 gives the date *Saṁ* 436 *Chai śu* 10, *i. e.*, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the corresponding Christian date for the *current* year 436 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 436+171=607) is the 21st March 685 A. C. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra *ended* 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day. The saṅkrānti did not thus take place during the 10th *tithi*, but as the *puṇya-kāla* of the Mēsha-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 15 *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti, the *tithi* seems to be coupled with the saṅkrānti.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on the 10th March 686 A. C., but the Mēsha-saṅkrānti took place 10 days later, on the 20th March 686 A. C.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A.C., the date would be expected to fall in 684 A. C. if the year 436 was current, and in 685 A. C. if it was expired. But in 684 A. C. the *tithi* fell on the 3rd March, while the Mēsha-saṅkrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In 685 A.C. the saṅkrānti occurred on the same day as the mentioned *tithi*, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of 247-48 A. C. appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.

A careful examination of these five early dates of the Kalachuri era will show that—

(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.; for, though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.

(2) Date 2 shows that the month of Āśvina stood at the close of the Kalachuri year; *i. e.*, the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Āśvina, probably in Kārttika.

(3) Among the five dates there are only two (2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (2) shows that the month cited in it was *amānta*, and the other date (4) indicates that it was *pūrṇimānta*. From this, one cannot, of course, draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Śaka era, which was current in Maharashtra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalachuri era, were almost invariably *amānta*.[1] Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign of the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti mentions that the Mīna-saṅkrānti in the Śaka year 602 (680-81 A. C.)

[1] Among the 400 dates of the Śaka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

occurred on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.[1] This clearly shows that the month Phālguna was *amānta*. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year as current in Maharashtra and Gujarat were generally *amānta* and only exceptionally *pūrṇimānta*.

(4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3 : 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalachuri era are not verifiable for want of the necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the **Kalachuri era commenced on the amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.**

LATER DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalachuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalachuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of 247-48 A. C., the year commencing on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalachuri era, according to this epoch, was *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C. Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly, to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

1. Banaras plates of Karṇa (No. 48, p. 236)—Lines 39-40—*Śrīmad-Gāṅgēyadēvasya saṁvatsarē(a)-srā(śrā)ddhē Phālguna-va(ba)hula-paksha-dvitīyāyāṁ Sa(śa)naischa(ścha)ra-vāsarē*, 'On the occasion of the first annual *śrāddha* of the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva, on Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' Line 48—*Saṁvat* 793 *Phālguna va di* 9 *Sōmē*, 'on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.'

   Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 793 (*i.e.*, Śaka 793+170=963), to Monday, the 18th January 1042 A.C., on which day the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 18 h. after mean sunrise. In 1041 A. C. the *tithi* fell on a Thursday. So the year cannot be applied as *current*.

   The first date is irregular; for, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January 1042 A.C.), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.[2]

2. Goharwa plates of Karṇa (No. 50, p. 252)—Line 41-42—*Śrīmat-Karṇṇa-prakāśē vyavaharaṇē saptama-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kla-paksha-Kārttikī-paurṇṇamāsyāṁ tithau Guru-dinē*, 'During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karṇa, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika.' As shown elsewhere, Karṇa came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792. If the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign would fall in the *expired* year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year would fall in the *expired* year 799 (*i. e.*, in the expired Śaka year 799 +170=969). The full-moon *tithi* in this year *ended* 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A. C. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some *tithi* before Kārttika *paurṇimā*.

[1] *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Śaka 1834), pp. 169 ff.

[2] See below, pp. 239-40.

If the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in 1046 A. C. But in that year the full-moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

3. Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa (No. 51, p. 263)—Line 31—*[Kha*]ra-[nāmnā(mni) mahā-maṅgala-saṁvatsarē]* ॥800॥ 'In the very auspicious year 800, named Khara.' The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year Khara. Now, the *expired* Kalachuri year 800 corresponded to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding Jovian year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a *current* year, the Jovian year would have been Vikṛita.

4. Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa (No. 53, p. 278)—Line 20—*Saṁvatsata(ra)* 812 *śrīmat-Karṇṇa-prakāsa(śa)-vyavaharaṇayā navama-sam(ṁ)vatsarē Māgha-sudi* 10 *Gurau*, 'In the year 812, the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by Karṇa, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on Thursday.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 812 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 812+170=982) is Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A. C., when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.

In the current year 812, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1060 A. C.

5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, p. 409)—Line 31—*Saṁvat* 866 *Mārgga sudi* 9 *Ravau*, 'In the year 866, on Sunday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśirsha*.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 866 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 866+170=1036), to Sunday, the 8th November 1114 A. C. On that day the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirsha ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the *current* year 866, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 19th November 1113 A. C.

6. Shēorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82, p. 419)—Line 26—*Saṁvata(t)* 878, *Bhādra sudi* 5 *Ravau*, 'In the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 878 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 878+171=1049), to Sunday, the 14th August 1127 A. C. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 878, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday, the 24th August 1126 A. C.

7. Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva (No. 83, p. 423)—Lines 23-24—*Tēn=āsī(śī)ty-adhik-āshṭa-vatsara-śatē jā(yā)tē dinē Gīṣpatēḥ Kārttikyām=atha Rōhiṇ-ībha-samayē rātrēś=cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vvidām=agrataḥ sarvvagrāsam=anushṇagōḥ pravadatā tirṇṇā pratijña-nadī* ॥ 'The expired year 880, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 880 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 880+170=1050), to Thursday, the 8th November 1128 A. C., when the moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was *expired* is important. It shows that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits all later dates, the Kalachuri year must have commenced before Kārttika *pūrṇimā*.

8. Pāragaon plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 122, p. 622)—Lines 22-23—*Rāhu-grastē Kārttikē māsi bhānau*, 'When the sun was devoured by Rāhu in the month of Kārttika'; l. 30—*Kalachuri saṁvatsarē* 885 *Āśvi(śvi)na sudi* 1 *Vu(Bu)dhē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 885, on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on Wednesday.' This date corres-

ponds, for the *expired* year 885 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 885+171=1056), to Wednesday, the 19th September 1134 A. C. On that day the *tithi* Āśvina śu. di. 1 *commenced* 19 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

This date shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some day after Āśvina śu. di. 1.

There was, however, no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika (*amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*) in K. 885 or even in K. 884. Perhaps *Kārttikī māsi* in ll. 22-23 is a mistake for *Śrāvaṇī māsi*; for, there was a solar eclipse in the month of *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa in K. 885, on the 23rd July 1134 A. C.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 885, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 1st September 1133 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required. As stated before, there was no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in that year.

9. Daikoni plates of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 86, p. 443)—Line 23—*Rāhu-grastē rajani-tilakē Kārttikē paṁchadasyā(śyā)ṁ*, 'When the ornament of the night (*i. e.*, the moon) was devoured by Rāhu on the fifteenth *tithi* of Kārttika; ll. 26-27—*Saṁvat* 890, *Mārgga vadi* 11 *Ravau*, 'In the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha*.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 890 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 890+170=1060), to Sunday, the 30th October 1138 A. C. On that day the eleventh *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrsha *commenced* 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. There was a lunar eclipse on the preceding Kārttika *pūrṇimā* (the 19th October 1138 A. C.).

   In the *current* Kalachuri year 890, on the other hand, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrsha fell on Thursday (the 11th November 1137 A. C.). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse in the preceding Kārttika.

10. Rājim stone inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 88, p. 450)–Lines 18-19–*Kalachuri-saṁvatsara(rē)* 896 *Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē rath-āshṭamyāṁ Vu(Bu)dha-dinē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth *tithi* (called *Rathāshṭami*) of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 896+170=1066), to Wednesday, the 3rd January 1145 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

    In the *current* year 896, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1144 A. C.

11. Bilaigarh Plates of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 89, p. 458)—Line 27—*Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi*, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse'; l. 36—*Saṁvat* 896 Aminē 5 (*Āśvinē* 15) 'In the year 896, on the 15th *tithi* of Āśvina'. The date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that in the *expired* year 896 (*i.e.*, in the expired Śaka year 896+170=1066) there were two solar eclipses, one in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha (on the 26th December 1144 A. C.), and the other in the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha (on the 22nd June 1145 A. C.). The latter is probably intended here.

    In the *current* year 896, there was no solar eclipse.

12. Pāragaon plates of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 123, p. 626)—Line 37—*Saṁvat* 897 *Phālguna su di* 15 *Vu(Bu)dhavārē*, 'In the year 897, on the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on Wednesday.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 897 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 897+170=1067), to Wednesday, the 27th February 1146 A. C. On that day the *tithi* Phālguna śu. di. 15 *commenced* 8 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

    In the *current* Kalachuri year 897, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 9th February 1145 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required.

13. Amōdā plates (first set) of Pṛithvidēva II (No. 91, p. 474)—Line 24—*Chaitrē sōma-grahē sati*; l. 32—*Saṁvat* 900, 'The year 900, with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 900 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 900+171=1071) is Friday, the 25th March 1149 A. C. On that day there was a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

   In the *current* year 900 (1148 A. C.), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in Chaitra.

14. Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarṇadēva (No. 58, p. 305)—Lines 20-22—*Navasa-(śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādhikya-gē Chēdi-dishṭa(ṭē)* । *ja[na*]padam=avat=imaṁ śrī-Gayākarṇṇadēvē* । *Pratipadi śuchi-māsa-śvēta-pakshē=rkka-vārē*.. ॥, 'In the year 902 of the Chēdi era, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarṇa.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 902 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 902+171=1073), to Sunday, the 17th June 1151 A. C., on which day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise.

   In the *current* year 902, on the other hand, there were two Āshāḍhas. In the *adhika* Āshāḍha, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 29th May 1150 A. C., and in the *nija* Āshāḍha, on Tuesday, the 27th June 1150 A. C.

15. Amodā plates (second set) of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 94, p. 491)—Line 35—*Maṁ(Saṁ)-vata(t)* 905 *Āsvi(śvi)na su di* 6 *Bhaumē*, 'In the year 905, on Tuesday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 905 (*i. e.*, Saka year 905+171=1076), to Tuesday, the 14th September 1154 A. C. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina *commenced* 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1152 A. C. if the Kalachuri year 905 is taken as current, and in 1153 A. C. if it is taken as expired. But in 1152 A. C. the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September), and in 1153 A. C. it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

16. Bhērā-Ghāṭ stone inscription of Narasiṁha (No. 60, p. 312)—Line 29—*Saṁvat* 907 *Mārgga sudi* 11 *Ravau*, '(in) the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirsha.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 907 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 907+170=1077), to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., on which day the *tithi commenced* 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined to the week-day 'which was almost entirely filled by it.' In the *current* year 907, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 17th November 1154 A. C.

17. Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription of Narasiṁha (No. 61, p. 321)—Line 7—[*Saṁ*]*vat* 909 *Srā(Śrā)vaṇa su di* 5 *Vuddhē* (*Budhē*), 'In the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa.' In the *expired* Kalachuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired Saka year 909+171=1080) there were two Śrāvaṇas. The first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently meant here;[1] for, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July 1158 A. C.

   In the *current* year 909, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 13th July 1157 A. C.

18. Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha (No. 63, p. 324)—Lines 25-26—*Saṁvat* 918 *Āśvina su di paurṇṇamāsyāṁ tithau sa(śa)ni-dinē*...... *Sōma-grahaṇē*, 'In the year 918, on Saturday,

[1] For another instance of an intercalary month not so specified, see date 20, below.

the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 918 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 918+171=1089), to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1165 A. C. if the year was current, and in 1166 A. C. if it was expired. But in 1165 A. C. the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September), and in 1166 A. C. it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

If the year 918 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* should fall in 1166 A. C., but as shown above, it would not be regular.

19. Rewa plate of Jayasiṁha (No. 65, p. 340)—Line 14—*Saṁvat* 926, *Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pakshē* [*Cha*]*turthyāṁ tithau Guru-dinē Rāṇaka-śrī-Vatsarājaśya*(*sya*) *nimittē piṁḍ-ārchana-sthānē*, 'In the year 926, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious Vatsarāja'. The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 926 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 926+171=1097), to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A. C. On that day, the *tithi* commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the week-day as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the *śrāddha*.

 In the *current* year 926, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 3rd August 1174 A. C.

20. Tewar stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (No. 66, p. 344)—Line 7—*Saṁvat* 928 *Śrāvaṇa su di* 6 *Ravau Hastē*, 'In the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Hasta.' There were two Śrāvaṇas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 928 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year 928+171=1099). Of these, the first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is intended here;[1] for, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A. C. and the *nakshatra* Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa of that year, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 1st August, and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā.

 In the *current* year 928, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 14th July 1176 A.C., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā.

21. Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No. 115, p. 595)—Line 5—*Samvat* 934, *Kārttika su di* 15 *Vu*(*Bu*)*dhe*, 'In the year 934, on Wednesday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 934 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 934+170=1104), to Wednesday, the 13th October 1182 A. C. On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h. after mean sunrise.

 In the *current* year 934, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 24th October, 1181 A. C.

22. Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha (No. 68, p. 346)—Line 26—*Chatvāriṁśaty-adhikē=vdē*(*bdē*) *chaturbhir=nnavamē śatē* । *Sukrē Sāhasamall-āṅkē Nābhasye prathamē dinē* ॥ *Saṁvat* 944 *Bhādrapada su di* 1, *Sukrē*, 'In the year 944 called *Sāhasamallāṅka*, on Friday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 944 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 944+171=1115), to Friday, the 30th July 1193

[1] For a similar case of an intercalary month, cited without being specified as such, see above, page xvii, date 17.

A.C. On that day, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 944, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 10th August 1192 A. C.

23. Bēsāni stone inscription (No. 71, p. 368)—Line 1—*Saṁvata(t)* [9]58 *prathama-Āsha(shā)-ḍhā sudi* 3—The *expired* Kalachuri year 958 corresponds to 1206-07 A. C. In 1207 A. C. there were two Āshāḍhas, of which the first or intercalary Āshāḍha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June.

In the *current* year 957, on the other hand, there was no intercalary Āshāḍha.

24. Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, p. 369)—Line 7—*Saṁma(va)t* 963 *Jyēshṭha su di* 7 *Sōmē dinaṁ(nē)*, 'In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha.' The details do not work out satisfactorily; for, according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th May 1211 A. C.), if the year 963 was current, and on Wednesday (the 9th May 1212 A. C.) if it was expired. In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that *Sōmē* (Monday) is a mistake for *Saumyē* (Wednesday), in which case the date would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

25. Peṇḍrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 101, p. 543)—Line 26—*grāmō Makara-saṁ-krāntau dattaḥ saṁkalpa-pūrvakaḥ*; l. 35—*Saṁvata(t)* 965..... *Māgha su di* 10 *Maṅgala-dinē.* The details of the date are 'Makara-saṅkrānti; the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright fortnight of Māgha.' As it stands, the date is irregular; for, in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of 'Māgha connected with a Tuesday'. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi*, the date corresponds, for the *expired* year 965 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 965+170=1135), regularly to Tuesday, the 7th January 1214 A. C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-*saṅkrānti* had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December 1213 A. C.

In the *current* year 965, the *tithi* Māgha śu. di. 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd February 1213 A. C.

26. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadēva (No. 117, p. 599)—Lines 7 and 8—*Īsva(śva)ra-saṁvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē su(sū)ry-ōparāgē*; l. 10—*Saṁvat* 966, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Īśvara, in the year 966'. The date corresponds, for the expired year 966 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 966+170=1136), to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C., when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kāṅkēr, the *tithi* being the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, and *nakshatra* Chitrā. The cyclic year, however, does not agree. According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhāva, and according to the northern system it was Bahudhānya. The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness.

In the current year 966, on the other hand, there was no solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Kārttika.

27. Bilaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 102, p. 549)—Line 28—*Āshāḍhyāṁ Sōma-parvaṇi*; l. 38—*Saṁvat* 969, 'A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha; in the year 969.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 969 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 969+171=1140), to the 9th July 1218 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha ended 18 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise and there was also a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

In the *current* year 969 (corresponding to 1217 A. C.), there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha.

Dates in Current Years

28. Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadēva (No. 47, p. 234)—Line 1—*Samvat* 772, *Kārttika su di* 12 *Vu(Bu)dha-dinē*, 'on Wednesday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772.'

    This date, occurring in the month of Kārttika, should fall in 1019 A. C. if the year 772 was current, and in 1020 A. C. if it was expired; but in 1019 A. C., the aforementioned *tithi* ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), and in 1020 A. C., 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a Wednesday. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked, it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October 1019 A. C.

29. Sārnāth stone inscription of Karṇa (No. 52, p. 275)—Line 6—*Samva[tsarē*][8*]10 *Asvina* (*Āśvina*) [*su*]*di* 15 *Ravau* 'In the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date corresponds, for the *current* year 810 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 810+170=980), to Sunday, the 4th October 1058 A. C. On that day the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

    In the *expired* year 810, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday, the 24th September 1059 A. C.

30. Raipur Plate of Pṛithvīdēva I (No. 75, p. 398)—Line 7—*Uttarāyaṇa-sakrau* (*saṅkrāntau*), 'On the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti'; l. 17—*Saṁvat* 821, *Magha va di* 8 *Ravau*, 'In the year 821 on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 821, to Sunday, the 18th January 1069 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Māgha ended at 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The Uttarāyaṇa- or Makara-saṅkrānti had occurred more than a fortnight before, on the 23rd December 1068 A. C.

    According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 20th December 1068 A. C., and the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred three days after, on the 23rd December.

    If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha fell on Thursday (the 7th January 1070 A. C.) and in the *amānta* Māgha on Saturday (the 6th February 1070 A. C.). In both the cases it would have to be regarded as irregular.

31. Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I (No. 76, p. 401)—Lines 27-28—*Gha(Phā)lguna-krishṇa-saptamyāṁ Ravi-dinē*; l. 41—*Chēd-isa(śa)sya Saṁ* 831, 'In the year 831, on Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 831 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year 831+169=1000), to Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A. C. On that day, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

    In the *expired* year 831, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Thursday, the 16th January 1080 A. C.

32. Shēorinārāyaṇ statue inscription (No. 110, p. 582)—Line 5—*Kalachuri-saṁvatsarē*॥ 898॥ *Asvini*(*Āśvina*) *su di* 2 *Sōma-dinē*. This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 898 (*i.e.*, the expired Saka year 898+170=1068), to Monday, the 9th September 1146 A. C. On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

    In the *expired* year 898, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Sunday, the 28th September 1147 A. C.

33. Kōni stone inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 90, p. 463)—Line 25—*Rāhu-mukha-sthē bhānau*, 'When the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu'; l. 28—*Sam(ṁ)vat* 900, 'In the year 900.' In the *current* year 900, there was a solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha (on the 20th April 1148 A. C.), but none at all in the expired year.
34. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No. 116, p. 596)—Line 9—*Saṁvata(t)* 965 *Bhādrapadā va di* 10, *Mriga-ri(ṛi)kshē Sōdma(ma)-dinē*, 'In the year 965, on Monday, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the *nakshatra* being Mṛiga.' This date corresponds, for the *current* year 965 (or the expired Śaka year 965+170=1135), to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A.C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada *commenced* 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Mṛiga ended 14 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. Though the *tithi* was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August 1214 A. C.).

A careful examination of these 34 later dates[1] of the Kalachuri era will show that—

(1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.; for, though the first twenty-seven dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., that epoch will not at all do for the remaining seven dates 28-34.
(2) The dates 6, 19 and 22 clearly show that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the Kalachuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalachuri year was *Bhādrapadādi* is, therefore, wholly untenable.
(3) The dates 8, 15 and 18 indicate that the month Āśvina stood at the close, and not in the beginning, of the Kalachuri year. Kielhorn's final view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi* is clearly disproved by these three dates.
(4) From the date 18 it appears that the Kalachuri year commenced some time after Āśvina śu. di. 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu. di. 15. Between these two limits the only *tithi* which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalachuri year is Kārttika śu. di. 1. This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 28, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the week-day.
(5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only seven, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34, which fell in the dark fortnight. Six of these, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 31 and 34 work out satisfactorily only with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months and only one, *viz.* 30, with the *amānta* scheme. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year generally ended on the full-moon day.

[1] Among these 34 dates there are only three, *viz.*, Nos. 24, 25 and 28, which are slightly irregular. The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of 247-48 A.C. The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case :—(1) The Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 56), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong. See below, pp. 301-02. (2) The Ghoṭiā plates of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 92), because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect. See below, p. 479. (3) The Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (No. 99), because the last figure of the date is uncertain. See below, p. 529. (4) The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (No. 64), because its evidence is not conclusive; the date can be taken as recorded either in a current or in an expired year. See below, p. 332, n. 2. All these dates have, however, been fully discussed in the introductory articles of these inscriptions. I have omitted one more date, *viz.*, K. 928, Māgha-vadi 10, Monday, though it regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 928, to Monday, the 27th December 1176 A.C.; for, it is known only from a statement o Cunningham. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 and *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 27 : 7, which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of the other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era clearly establishes that the **era commenced on the pūrṇimānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C.**

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era which contained the necessary details for computation, *viz.*, that the era commenced on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of the country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year.[1] Again, though the year continued to be *Kārttikādi*, its months bacame *pūrṇimānta* in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

The Kalachuri-Chēdi era, therefore, originally commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ERA

We shall next turn to the question, 'What historical event does this era commemorate?' For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration.

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as *Chēdi-saṁvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat* and *Kalachuri-saṁvat*, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times; for, in the early records of the Mahārājas of Khandesh, the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word *saṁvat*. The name *Chēdi-saṁvat*, *Chēdi-dishṭa* (or *Chd-īśasya saṁvat*) and *Kalachuri-saṁvat* occur in only nine records,[2] eight of which come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. C. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalachuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh, as in several other parts of India, was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.[3] When the Kalachuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh, they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home province of Ḍāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as *Kalachuri-saṁvat*. The other name *Chēdi-saṁvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat* was also appropriate; for, the Imperial family to which the Tummāṇa branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Chēdi country.

[1] A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Śaka 1322 of No. 107. The correct date was *expired* Śaka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as *current* and so put down Śaka 1322, evidently as an expired year. Three other instances of the same type (*viz.*, expired Śaka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268.

[2] The phrase *Chēd-īśasya saṁ* occurs in the date 831 of No. 76, *Chēdi-saṁvat* in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 98 and 100, and *Chēdi-dishṭa* in the date 902 of No. 58 (which is in verse). The expression *Kalachuri-saṁvatsara* is noticed in the dates 885, 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 122, 87, 88, 110 and 95 respectively. Of these, only the date 902 comes from the country, north of the Narmadā.

[3] See, for instances, the dates of the records of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Āraṅg plate of Bhīmasēna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripurī is invariably referred to as *Chēd-īśa*, *Chēdi-narēndra* or *Chaidya* (the lord of Chēdi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.[1] These names of the era do not, therefore, indicate that the era was started by the Kalachuris or that it originated in the Chēdi country.

The other name *Traikūṭaka*, which is sometimes used to designate the era, is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kaṇhēri plate, dated K. 245, as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.[2]

Like several other eras, the era of 249-50 A. C. also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word *saṁ* or *saṁvat*.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. C., *i. e.*, until after its introduction in the Chēdi country by the Kalachuris. We have already seen that the theories that the records of Kanishka and his successors, the so-called Kushāṇaputras, the Maghas of Kauśāmbī and the Uchchakalpas of Central India are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era are untenable.[3] The era must, therefore, have originated south of the Narmadā.

These considerations point to Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in *circa* 250 A. C. in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Purāṇas say that when the kingdom of the Andhras will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.[4] Among these latter are mentioned ten Ābhīra kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Andhras came to an end. The duration of the Andhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas, *viz.*, as 460 years by the *Matsya*, 411 by the *Vāyu* and 456 by the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*.[5] The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however, some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Śaka Satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Maharashtra. The Sātavāhanas, who were ousted from this part of the country, seem to have retired to Vidarbha.[6] They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kshaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.[7] The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign; for, soon after

[1] See line 19 of No. 77, l. 5 of No. 93 and l. 18 of No. 98. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Chēdi is erroneous.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 567.

[3] See above, pp. viii ff.; also *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataksha of the Kushāṇaputra dynasty (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.), it is in the first place not clear that there was such a dynasty; for, the expression *Kushāṇaputra* occurs only in one record, *viz.*, that of Vamataksha himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kushāṇa family'.

[4] Cf. Andhrāṇām saṁsthitē rājyē teshām bhṛity-ānvayā nṛipāḥ | sapt=aiv=Āndhrā bhavishyanti daś=Ābhīrās=tathā nṛipāḥ || *D. K. A.*, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45 and n. 33.

[6] Gautamīputra calls himself *Bēṇākaṭaka-svāmī* in his Nāsik cave inscription (Lüders' List, No. 1125). That Bēṇākaṭa was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tirōḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

[7] See the expression *Khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa* describing Gautamīputra in l. 6 of the Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' List, No. 1123; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nasik.[1] The Kshaharāta Satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself; for we know of no successor of the latter. Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restruck Kshatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule. The Jogaltembhi hoard, discovered in 1906, contained hundreds of coins of this type. But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna, which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna.[2]

Now, the last known date of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Saka era. It is thus equivalent to *circa* 124 A. C. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, 124 A. C. becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign. Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* 107 A. C. The Purāṇas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign-periods as follows :—

Gautamīputra	..	21 years,	*circa*	107—127	A. C.
Puḷumāvi II	..	28 ,,	,,	128—155	,,
Sātakarṇi	..	29 ,,	,,	156—184	,,
Sivaśrī Puḷumāvi III	..	7 ,,	,,	185—191	,,
Śivaskanda	..	3 ,,	,,	192—194	,,
Yajñaśrī	..	29 ,,	,,	195—223	,,
Vijaya	..	6 ,,	,,	224—229	,,
Chaṇḍaśrī Śāntikarṇa	..	10 ,,	,,	230—239	,,
Puḷumāvi IV	..	7 ,,	,,	240—246	,,

The find of potin coins at Tarhāḷā in the Akola District of Berar plainly indicates that all these kings[3] continued to hold Maharashtra to the end of the Sātavāhana age. The reign-periods mentioned in the Purāṇas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy. In the first place, there are many variants, and even if we take the readings supported by the best MSS., their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions. The Purāṇas, for instance, assign a reign-period of only 21 years to Gautamīputra, but from a Nasik cave inscription[4] he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years. There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also. Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Saka year 46 and not later. Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Maharashtra till the middle of the 3rd century A. C. The Purāṇas say that the successors of the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) were the Ābhīras. And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Sivadatta, at Nasik.[5] Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit in its language suggest that Īśvarasēna flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit. Īśvarasēna's father Śivadatta bears no princely title. This indicates that Īśvarasēna was the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

[2] See *P. H. A. I.* (fourth ed.), p. 490.

[3] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff. The hoard contained coins of Sātakarṇi (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Puḷumāvi, Śivaśrī-Puḷumāvi, Skanda (probably identical with Śivaskanda), Yajñaśrī, Vijaya, Karṇa, probably the same as Chaṇḍaśrī-Śāntikarṇa, and Puḷuhāmavi (probably identical with Puḷumāvi IV). Some of the coins with legend *Sātakaṇisa* can, on palæographic grounds, be referred to a Sātakarṇi later than Gautamīputra. They were probably issued by the (Vāsishṭhīputra) Sātakarṇi who according to a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* succeeded Puḷumāvi and ruled for 29 years. *D. K. A.*, p. 42.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

[5] No. 1.

founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps, he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.[1] From the Gunda inscription[2] we know of another Ābhīra *Sēnāpati* named Rudrabhūti, the son of the commander Bāhaka, who was in the service of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I in 181 A. C. Īśvarasēna may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Puḷumāvi IV. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded may have helped him in usurping the throne after Puḷumāvi IV.

Several scholars identify this Īśvarasēna with Īśvaradatta whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal years have been discovered at several places in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has, however, been a great divergence of opinion.[3] Pandit Bhagvanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176, for which no coins of the Western Kshatrapas were available in his time. Later on, Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvāṇiā hoard. Īśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Ābhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly; for, the Nasik inscription shows that the Ābhīras bore names ending in *datta* as well as in *sēna*. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Īśvarasēna, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign[4] and are found only in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana.[5] This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kshatrapas. If he later on retired to Maharashtra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there; for, the Nāsik inscription shows that Īśvarasēna continued to hold Maharashtra at least till the ninth regnal year.

Prof. Rapson, who placed Īśvaradatta in the gap of Saka 159-160, suggested that the era of 249-50 A. C. might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during one of the successors of Īśvardatta rather than its first beginnings.[6] But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāṇa era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates by his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudēva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of 249-50 A. C. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas unfortunately do not name these Ābhīra kings, but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised parts of Central India as well as Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhiras and the Traikūṭakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial name, and Traikūṭaka, a regional one. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either *datta* or *sēna*, which lends colour to this identification.

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[1] It may be noted that the Purāṇas call the Ābhiras *Andhrabhṛityas* or servants of the Andhras (*i.e.*, of the Sātavāhanas).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 650.

[3] See above, pp. vii ff.

[4] The legend on his coins is *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshē prathamē* (or *dvitīyē*).

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvāṇiā, where also the coins of *Īśvaradatta* were found, is in the former Bānswārā State in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwara District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Īśvaradatta. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, Num. Suppl., pp. 95 ff.

[6] *C. A. D.*, p. clxii.

But the Chandravallī inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman,[1] which may be referred to the fourth century A.C., mentions the Ābhīras separately from the Traikūṭakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Ābhīras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh,[2] held imperial sway, while the Traikūṭakas, who rose to power in the Nasik District, may have been a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Ābhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Ābhīra kings. This is abnormally low. Perhaps the expression *sapta-shashṭi śatān=iha*,[3] stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, is a mistake for *sapta-shashṭiṁ śataṁ=ch=ēha*.[4] In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A. C. After the fall of the Ābhīra dynasty the Traikūṭakas attained imperial position. As shown elsewhere, *Mahārāja* Indradatta, the first known Traikūṭaka king, seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 415—440 A. C.[5] He and his successors continued the era started by the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, as it had by that time become 'the habitual and well-estabalished reckoning of the country.' The history of other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is, therefore, not surprising that the era of the Ābhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

LOCALITY OF THE ERA

The earliest date of the era is K. 9, which belongs to the reign of the founder, the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. The next three dates, *viz.*, K. 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors. We have then the dates K. 102 and 167, the first from Kānākhērā near Sāñchī and the second from the former Barwāni State, which belong to the reigns of the Saka king Srīdharavarman and Subandhu of Māhishmatī respectively and clearly show that the era had spread beyond the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates K. 207, 241 and 245 belong to the Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Gujarat, Konkan and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K. 292 of No. 11. It belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Saṅgamasiṁha, who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūṭakas. The next date K. 322 of No. 120 comes from the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of Svāmirāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja.

Of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, we have the next three dates, *viz.*, K. 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, one of which belong to Gujarat and the other two to the Nāsik District of Maharashtra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat north of the Kīm after the fall of the Kalachuris furnish the next eight dates, *viz.*, K. 380, 385, 391 392 (in two grants) 427, 456, 460 and 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 16-20, 121 and 21-24. Contemporaneously with these, we have two dates, *viz.*, K. 404 and 406 of Nos. 25 and 26, belonging to the

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[1] *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), p. 50.

[2] Ābhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmēr in the Pimpalner *tālukā* of West Khandesh) till the time of the Later Yādava king Siṁhaṇa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

[3] *D. K. A.*, p. 46, n. 37.

[4] For a similar expression, see *pañcha varsha-śatān=īha* (*ibid.*, p. 47), which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. *Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 15.

[5] See below, p. xlii.

Sēndrakas, who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, and four more, *viz.*, K. 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos. 27-30, furnished by the records of a feudatory Chālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sēndrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Hariśchandrīyas, whom the Western Chālukyas placed in charge of Konkan and the Nasik District, furnish only one date, *viz.*, K. 461 of No. 31.

After K. 461 (709-10 A. C.) we have no dates of this era from Konkan or Maharashtra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Śaka era. The Western Chālukyas and their feudatories, the Sēndrakas, who came from the Kanarese country, were using the Śaka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarat and Maharashtra, they continued to use the Kalachuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced there the Śaka era which was current in their home province. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti, for instance, issued two charters in 656 A. C. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them (No. 26) which records the gift of a village in Gujarāt is dated in the year 406 of the Kalachuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Śaka era.[1] Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also, who was ruling over Khandesh, dates his Mundkhēḍē plates in the Śaka era.[2] The Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas generally used the Kalachuri era in dating their land-grants in Gujarat. But Maṅgalarāja, who succeeded Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, is known to have issued a charter, dated in the year 653 of the Śaka era.[3] The charter is not forthcoming now, but in view of another record of the same prince from the Thana District[4] it may be conjectured that it registered a grant of land in North Konkan.

In the Nasik District and Gujarat the Kalachuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from the Nasik District is K. 461 (710-11 A. C.).[5] The Śaka era, which had already penetrated into Southern Maharashtra before 687 A. C., the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya,[6] soon ousted the Kalachuri era from Northern Maharashtra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till 740 A. C.; for, the Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin are dated K. 490 (740 A. C.). After Pulakeśin's death, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by the Chāhamānas, who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V. 814 (756 A.C.).[7] Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa family which for the first time introduced the Śaka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Śaka 679 (757 A. C.).[8] After the middle of the 8th century A.C. we have no date of the Kalachuri era from Konkan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the provinces where it had originated five centuries before.

When the Kalachuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālañjara and Tripurī, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier

[1] See the Nāgad plates, dated Śaka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the *Saṁśōdhaka* (Dhulia), Vol. VIII.

[2] They are dated in Śaka 602. See *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Ś. 1834), pp. 169-171.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

[4] This charter is dated Ś. 613 and records the grant of some villages in the Thana District of the Bombay State. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

[5] If my reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora plates are correct, that record would furnish a later date, *viz.*, K. 463 from the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX., pp. 63 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

[8] See the Antroli-Chharoli plates of Karka II, Ś. 679. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions.[1] Unfortunately, the earliest records of this era found at Saugor and Chhoṭi-Deori are undated. The first date of the Kalachuri era obtained from North India is K. 593 (841-42 A. C.) of No. 37, furnished by a record from Kāṭītalāī in the Jabalpur District. It is followed by twenty dates ranging from K. 724 to K. 963. Most of them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. Among these, seven dates, *viz.*, K. 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos. 44, 47, 1 (App.), 51, 53, 56 and 70 respectively, come from the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh; two dates, *viz.*, K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 958 of No. 71, are furnished by the former States of Nāgōd and Pannā; two more dates, *viz.*, K. 793 of No. 48 and K. 810 of No. 52, are obtained from Uttar Pradesh and the remaining six, *viz.*, 529 (?), 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 of Nos. 2 (App.), 58, 60, 63, 64 and 66 respectively, are supplied by the Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor Districts of Madhya Pradesh. Two dates, *viz.*, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 944 of No. 67, belong to the feudatories of the Kalachuris, *viz.*, Kīrtivarman and Malayasiṁha, who were holding parts of the former Rewa State. The territory round Rewa passed into the possession of the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla (or Trailōkyavarman) in *circa* K. 962. The Chandēllas were using the Vikrama era in their own records, but in the Dhureti plates which record a transaction made in the beginning of Trailōkyamalla's rule in the Chēdi country the Kalachuri era, not the Vikrama saṁvat, is used for the purpose of dating.

K. 963 (1212 A. C.) is the last date of the Kalachuri era which comes from North India. With the contraction of Kalachuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yaśaḥkarṇa, the era gradually lost ground to its rival, *viz.*, the Vikrama saṁvat which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, the Chandēllas and the Gāhaḍavālas. The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates, V. 1216 (1159 A. C.) of No. 62 and V. 1253 (1195 A. C.) of No. 68. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewa State, and mention the contemporary Kalachuri Suzerains Narasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha. But instead of being dated in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama saṁvat. With the downfall of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the era vanished from North India.

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period 750 to 1215 A. C. the era was current some time or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Banaras, from there through Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jabalpur District.

When a branch of the Kalachuri family established itself at Tummāṇa towards the close of the ninth century A. C., it introduced the era in Dakshiṇa Kōsala. But here too, as in the other parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available. The first date which comes from Chhattisgarh is K. 821 (1069 A. C.) of No. 75. This is followed by 24 other dates ranging from K. 831 to K. 969. They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chhattisgarh including the former States of Kawardhā and Kāṅkēr. Down to 1220 A. C. the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundary of the Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda districts in the west to that of the Raigarh District in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern part of the Bastar District in the south.[2] After 1220

[1] The branch of the Kalachuris which established itself in the country of Sarayūpāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalachuri era.

[2] Two copper-plate inscriptions, dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era, have been found at Soro in the Balasore District and Paṭiākellā in the Cuttack District of Orissa respectively (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol.

A.C. the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalachuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama saṁvat. The earliest of such dates is V. 1458 (1402 A. C.) of No. 107, which belongs to the reign of the later Kalachuri king Brahmadēva, who ruled at Raipur and Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalārī) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalachuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalachuri date 900 of No. 93 to 1207 of the Vikrama saṁvat.

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CALCULATED DATES

Jovian years—Only three Kalachuri dates, *viz.*, K. 522 of No. 120, K. 800 of No. 51, and K. 966 of No. 117 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these is of the twelve-year cycle, and the other two, of the sixty-year cycle. The first date is regular, but suggests a new epoch of the era, *viz.*, 250-51 A. C. The second date works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system; for, the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalachuri year 800. The third date has quoted the cyclic year Īśvara incorrectly; for, according to the northern mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the cited Kalachuri year.[1]

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 958 of No. 71 cites an intercalary month, *viz.*, Āshāḍha which is specified as *prathama* Āshāḍha. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, *viz.*, K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 928 of No. 66, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof. Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Śaka dates in which the months were intercalary, though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.[2]

Irregular *tithis*—The only cases of irregular *tithis* noticed among the dates of the Kalachuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are five, *viz.*, K. 772 of No. 47, K. 823 of No. 56, K. 885 of No 122, K. 963 of No. 72 and K. 965 of No. 101. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day, which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining three cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Besides these, there is one more date, *viz.*, K. 1000 of No. 92, in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current *tithis*—In ten dates (*viz.*, K. 460 of No. 22, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 486 of No. 23, K. 885 of No 122, K. 890 of No. 86, K. 897 of No. 123, K. 905 of No. 94, K. 907 of No. 60, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 965 of No. 116) the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it *commenced*, and not, as is usual, with the week-day on which it *ended*. In the first and third of these cases the reason is obvious; for, they are cases of saṅkrāntis which occurred during the particular *tithis*, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The second case is similar to that of Śaka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western

(*Continued from the last page.*)
XXIII, pp. 197 ff., and Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff). They refer themselves to the reign of *Mahārāja* Śambhuyaśas, the ruler of Tōsalī. These dates have been referred to the Kalachuri era on the evidence of palæography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 182, and the Ganjām plates of Śaśāṅka, dated in the year 300, expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in Chhattisgarh and Ganjām in the sixth and seventh centuries A. C. As for the early forms of the test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for, as these records fall in the period 580-603 A. C. if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

[1] In two other records edited here (*viz.*, Nos. 107 and 108) the cyclic years are correctly cited according to the northern luni-solar system, but these records are dated not in the Kalachuri, but in the Vikrama and Śaka eras. [2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 411; Vol. XXV, p. 271.

Chālukya Sōmēśvara II) which Prof. Kielhorn has taken to be regular.[1] In the seventh and eighth cases the *tithis* which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The sixth and ninth are *śrāddha-tithis*, and it is well-known that for the performance of a *śrāddha* the particular *tithi* is required to be current in the afternoon. In the remaining cases the *tithi* may have been cited, because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of *tithis*—The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called *akshaya-tṛitīyā* in the date K. 905 of No. 94. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, but only in two records (*viz.*, Nos. 11 and 30) the *tithi* is called *Mahā-Kārttikī*. The eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called *Rath-āshṭamī* in No. 88. This *tithi* goes now by the name of *Bhīshm-āshṭamī*, the preceding *tithi* being called *Ratha-saptamī*. The latter is correctly named in No. 121. Appendix, No. 4 mentions a *yugādi* as a holy *tithi* on which Gōsaladēvī, the mother of the king Vijaya-siṁha, bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakshatras—No early record of the era mentions any *nakshatra*. The first inscription in which a *nakshatra* is referred to is No. 83. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika *paurṇimā* in K 880. *Nakshatras* are correctly quoted in three other records, *viz.*, Hasta in K. 928 of No. 66, Mṛiga in the date K. 965 of No. 116 and Chitrā in K. 966 of No. 117. There is no mention of *karaṇas*, *yōgas* or *lagnas* anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates, *viz.*, K. 456 of No 21; K. 880 of No. 83; K. 890 of No. 86; K. 900 of No. 91; K. 918 of No. 63 and K. 969 of No. 102. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy; for, it was predicted by an astrologer in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadēva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited in seven dates, *viz.*, K. 322 of No. 120; K. 404 of No. 25; K. 885 of No. 122; K. 896 of No. 89; K. 900 of No. 90; K. 926 of No. 64 and K. 966 of No. 117. All these eclipses, except that in K. 885, occurred on the days and in the years mentioned and were visible in India. As regards the eclipse in K. 885, there is probably a mistake in the specification of the month in which it occurred.

Saṅkrāntis—Three early dates, *viz.*, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 460 of No. 22 and K. 486 of No. 24, mention saṅkrāntis. The first of these—the Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkranti—took place about seven hours before the commencement of the *tithi* with which it is coupled.[2] The other two saṅkrāntis, *viz.*, the Tulā and the Karkaṭaka, occurred during the respective *tithis*. Among later dates, only three, *viz.*, K. 821 of No. 75, K. 823 of No. 56, and K. 965 of No. 101, record grants made on the occasion of saṅkrāntis. In the first of these, the saṅkrānti was the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara; in the second, it is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, it must have been Mīna. This saṅkrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827. The third saṅkrānti was again Makara, but it is not coupled with any *tithi* or week-day and, therefore, does not admit of verification.[3]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 294.

[2] For a similar case, see the date Ś. 996. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

[3] The Jabalpur copper-plate inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 57) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate, now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see below, p. 302. No. 74 also mentions the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti which occurred during the stated *tithi*, but its date belongs not to the Kalachuri era, but to the Vikrama era.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE ABHIRAS

The Ābhīras were an ancient race which, according to the *Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa* and the Purāṇas, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Panjab in the north to Maharashtra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Sūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India.[1] They spoke a language which, according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*[2], was called Apabhraṁśa. The *Mahābhārata*[3] and the *Vāyupurāṇa*[4] call them *Mlēchchhas*. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly.[5] Like the Sūdras, therefore, the Ābhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually admitted to the Hindu fold.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Ābhīras dwelling in the north-west of India, *viz.*, those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers.[6] In another passage the epic states that the *tīrtha* Vinaśana lay in the country of the Ābhīras as the sacred river Sarasvatī disappeared at the place through hatred of the Sūdras and the Ābhīras living there.[7] Elsewhere, Pañchanada, the land of the five rivers, is described as the stronghold of the Ābhīras.[8] We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvārakā to Hastināpura after the internecine fight amongst the Yādavas, he was attacked by the Ābhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Panjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā as the original home-land of the Ābhīras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and to Saurashtra, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the south. Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the country of the Ābhīras. It was situated above Pattalene on the Sindhu and probably corresponds to the central portion of Sindh above the delta of that river.[9] According to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Sūdras and the Ābhīras inhabited the provinces of Saurāshṭra, Avanti (Western Malwa), Sūra (Mathurā), Arbuda (Aravali) and Marubhūmi (Marwad).[10] The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra country with Kōṅkaṇa among the *janapadas* of the south.[11] Parāśara, cited in the commentary of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, also groups the Sūdra-Ābhīra country with Saurāshṭra, Mahārāshṭra, Sindhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west.[12] The *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍēya* Purāṇas mention in one passage that the Ābhīras dwelt in the north-west region, but in another passage they place them in the south together with the

[1] See *MBH.*, Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10; Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1; Parāśara cited in *BS.*, Vol. I, p. 288; *VSHP.*, aṁśa II, ad. 3, v. 16.

[2] *Kāvyādarśa*, ch. I, v. 36. Namisādhu, a commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, also mentions Ābhīra as one of the three varieties of Apabhraṁśa. See *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II, 12. According to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVIII, 44), the language of the Ābhīras was called Śābarī.

[3] *MBH.* Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, v. 63.

[4] *VP.*, ad. 37, v. 263.

[5] *Mahābhāshya*, (ed. by Kielhorn), Vol. I, p. 2. The Mlēchchhas were not necessarily foreigners. Pāṇini in his *Dhātupāṭha* gives √ *mlēchchh* in the sense of 'indistinct speech'. The word occurs in a Brāhmaṇa passage cited in the *Mahābhāshya*, *loc. cit.*

[6] Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

[7] Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1.

[8] Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, vv. 45 ff. Also *VSHP.*, aṁśa V, ad. 38, v. 12.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 324.

[10] *VSHP.*, aṁśa IV, ad. 24, v. 68.

[11] *BS.*, Vol. I, p. 288.

[12] *Loc. cit.*

inhabitants of Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha, Aśmaka, Kuntala and others.[1] In a third passage the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhṛigukachchha, Kōṅkaṇa, Mahārāshṭra, Karṇāta, the country on the banks of the Vēṇī (Waingaṅgā), Nāsikya and others.[2] These passages seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district of the Bombay State.

From ancient times the Ābhīras have followed the profession of cowherds. Their settlement was called *ghōsha*.[3] The *Harivaṁśa* describes how Kṛishṇa, the incarnation of Vishṇu, was brought up, since his birth, in a *ghōsha* or settlement of cowherds.[4] From certain similarities between the early lives of Kṛishṇa and Christ, such as the worship of the boy-god, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of innocents, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar inferred that the Ābhīras must have brought these stories with them when they migrated to India in the first century of the Christian era.[5] This theory has since been shown to be untenable. The *Harivaṁśa* nowhere states that the cowherds among whom Kṛishṇa was brought up belonged to the Ābhīra race. The main incident of Kṛishṇa's early life, *viz.*, his killing of Kaṁsa, was well-known long before the time of Patañjali (*circa* 150 B. C.); for, we learn from the *Mahābhāshya* that it was dramatised and represented on the stage.[6] Moreover, Patañjali specifically mentions the Ābhīras. While discussing the nature of the compound *Śūdr-Ābhīram*, he mentions the *prima facie* view that Ābhīra is a sub-caste under Śūdra and ultimately states his *siddhānta* that it is an altogether different caste.[7] The discussion makes it plain that if the Ābhīras were foreigners, they must have migrated to India long before the second century B. C., in which we find them not only admitted to the Hindu fold but given a definite place in the caste system.

The status of the Ābhīras seems to have undergone changes in the course of ages. We have seen that in the time of Patañjali they were generally associated with the Śūdras, but were relegated to a different caste. According to the *Manusmṛiti*, the son of a Brāhmaṇa from an Ambashṭha woman belongs to the Ābhīra caste.[8] Another smṛiti, cited by Kaiyaṭa, states that the woman should be of the Ugra caste.[9] These are, of course, theories of Brahmanical writers. In practical life the Ābhīras generally resembled the Śūdras. The *Kāsikā*, a well-known commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, says that the Ābhīras were Mahāśūdras, *i. e.*, superior Śūdras[10] and this view is adopted in the *Amarakōśa*. As

[1] *MP.*, ad. 57, vv. 35 and 47; *VP.*, ad. 45, vv. 115 and 126.

[2] *MP.*, ad. 58, vv. 21 ff.

[3] Cf. *Ghōsha Ābhīrapallī syāt* in *AK.*, II, 2, 20.

[4] Cf. *HV.*, Vishṇuparvan, ad. 7, vv. 28 ff.

[5] *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* pp. 37 ff.

[6] *Mahābhāshya*, Vol. II, p. 36.

[7] Cf. सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम्, गोबलीवर्दम्, तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि ॥ *Mahābhāshya*. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 36.

[8] *MS.*, ad. X, v. 15. The children of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother belong to the Ambashṭha caste.

[9] See Kaiyaṭa on the passage cited in n. 7, above. The children of a Śūdra woman from a Kshatriya belong to the Ugra caste.

[10] The *Mahāśūdras* are mentioned in Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* as well as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, but their identification with the Ābhīras is for the first time given by the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4. *Mahāśūdra* is mentioned in the *Kauśika-sūtra* (XVII, 16) also, in connection with the coronation of a king. A commentator explains the term as *Śūdrāṇāṁ bal-ādhikṛitaḥ*, 'a commander of the *Śūdra* army'. The *paddhati* of Kēśava also explains *Mahāśūdra* as 'a royal officer' (*Rājakīyo mahāśūdraḥ*). *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 46 and 317.

shown below, some Ābhīras attained royal position, which seems to have raised the status of their caste. Kshīrasvāmin, a commentator of the *Amarakōśa*, remarks that an Ābhīra belongs to the Vaiśya caste.[1] This view was probably based on the fact that the Ābhīras generally followed the profession of cattle-breeding, which, from ancient times, has been regarded as the privilege of the Vaiśyas.

The *Mahābhārata* states that there were Ābhīra *gaṇas* dwelling in the north-west.[2] Like the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas mentioned by Alexander's historians, they also had probably a republican constitution. In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Ābhīras are grouped with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas and others who submitted and paid tribute to the great Gupta Emperor.[3] These tribes are mentioned separately from the kings of Āryāvarta (*i. e.*, North India) whom Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. It is well-known that the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas had republican organisations, as coins mentioning their *gaṇas* have been discovered.[4] The inference, therefore, seems justifiable that like them the Ābhīras too had a republican form of government. When the Bactrian Greeks, Śakas and Kushāṇas invaded the north-western parts of India, the Ābhīras, like the Mālavas, Yaudhēyas, Śibis and others, migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Maharashtra.[5] They seem to have continued to hold their own in North India down to the Gupta age. We have, however, no further information about them as no inscriptions or coins of this tribe have been found in North India.

The Ābhīras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds. Some took to other callings. Even now in the states of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are some Ābhīra Brāhmaṇas. In Khandesh, which is still their stronghold, they have adopted various professions such as those of goldsmiths and carpenters. On their migration to the south, some Ābhīras seem to have occupied high political position under the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India. A stone inscription[6] found at Guṇḍa in Saurashtra mentions an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti, who served under the western Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha. This inscription is dated Śaka 102 (180 A. C.). Īśvaradatta, who seems to have ousted the Western Kshatrapas, though for a very brief period, may have been an Ābhīra as supposed by some scholars.[7] Other Ābhīras may have held similar positions of power and vantage under the Sātavāhanas. The Purāṇas say that the Ābhīras who succeeded the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) in the Deccan were Andhrabhṛityas, *i. e.*, servants of the Andhras.[8] One of them, Īśvarasēna, seems to have usurped power after Puḷumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

From the Nasik cave inscription, which is the only early record of the Ābhīra dynasty, we learn that this Īśvarasēna was an Ābhīra and bore the title of *Rājan*.[9] As his father Śivadatta bears no royal title, Īśvarasēna was plainly the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. As shown before,[10] he flourished about 250 A. C. and was probably the originator

[1] Cf. *Vaiśya-bhēdē tv=Ābhīrō gav-ādy-upajīvī* in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *AK.*, II, 6, 13.

[2] *Sah-Ābhīra-gaṇāś=ch=aiva* in Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

[4] V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 173 and 182.

[5] *MBH.* (Vanaparvan, ad. 188, vv. 35 ff.) states that the Ābhīras will rise to power in the same age as the Śakas, Yavanas and Bāhlīkas.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, Pl. XVII.

[7] Above, pp. lv. ff.

[8] *D.K.A.* p. 45.

[9] No. 1, ll. 1-2.

[10] Above, p. xxiv.

of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Like his predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, he also used a metronymic and called himself Māḍharīputra. This clearly indicates that he took pride in tracing his descent on the mother's side from a Vedic sage. Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhraṁśa or corrupt language, they, unlike the Sātavāhanas, seem to have patronised Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit. It is, of course, not an official document, but it clearly shows that Sanskrit was slowly asserting itself under the rule of the Ābhīras.

Judging by the extent of his era, Īśvarasēna appears to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashatra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names have, unfortunately, not come down to us.[1] The Ābhīras seem to have ruled for 167 years[2] and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, in *circa* 415 A.C.

As stated above, Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Petty princes of the Ābhīra dynasty appear to have continued to rule in Khandesh till the 13th century A. C. A stone inscription at Āmbē in the Hyderabad State records that Khōḷēśvara, a general of the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa, exterminated Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, who belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty.[3] Bhambhāgiri is probably identical with Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner *tālukā* of the West Khandesh District. Near Bhāmēr is a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as 'Rājā's houses.'[4] This fort was probably known as Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri, and a similar statement occurs about Siṁhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription.[5] This plainly indicates that the whole family of Lakshmīdēva was exterminated, and his kingdom was annexed by the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa.

Another king named Kāmapāla, who was vanquished by Kṛishṇa, the grandson and successor of Siṁhaṇa, probably belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his defeat is said to have delighted the cowherds, who may have been oppressed by him.[6] The Tāsgaon plates of Kṛishṇa's reign intimate that Kṛishṇa's feudatory Kēśava obtained a victory over a chief of the cowherds, who may have been identical with the aforementioned Kāmapāla.[7] He also may have been ruling in some part of Khandesh. After the thirteenth century we do not hear of the Ābhīra kings.

Judging by their names, both Īśvarasēna and his father Sivadatta were followers of the Hindu religion and devotees of Siva. But like their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, the Ābhīras seem to have extended their patronage to the followers of other faiths also. That Buddhism was flourishing during their rule is clearly indicated by the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign. Even foreigners like the Sakas embraced it and made munificent donations for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. Several guilds were

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[1] Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions the Ābhīra Kōṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśōdhara says that he was ruling at Kōṭṭa in Gujarat. Kōṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Īśvarasēna.

[2] See above, p. xxvi.

[3] *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

[5] *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 142 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 202 n. 6.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 210.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 204, n. 4. An earlier king of the same dynasty was perhaps Kṛishṇa mentioned in the Balsāṇē stone inscription, dated Ś. 1106 (1184-85 A.C.). *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71.

flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

FEUDATORIES OF THE ABHIRAS

Mahārājas of Valkha—Until recently we had no knowledge of any feudatories of the Ābhīras. This was due to the circumstance that certain grants[1] which originally belonged to Khandesh and were dated in the Kalachuri era were relegated to North India and were supposed to be dated in the Gupta era as they were discovered at Indore. The close similarity which these grants bear in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a fragmentary grant found at Sirpur[2] in the West Khandesh District leaves no doubt that they also originally came from Khandesh.[3] These grants give the following genealogy :—

Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (Year 67)
Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa (Year 107)
Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. All of them are described as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which clearly shows that they acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power. The dates of their grants must plainly be referred to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records correspond to 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A. C. respectively. These princes were, therefore, probably feudatories of the Ābhīra Emperors.

These princes ruled from Valkha which is probably identical with Vāghli, now a small village, 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District.[4] Most of the places mentioned in their grants can be identified in the vicinity of Vāghli.[5]

No copper-plates or stone inscriptions of any successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā[6] we find similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription gives the following genealogy :—

(Name lost)
|
Dhṛitarāshṭra
|
Harisāmba
|
Saurisāmba
|
Upēndragupta
|
Kācha I

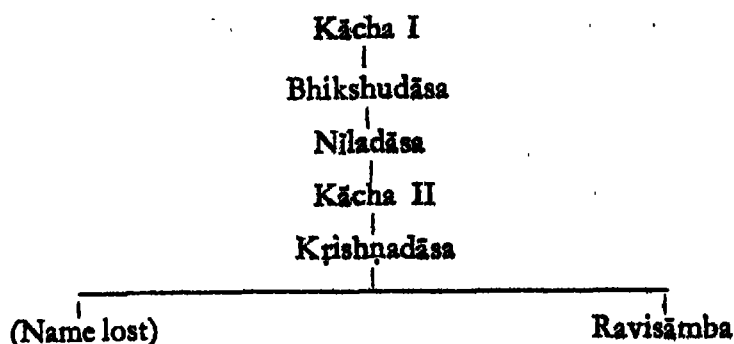
[1] Nos. 2 and 3.

[2] No. 4.

[3] The grants were taken to Indore by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting copper-plates, Sanskrit manuscripts and other antiquities.

[4] Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that Valkha may be identical with Bāhaḷ in the Chalisgaon *tāluka* of East Khandesh, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently discovered. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

[5] See below, pp. 7 ff.

[6] For a fuller account of this inscription, see my edition of it in *H. A. S.* No. 15.

The elder son of Kṛishṇadāsa, whose name is now illegible, was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and caused several *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be constructed. He also got the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX at Ajaṇṭā excavated, while Harishēṇa, 'the moon among princes' (*kshitīndra-chandra*), was protecting the earth.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII shows that the last of these princes was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa, who flourished from *circa* 475 A. C. to 500 A. C.[1] He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may, therefore, be placed in *circa* 275-300 A. C. He seems to have been placed in charge of a part of Khandesh by the contemporary Ābhīra Emperor.

Some of these princes mentioned in this Ajaṇṭā inscription were evidently contemporaries of Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from 316 A.C. to 366 A. C., but the latter names do not occur anywhere, in the genealogy of the Ajaṇṭā inscription. There were, therefore, two separate branches of the same family ruling in different parts of Khandesh. One of them was ruling at Valkha as shown above.[2] The capital of the other is not known.

After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes of Khandesh seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākāṭakas. A fragmentary verse in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā states that the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa raided or exacted tribute from Trikūṭa[3] which comprised the territory round Nasik. Khandesh, which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūṭa, must have likewise submitted to the Vākāṭakas. This is also indicated by the manner in which the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa is mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII. Further, the *Daśakumāracharita* which, in its last *uchchhvāsa*, gives a narrative reflecting the last period of Vākāṭaka rule,[4] *viz*., the reign of Harishēṇa's son, mentions the ruler of Ṛishīka (*i. e*., modern Khandesh)[5] as a feudatory of the king of

[1] *H. A. S*., No. 14, p. 9.

[2] D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the view mentioned above on the ground that the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* overlords of feudatory *Mahārājas* are unknown before the age of the Imperial Guptas. He would place these *Mahārājas* of Valkha in the Anūpa country and refer the dates of their grants, *viz*., the years 67, 107 and 117 to the Gupta era. *H. C. I. P*., Vol. II, p. 222, n. 3. It is difficult to accept this view. We have no other grants, made by feudatory princes of the Deccan in the pre-Gupta age, from which we could have drawn any conclusion about their titles and the manner in which they described their own feudatory status. The suggestion that these dates refer to the Gupta era is also not free from difficulties. The Guptas do not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country as early as G. 67 (386-87 A. C.). The earliest Gupta record found even in Eastern Malwa is dated G. 82. Anūpa, which lay farther west, could not have been included in the Gupta Empire fifteen years before. That these *Mahārājas* belonged to Khandesh is clearly indicated by the similarity of the names of two of them to those of some rulers of Khandesh, mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII which belongs to the Vākāṭaka age.

[3] *H. A. S*., No. 14 p. 11.

[4] *A. B. O. R. I*., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 ff.

[5] For this identification, see *ibid*. Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

Vidarbha. After the fall of the Vākāṭakas, this feudatory family of Khandesh was overthrown by the Kalachuris who occupied Northern Maharashtra in *circa* 550 A. C.

Īśvararāta—Another feudatory who probably owed allegiance to the Ābhīras was ruling in Central Gujarat. He is known from a fragmentary copper-plate grant discovered at Kalachhala near Chhota Udaipur in the Bombay State. Only the first plate of this grant, which originally must have consisted of two or three plates, has been found. It mentions one Īśvararāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*). Īśvararāta, though he bears no royal title, was plainly a feudatory of some imperial power. He appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory; for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officers of the State as *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*.[1] The extant portion of the grant contains no date, but its palaeography and wording, which closely resemble those of the aforementioned grants from Khandesh, indicate that Īśvararāta flourished in the 4th century A. C. Like the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, he was probably a feudatory of the Ābhīras.

Īśvararāta's grant was made at Prachakāśā. This place may be identical with Prakāsha on the Tāpī in North Khandesh. The village Kupikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced, but Vaṅkikā, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be represented by the modern village Vāṅkaḍ, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Īśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion of the Khandesh District.

No successor of Īśvararāta is known; but his family may have continued to hold Central Gujarat until it was ousted by Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka who appears to have risen to power in *circa* 400 A. C. As shown elsewhere,[2] the latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas, are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The Kings of Māhishmatī—The Ābhīras appear to have soon extended their rule to Anūpa (the country around Māhishmatī) and Ākarāvanti (Malwa) also. It has been noticed that the potin coins of the Western Kshatrapas, which were intended for circulation in Malwa, suddenly come to an end in 240 A. C.[3] The reason for this contraction of Kshatrapa power is supposed to be the rise of the Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti. We have, however, no indication of the extension of the Vākāṭaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period,[4] while we have evidence of the spread of the Ābhīra kingdom in the use of the Ābhīra era in the countries of Anūpa and Ākarāvantī in the fourth and fifth centuries A. C. The era must have been introduced there by the Ābhīras or their feudatories.

One of these feudatories was *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, whose stone inscription,[5] recording the excavation of a well, was found at Kānākhērā near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State. Though a Śaka by extraction, Śrīdharavarman did not probably belong to the house of Chashṭana; for unlike the Western Kshatrapas, he dated his record in the era of the Ābhīras, not in that of the Śakas. The title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* prefixed to his name in the Kānākherā inscription indicates that he began his career as a military officer, probably of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he may

[1] For *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*, see below, p. 36, notes 4 and 5 respectively.

[2] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 14 ff. Dr. Altekar places Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka in the period 348-378 A. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

[3] *C. A. D.*, Introd., p. cxxxiii; *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 54.

[4] I have shown elsewhere that the original home of the Vākāṭakas lay in South India. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. xxxii, pp. 1 ff. Pṛithivishēṇa, whose feudatory Vyāghra's inscriptions have been found at Nachna and Ganj in Vindhya Pradesh, was the second Vākāṭaka prince of that name who flourished in c. 470-490 A. C.

[5] No. 5, pp. 13 ff., below.

have risen to the status of a feudatory.[1] As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he appears to have declared his independence and begun to date his records in his regnal years, though he did not, for some years, discard his previous military title[2] or the Ābhīra era which had become well established in the country under his rule.

The Kānākhērā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign. It contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which are, unfortunately, not quite certain. As shown elsewhere,[3] the correct reading of the date appears to be 102, which, being referred to the Ābhīra era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A.C. Śrīdharavarman seems, therefore, to have declared his independence in *circa* 339 A. C.

Another inscription[4] of Śrīdharavarman has recently come to light at Ēraṇ in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh. In this record Śrīdharavarman is seen to have discarded his previous military title and assumed instead the titles *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* which, as in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas, signified complete independence. He has also omitted therein all reference to the Ābhīra era, perhaps because it recalled his previous submission to another power. The Ēraṇ inscription is dated in the 27th regnal year. It seems, therefore, to have been put up in 365 A.C. Śrīdharavarman may have flourished from 339 A. C. to 368 A. C.

Neither of these two inscriptions mentions any capital of Śrīdharavarman. That he held the Vidiśā-Ērikiṇa territory is certain; for, his records have been found in that part of the country. It is, however, not unlikely that his rule extended farther west to the Anūpa country also, where the Ābhīra era continued in use for at least 50 years more; for, no other ruler of his power and prestige is known to have flourished in Central India in that period. If this supposition is correct, Māhishmatī may have been his capital.[5]

The Ēraṇ record is incised on a pillar, called *yashṭi*, erected by Satyanāga, the *Ārakshika* and *Sēnāpati* of Śrīdharavarman, as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who met with a hero's death in a battle fought at the *adhishṭhāna* of Ērikiṇa (modern Ēraṇ). In that record Satyanāga, who hailed from Maharashtra, expressed the hope that the *yashṭi*, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations of warlike people to perform similar heroic deeds; for, it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Unfortunately, no particulars of the battle in which these Nāga soldiers laid down their lives have been preserved in the inscription. Perhaps the enemy was the ruler of some neighbouring country like Mēkalā.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Śakas and the Muruṇḍas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor and solicited his charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories.[6] The Śaka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kshatrapas; but the kingdom of the Kshatrapas lay far in the west. Besides, their rule in Malwa seems to have come to an end about the middle of the third century A. C. with the rise of the Ābhīras. The Śaka king who submitted to Samudragupta must, therefore, be identified with Śrīdharavarman. He may have paid homage to the Gupta Emperor some time after 365 A. C.,

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[1] It is not known whether his father held any office under the Ābhīras. No title is prefixed to his name, but as in the case of Īśvararāta, this negative evidence is not conclusive.

[2] Other instances of a similar type are the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, who retained his military title even after performing two *Aśvamēdhas* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57), and the *Mahāsēnāpati* Śaka Māna who issued his coins mentioning the military title (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.).

[3] See below, pp. 14 ff.

[4] No. 119, pp. 605 ff., below.

[5] This is a tentative suggestion which may be corroborated or modified by future discoveries.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

when he heard reports of the latter's brilliant victories in North and South India. Later, Samudragupta, on some provocation, appears to have attacked the Saka king's territory and obtained a decisive victory over him in the battle of Erikiṇa. He then annexed the territory round Erikiṇa[1] which had strategic importance, and erected a monument there 'for augmenting his own fame.' He appears, however, to have allowed the Saka king to continue in possession of the rest of his kingdom as he did in the case of some republican tribes such as the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas.[2] It is well known that it was Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II, who first conquered Eastern and Western Malwa in the course of his 'conquest of the whole earth', some time in the last decade of the 4th century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Guptas found in Malwa is the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. 82 (401-2 A. C.)

Śrīdharavarman, though he belonged to the Saka race, was a follower of the Hindu religion. Both he and his father Nanda bear Hindu names. He was a devout worshipper of Kārttikēya and, like an orthodox Hindu, believed that he could secure permanent residence in heaven by means of charitable works like the excavation of a well. In both the records of his reign he is described as *dharmavijayin* or a righteous conqueror, which implies that he did not wage any war for self-aggrandizement. His liberal policy attracted able men from distant countries like Maharashtra. He trusted them and appointed them to important military posts. His inscriptions are written in a good Sanskrit *kāvya* style. They show that the revival of the classical language had already commenced before the age of the Guptas. Like the Western Kshatrapas and the Ābhīras, the Sakas of Central India also appear to have given liberal patronage to Sanskrit poets at their court.

We do not know how long the Sakas continued to rule in Central India. They were probably overthrown when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta II towards the close of the 4th century A. C. Thereafter, we have two copper-plate grants of *Mahārāja* Subandhu, both made at Māhishmatī, one of which was found somewhere in the former Barwāni State and the other in one of the famous Bāgh caves.

These grants of Subandhu bear close resemblance in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign-manual to the aforementioned grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. All of them probably belong to the same period. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. The date of the Bāgh cave plate is lost, but that of the Barwāni plate which is well preserved is the year 167. If this is referred to the Ābhīra era, it becomes equivalent to 416-17 A. C. Subandhu, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century A. C.

Unlike the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that he was an independent ruler. In 416-17 A. C. the Gupta power had, no doubt, reached its peak. Chandragupta II was dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason to suppose that the Gupta dominion

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[1] Cf. *sva-bhoga-nagar-Airikiṇa-pradeśe* in the Eraṇ inscription of Samudragupta. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 20. The battle of Erikiṇa appears to have been fought towards the close of Samudragupta's reign. The inscription at Eraṇ which mentions the monument which he erected there 'for augmenting his fame' is probably posthumous; for it uses the past tense in describing the Gupta Emperor. Besides, the description it gives of him indicates that he had already won all his major victories. He is said to have been of irresistible valour and to have overthrown the whole tribe of kings upon the earth. His enemies were terrified by his prowess even in their dreams. Again, it describes his queen as one who went about in the company of sons and grandsons. The description plainly shows that Samudragupta was considerably advanced in age when the monument was erected; and may have died before the inscription was put up.

[2] That the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas belonged to Central India is shown by some inscriptions. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25 and *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's reign. It may, therefore, be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. The Anūpa country, where Subandhu was ruling, comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat as well as the adjoining territory. Just about this time there was rising the powerful State of the Traikūṭakas across the Narmadā.[1] According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīra rule lasted for 167 years. The Ābhīras were succeeded by the Traikūṭakas, who soon extended their sway to Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat. The kingdom of Māhishmatī may, therefore, have been allowed to continue as a buffer state between the dominions of the Traikūṭakas and the Guptas.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to rule from Māhishmatī for some years more; but when the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna (*circa* 450-470 A. C.) extended his suzerainty to Malwa, he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter, the country was governed by a scion of the Vākāṭaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita*, which appears to have a historical basis,[2] shows that the last Vākāṭaka Emperor (probably Harishēṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī. Soon thereafter, the country was occupied by the Kalachuris in *circa* 525 A. C.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS

This royal dynasty derived its name from Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain or the district in which it was situated. This was evidently the home of the royal family. Several mountains named Trikūṭa situated in all the four directions of India are known from Sanskrit literature and lexicons. According to the *Vishṇu*[3] and *Mārkaṇḍēya*[4] Purāṇas, Trikūṭa was the name of the southern ridge of the mythical Mēru mountain. It was, therefore, situated in the north. Hēmachandra[5] and Mahēśvara,[6] who in their lexicons give Suvēla as its synonym, evidently place it in Ceylon. An ancient commentator of Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya*[7] states that Trikūṭa was the name of a mountain in the Trikaliṅga or Andhra country. Finally, Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta[8] or North Konkan, and his view receives confirmation from Kēśava's *Kalpadrukōśa*[9] which gives it as a name of the Sahyādri range. In recent times, R. B. Hiralal, who identified the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris, has expressed the view that Trikūṭa is identical with the Sātpurā mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, *viz.*, the

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[1] The earliest known Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta, who must have flourished about 415 A.C. as his son Dahrasēna's Pardi grant is dated in K. 207 (456-57 A. C.). Dahrasēna is known to have performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. See No. 8, l. 2.

[2] See my article entitled 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita*' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

[3] *VSHP.*, aṁśa II, adhyāya 2, v. 28.

[4] *MP.*, adhyāya 55, v. 6.

[5] *Suvēlaḥ syāt Trimukuṭas=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha saḥ* in *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, Bhūmikāṇḍa, v. 96.

[6] *Viśvaprakāśa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 59. According to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Araṇyakāṇḍa, 2, 1) Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was situated on Trikūṭa.

[7] Commenting on the *kārikā*, *Parvatād=āgamaṁ labdhvā*, etc., of the *Vākyapadīa* (Kāṇḍa II, v. 489), Puṇyarāja says, *Parvatāt Trikūṭ-aikadēśa-varti-Trikaliṅg-aikadēśāt.*

[8] *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

[9] *Sahyāchalas=tu Mūrddhādris=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha saḥ* in *Kalpadrukōśa*, Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 542, sl. 14. *Trikakut* which is given here as a synonym of *Trikūṭa* is mentioned by Pāṇini (V, 4, 147), but it cannot evidently be the Trikūṭa of North Konkan.

Amrakūṭa or Amarakaṇṭaka in the former Rewa State, Sīlakūṭa in the Balaghat District and Madhukūṭa in the Chhindwara District.[1] As shown below, the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Trikūṭa, from which they derived their name, cannot, therefore, be located in the north, east, south or centre of India, but must be looked for in the west. Kālidāsa's description, which, as already stated, is supported by a lexicon, clearly indicates that it was situated in Aparānta or North Konkan. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested its identification with Junnar, in the Poona District, which is encircled by three ranges of hills.[2] The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the Pūrva-Trikūṭa *vishaya* (East Trikūṭa District) in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti,[3] which shows that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts. A tax levied on the inhabitants of the eastern sub-division was assigned for the worship of the god Bhōgēśvara at Jayapura near Nasik. This clearly shows that Trikūṭa was probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west.[4] This identification squares with the provenance of Traikūṭaka inscriptions and coins.

The earliest mention of the Traikūṭakas occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman.[5] This record includes Trēkūṭa (*i. e.*, the Traikūṭakas) among the contemporaries of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, which shows that the Traikūṭakas were a power of some importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. C., to which period the Chandravalli inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds. The country of Trikūṭa had previously been included in the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Traikūṭakas seem, therefore, to have risen into prominence on the decline of the Sātavāhana power in Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas which were current in Maharashtra. On the obverse, there is the king's face to the right as on Kshatrapa coins, but without any date, while on the reverse, inside a circle of dots and a circularly written legend, appear the usual Kshatrapa symbols, the chaitya, the sun and the moon.[6] This close resemblance suggests, as Rapson has remarked,[7] that the coins were intended for circulation in the districts which had previously been under the rules of the Kshatrapas.

Though the Traikūṭakas rose into prominence about the middle of the third century A. C., we have no Traikūṭaka records during the first two centuries of their rule. On the other hand we find an Ābhīra record of about the middle of the third century A. C. in the Nasik District,[8] which, as we have seen above, was the home province of the Traikūṭakas. The names of the two Ābhīras, Śivadatta and his son *Rājan* Īśvarasēna, resemble those of the later Traikūṭaka kings, which end in either *datta* or *sēna*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, therefore, first propounded the theory that the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Ābhīras.[9] The Chandravalli inscription, however, mentions the Traikūṭas separately from the Ābhīras, thus indicating that the two royal families, though contemporary, were not identical. The

[1] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 57.

[3] No. 31, l. 38.

[4] In this connection it may be noted that the Pāṇḍu Lēṇa hill near Nasik is called Triraśmi (three-rayed) in the cave inscriptions there, and that the range of hills to the south of the Nasik District is still called Trimbak hill.

[5] *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), p. 50.

[6] *C. A. D.*, pp. 198-99.

[7] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. clx.

[8] No. 1.

[9] *P. V. O. C.*, p. 222.

similarity of their names suggests some sort of connection between them. The Traikūṭakas were probably at first the feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they adopted in their records. On the decline of the Ābhīra power, they seem to have asserted their independence. None of the three Traikūṭaka kings, known from inscriptions and coins, seems to have assumed a higher title than *Mahārāja*. But two of them are known to have issued coins, while one of them, Dahrasēna, explicitly mentions in his copper-plate inscription that he had performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. The later Traikūṭakas were, therefore, probably independent monarchs, though, as we shall see below, the last of them was ultimately defeated and forced to pay tribute by the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa.

The mention of Trikūṭa in the description of Raghu's *digvijaya* suggests that Kālidāsa, who flourished about 400 A. C. during the reign of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūṭaka kingdom on the western coast. The three copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty edited here belong to a later date. From them and from coins, we get the following genealogy of the Traikūṭakas:—

Mahārāja Indradatta
|
(son)
Mahārāja Dahrasēna (K. 207=456-57 A. C.)
|
(son)
Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (K. 241=490-91 A. C.)

The first of these, Indradatta, is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasēna. He is therein given the title *Mahārāja*. As his son was ruling in the Kalachuri year 207 (=456-57 A. C.), he may be assigned to the period 415-440 A. C.

The second king Dahrasēna is known from his Pārḍī plates and silver coins[1] found at Daman in South Gujarat,[2] Karhad in the Satara District,[3] Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* of the Poona District[4] and some other places.[5] Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja* both in the copper-plate inscription and coin-legends. The former supplies the additional information that he performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. On his coins he called himself *paramavaishṇava*, 'a devout worshipper of Vishṇu', and in his copper-plate inscription, *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. The Pārḍī plates were issued from the victorious royal camp at Āmrakā, and record the donation of a village in the Antarmaṇḍali *vishaya*, which, on the analogy of the Antar-Narmadā *vishaya* mentioned in inscription No. 11, seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍali or modern Miṇḍhōlā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Pūrṇā and the Miṇḍhōlā in South Gujarat. As shown elsewhere, the date of the plates, the year 207, refers to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 456-57 A. C. Dahrasēna may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 440 A. C. to 465 A. C.

Vyāghrasēna, the son and successor of Dahrasēna, is known from his Surat plates and silver coins found at Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* and other places. His coins[6], which

[1] The coins have the legend *Maharaj-Andradatta-putra-paramavashṇava-śra-Maharaja-Dahrasana* representing *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 58.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1862, p. 11.

[4] *C. A. D.*, p. clx, n. 2.

[5] 'The provenance of the coins, considerable numbers of which exist in various collections, has not been very fully recorded'. Introd., *C. A. D.*, p. clx. Some Traikūṭaka coins have been recently brought to light at Kamrej near Surat. *A. B. I. A. for* 1935, p. 34.

[6] These coins have the legend *Maharaja-Dahrasanā-putra-parama-vashṇava-śra-Maharaja-Vyaghrasana* representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*. *J. R. A. S. for* 1905, pp. 806-7.

resemble those of his father, are, however, rare and of one variety only. Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja*, and describes himself as *paramavaishṇava* as well as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*. His Surat plates were issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. As no affix like *vāsakāt* is added to it, the place may have been the royal capital. The plates record the grant of a village in the Ikshaharaki *āhāra*. Ikaharaki may be identical with Achchhāran, about 9 m. north of Surat. The date of the plates, the year 241, must be referred to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 490-91 A. C. Vyāghraśena may, therefore, be assigned to the period from *circa* 465 A. C. to 492 A. C.

One more inscription, consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist *stūpa* at Kaṇhēri in North Konkan. It records the construction of a *chaitya* (*i.e.*, the *stūpa* in which the inscription together with some relics was found) dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūṭakas, but does not name any reigning king. It is dated in the year 245 (494-95 A. C.). As a period of as many as 36 years intervenes between the date of the Pārḍī plates of Dahrasēna and that of the Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna, it seems that the latter were probably issued towards the close of Vyāghrasēna's reign. The Traikūṭaka king during whose reign the Kaṇhēri plate was issued may, therefore, have been the successor of Vyāghrasēna. During his reign the Trikūṭa country was invaded by Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king who flourished in *circa* 475-500 A. C. In the inscription in the Ajaṇṭā cave XVI, Harishēṇa is credited with a victory over Trikūṭa,[1] but it is not known if he supplanted the ruling dynasty. He was possibly content with exacting a tribute from it as he must have done from the other countries mentioned in the same inscription, *viz.*, Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Lāṭa and Andhra.

After the Vākāṭakas, the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sāshṭī as well as the districts of Nasik and Satara.[2] Copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris recording grants of villages in South Gujarat and the Nasik District have also been discovered. In the Kalachuri inscriptions Saṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛishṇarāja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas.[3] Konkan also must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri Empire. But no grants of land made by the Kalachuris have yet been discovered in Konkan, which seems to have been ruled by a feudatory family. For about a century after the date of the Kaṇhēri plate, however, we have no definite information about the history of Konkan.[4] From the Aihōḷe inscription[5] of Pulakēśin II we learn that his father Kīrtivarman was 'the night of destruction to the Mauryas', and that Pulakēśin himself stormed their capital Purī and probably annexed their kingdom. As the Traikūṭakas vanish from history in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. and the Mauryas come on the scene within about fifty years, it has been conjectured that the Traikūṭakas

[1] *H. A. S.*, No. 14, p. 11. The passage mentions Trikūṭa and Lāṭa separately. Does this show that the Traikūṭaka kingdom was at that time divided into two parts?

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 13. The king Kṛishṇarāja is there wrongly said to be of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage.

[3] No. 12, l. 15.

[4] A stone inscription from Vāḍa in the north of the Thana District mentions a Maurya king named Sukētuvarman ruling in Konkan. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 372-373.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.

themselves came in course of time to be known as the Mauryas.[1] But if the Traikūṭakas were descended from the imperial family of Magadha, it looks strange that they make no mention of their proud lineage in their records. It would appear, therefore, that when the Kalachuris conquered Konkan, they supplanted the Traikūṭakas by the Mauryas, who continued as their feudatories until both the royal families were ousted by Pulakēśin II. The downfall of the Traikūṭakas may thus be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century A. C.

The Traikūṭaka kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kīm in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note that the Traikūṭakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Trikūṭa seems to have become famous as an emporium of salt. Their capital has not yet been definitely located. As observed already, Aniruddhapura seems to have been the capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasēna. Dr. Hultzsch, on the authority of a statement of the lexicographer Yādava, identifies Aniruddhapura with Sūrpāraka, modern Sōpārā, in the Thana District. But Yādava merely states that the Aparānta country included Sūrpāraka.[2] Aniruddhapura, mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapurī, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. It would, therefore, appear that Aniruddhapura was situated somewhere in the Surat District, but its exact location cannot be fixed.

The Traikūṭakas were followers of Hinduism and devotees of the god Vishṇu. Both their copper-plate grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of religious merit of their parents and themselves. That Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom is shown by the Kaṇhēri plate which records the erection of a *chaitya* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra. The pilgrim who got it built came from the distant province of Sindh. This testifies to the peace and order which generally prevailed in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

We have no definite information about the capital of the Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris. All their known copper-plate grants were issued from their camps fixed at different places such as Ujjayinī and Vidiśā in Malwa and Ānandapura in Gujarat. It appears probable, however, that they ruled from Māhishmatī, modern Oṅkār Māndhātā,[3] which from very early times has been famous as a holy city. Even in later times when it had ceased to be their capital, the memory of its past glory was fresh in the mind of the people; for Rājaśekhara in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*[4] and Murāri in his *Anargharāghava*[5] mention it as the common or family capital of the Kalachuri kings. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the south as feudatories of the Chālukyas, mention with pride their title *Māhishmatī-puravar-ēśvara* 'the lord of Māhishmatī, the best of towns.'[6]

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[1] *C. A. D.*, p. clx. n. 1.   [2] See below, p. 27.

[3] For the identification, see Fleet's article 'Mahishamaṇḍala and Māhishmatī' in *J. R. A. S.* (1910), pp. 425 ff. Like Kālidāsa, Rājaśēkhara also describes Māhishmatī as surrounded by the Narmadā. Some identify the city with Maheshvar in the former Indore State.

[4] See यन्मेखला भवति मेकलशैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यत्र च चित्रभानुः । तामेष पाति कृतवीर्ययशोवतंसां माहिष्मतीं कलचुरेः कुलराजधानीम् ॥ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, III, 35.

[5] Cf. इयं कलचुरिकुलनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी । *Anargharāghava*, Act VII.

[6] See *e. g.* the Kembhāvi inscription (dated 1054 A. C.) of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rēvarasa. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 439.

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the list of frontier tribes who submitted to Samudragupta[1] has been taken by some[2] to refer to the Kalachuris who trace their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya. The Ārjunāyanas were indeed an ancient tribe. Their coins bearing the tribal name in Sanskrit are known in several varieties and on the evidence of palæography are ascribed to 100 B. C. Prof. Rapson dates their rise as a political community as early as the fourth century B. C.[3] They are included in the *rājanyādi gaṇa* (mentioned in Pāṇini, IV, 2, 53), which shows that their country was called Ārjunāyanaka. Varāhamihira places them in the northern division, and the provenance of their coins indicates that their homeland lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Āgrā.[4] This shows, however, that they were distinct from the Kalachuris who dwelt in the valley of the Narmadā. Besides, according to the *Kāśikā*[5] on Pāṇini, II, 4, 66, the Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata clan, and were, therefore, different from the Kalachuris who claimed their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya.

Though the Early Kalachuris do not call themselves Haihayas in their grants, they soon came to be referred to by that name; for we learn from some inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas that Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I (680-697 A. C.), subjugated the Haihayas,[6] and Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.) married two Haihaya princesses, Lōkamahādēvī and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvī.[7] The Eastern Chālukya prince Vishṇuvardhana IV (764-799 A. C.) similarly espoused a princess of the Haihaya lineage whose son Nṛiparudra is mentioned as *Dūtaka* in a grant of Vijayāditya II.[8] These Haihayas were evidently identical with the Early Kalachuris.

It is not known whether the Early Kalachuris were descended from *Mahārāja* Subandhu who ruled from Māhishmatī in an earlier age; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet been discovered. The Early Kalachuris rose into prominence on the downfall of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. After the year 245 of the Kaṇhēri plate[9] incised during the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas, the next known date of the Kalachuri era is the year 292 furnished by the Sunao Kala grant of Saṅgamasiṁha.[10] He seems to have come to power after the Traikūṭakas; for the phraseology of the formal part of his grant bears close resemblance to that of the Traikūṭaka records, especially the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna.[11] Saṅgamasiṁha issued the plates from Bharukachchha. Sōṇavvā, the village granted by him, is only two miles north of the Kīm and 18 miles north of Surat. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Saṅgamasiṁha had under his sway some territory which was previously included in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. But Saṅgamasiṁha, though he calls himself *Mahārāja*, was in reality a *Mahāsāmanta* (*i. e.*, a great feudatory) of some other power. The only powerful contemporary dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalachuris. We have unfortunately no records of the Early Kalachuris who were the real founders of the Kalachuri Empire of the sixth century A.C. The earliest dated record of the Kalachuris is Śaṅkara-

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 10.

[3] *C. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 528.

[4] *A. C. A. I.*, p. lxxxii ff.

[5] Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* gives a different illustration (*viz.*, *Auddālakāyana*) to explain the rule.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 91 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 302.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 5.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 415.

[9] No. 10.

[10] No. 11.

[11] See below, p. 34.

gaṇa's Ābhōṇa grant of K. 347 (596-97 A. C.). As shown below, Saṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalēśa in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa can, therefore, be referred to *circa* 575-600 A.C., and his father Krishṇarāja, to *circa* 550-575 A.C. Saṅgamasiṁha, who made his grant in 541 A. C., was, therefore, probably a feudatory of Krishṇarāja's father whose name[1] unfortunately has not come down to us.

This Kalachuri prince must have found a favourable opportunity for the extension of his power in the political conditions of the second quarter of the sixth century A. C. The Vākāṭaka dynasty seems to have come to an end with Harishēṇa's son. In Central India the meteoric rise of Yaśōdharman was followed by confusion and chaos. In the west the Maitrakas, who had founded a kingdom at Valabhī about half a century before, were not yet powerful enough to pursue an aggressive policy. In the south, though Pulakēśin I is said to have performed an *Aśvamēdha*, his power was probably confined to the northern Kanarese districts. Krishṇarāja's father seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he supplanted the Traikūṭakas and divided their extensive kingdom among his feudatories. The Mauryas, as we have already seen, were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Konkan, while Gujarat or at least the central part of it was given in charge of Saṅgamasiṁha. We do not know whether Maharashtra including ancient Vidarbha was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom during his reign or during that of his son Krishṇarāja.

Krishṇarāja seems to have still further extended the kingdom inherited from his father. His silver coins,[2] which are imitated from those of the Traikūṭakas, were at first intended for circulation in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Like the latter coins, they have on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, and on the reverse inside a circle of dots, runs the legend *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Krishṇarājaḥ*. In the middle, in place of the chaitya, the sun and the moon which figure on the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, the king, who was a devotee of Śiva, inserted the figure of the recumbent bull, Nandī, facing right. These coins, which in their weight[3] and fabric, approximated to the Kshatrapa, Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins, were in circulation over a very wide country. They have been discovered in such distant parts as Rajputana[4] and Malwa[5] in the north, the districts of Satara[6] and Nasik[7] in the south, the islands of Bombay[8] and Sāshṭī[9] in the west, and the districts Betul[10] and Amaravati[11] of Madhya Pradesh in the east. As these coins were in circulation for at least a hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishṇarāja,[12] be-

[1] In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins, Kṛishṇarāja substituted *mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta* 'he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father'. So his father's name does not appear even on his coins.

[2] The legend on these coins was first correctly read by Fleet. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

[3] The weight of these coins is about 30 grains.

[4] *C. C. M. I.*, p. 8. Cunningham ascribed these coins to Kṛishṇarāja Rāshṭrakūṭa (375-400 A.C.), but the Rāshṭrakūṭas were not then in power. See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.

[5] Seven coins were brought to light during excavations at Besnagar. *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

[6] They were found near Karhad. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 13.

[7] They were discovered at Baglan near Nasik, *loc. cit.* p. 13.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, p. 13. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper. See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp. 7 and 9.

[9] Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marole in Sāshṭī, *loc. cit.* p. 9.

[10] Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Paṭṭan in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh.

[11] A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmōri in the Amaravati District.

[12] They are mentioned as *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* in the Anjaneri inscription of Bhōgaśakti, dated K. 461 (No. 31).

ing used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say if the Kalachuri Empire in the time of Krishṇarāja comprised all these distant territories. But that Gujarat, Konkan, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha were in any case comprised in it, seems beyond all doubt.

Krishṇarāja's suzerainty over Vidarbha is also indicated by the recently discovered Nagardhan plates of the reign of Svāmirāja.[1] They were issued by his brother Nannarāja from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District, which is well known in history as one of the early capitals of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The royal family to which Svāmirāja and Nannarāja belonged is not mentioned in the grant, but as similar names occur in some Rāshṭrakūṭa grants found in Vidarbha,[2] these princes probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. In the initial portion of this grant, Svāmirāja is described as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount.' The plates are dated in the year 322, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era and corresponds to 573-74 A. C. This is the only record of the Kalachuri era found in Vidarbha.[3] The use of this era indicates that the unnamed suzerain of Svāmidāsa was some Kalachuri king, probably Kṛishṇarāja who flourished from *circa* 550 A. C. to 575 A. C.; for the era evidently spread to Vidarbha with the extension of the Kalachuri power.

The Nagardhan plates record two gifts—(i) one of 12 *nivartanas* of land in the village Chiñchapaṭṭikā, made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Aṅkōllikā made by the ruling king at Prayāga. It is noteworthy that the seal of the plates has the figure of a goad as the emblem of the Corporation, with the legend *gaṇa-dattiḥ*, meaning 'a gift of the Corporation.'

The descendants of Svāmirāja probably ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. On the downfall of the Kalachuris, they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas, and like them, dated their records in the Saka era.

Kṛishṇarāja's son Śaṅkaragaṇa is known from several records. His own Ābhōṇa plates[4] were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, and record the donation of land in a village situated in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. It is not known if Western Malwa was permanently annexed to the Kalachuri Empire; but that Śaṅkaragaṇa first conquered it and held it for some time is indicated by the fact that the epithets, employed to describe him in the Ābhōṇa plates and repeated in subsequent Kalachuri charters, were borrowed from or suggested by Gupta records, with which the drafter must have been acquainted in Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that no such epithets occur in the description of his father Kṛishṇarāja.

The Ābhōṇa plates show that Saṅkaragaṇa ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Saṅkheḍā plate of the general Śāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat.[5] Saṅkaragaṇa is probably referred to as Gaṇa Saṅkara in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as shown by Dr. Jayaswal.[6] His Ābhōṇa plates are dated in K. 347 (597 A. C.). His reign must have ended soon thereafter, as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalarāja in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, be assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A. C.

[1] No. 120.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the Multai plates of Nannarāja, dated Ś. 631 (709-10 A. C.).

[3] The earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas are dated in regnal years, while the later ones of the Rāshṭrakūṭas are dated in the Śaka era.

[4] No. 12.

[5] No. 13.

[6] *Imperial History of India*, p. 30.

Soon after his accession, Buddharāja found himself involved in a fight on the southern frontier of his kingdom. Several Chālukya inscriptions mention his defeat by the Early Chālukya king Maṅgalēśa or Maṅgalarāja. We learn, for instance, from Maṅgalēśa's Mahākūṭa inscription[1] (602 A.C.) that Maṅgalēśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern regions, defeated king Buddha and captured his whole treasure. The Nerur plates[2] add further details that this Buddharāja was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa and was possessed of the power of elephants, horses and footsoldiers. Finally, the Aihōḷē stone inscription of Pulakēśin II describes in a figurative language that Maṅgalēśa, 'in that house which was the battlefield, took in marriage the damsel *viz.*, the Fortune of the Kaṭachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, *viz.*, the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'[3] These references leave no doubt about the identity of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa obtained a decisive victory over him. Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away, leaving his whole treasure behind which was captured by Maṅgalēśa. The latter could not, however, follow up the victory; for, just then Svāmirāja of the Chālikya family, a redoubtable warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and who was probably ruling in Rēvatīdvīpa[4] (modern Rēḍi) in South Konkan as a feudatory of the Chālukyas, rose in rebellion, seemingly at the instigation of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa had, therefore, to abandon his original plan of making an expedition of conquest in the north, and rushed to Konkan to chastise the rebellious chieftain. In the fight which ensued, he killed Svāmirāja and by way of thanksgiving made the grant of a village in South Konkan on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding day. The Nērur plates, in which this grant is recorded, are not dated, but the Mahākūṭa inscription, in which also the victory over Buddharāja is mentioned, is dated in the fifth regnal year, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha. As Fleet has shown, the inscription was probably incised in 601-2 A. C. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharāja,[5] which may, therefore, be dated approximately in 601 A. C.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18. R. G. Bhandarkar, who did not accept Fleet's reading of the date in l. 15 of the Mahākūṭa inscription, placed Maṅgalēśa's accession in 591 A. C. (*E. H. D.*, p. 69). In the Mahākūṭa inscription the reading *rājya-pañchama-śrīvarshē pravartamānē* in l. 15 is clear. So the inscription belongs to the fifth year of Maṅgalēśa's reign. If we accept Bhandarkar's view that he came to the throne in 591 A.C., his fifth year would fall in 595-596 A.C. But the Ābhōṇa plates show that in 595-596 A.C. Śaṅkaragaṇa, not Buddharāja, was reigning. Fleet's view about the accession of Maṅgalēśa presents no chronological difficulty.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

[4] The Nērur plates, which mention the defeat and death of Svāmirāja at the hands of Maṅgalēśa, do not explicitly say that he was ruling over Rēvatīdvīpa, but they state that the event occurred after the defeat of Buddharāja. The Aihōḷē inscription describes Maṅgalēśa's capture of the island of Rēvatī after the defeat of the Kalachuri king. Svāmirāja was, therefore, probably the ruler of the island of Rēvatī, modern Rēḍi. Nērur is only 16 miles south of Rēḍi. The village Kuṇḍivāṭaka granted by the plates is probably identical with the modern Kuḍāḷ, about 5½ m. north-east of Nērur. After killing Svāmirāja, Maṅgalēśa seems to have placed the island in charge of his relative Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. See his Goa plates issued from the Revatīdvīpa in the twentieth year of his reign. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

[5] Fleet translates *Kalatsūri-dhanaṁ sva-griha-dēva-drōṇyāṁ gatam* in the Mahākūṭa inscription by 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been expended in the idol procession of the temple of our own god.' The sense, however, seems to be 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been deposited in the treasury (*drōṇī*) of the temple of our own god.' Maṅgalēśa seems to have assigned the ten villages mentioned in the inscription to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha, having acquired them with the wealth of the Kalachuri king as well as that donated by his father and eldest brother.

For some reason Mangalēśa could not execute his original plan of making conquests in the north and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgirathī. He seems to have been fully occupied in his own country in ensuring the succession of his son after himself and in thwarting the legitimate ambition of his nephew Pulakēśin II. These internal dissensions of the Chālukyas gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Only two grants of this king have come to light so far. Both of them are dated after his defeat by Mangalēśa. The earlier of them, recorded in the Vadnēr plates[1], was made in K. 360 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in Central India). The donated village was situated in the Nasik district. The later or Sarsavṇī grant[2] was made in K. 361 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Ānandapura (probably modern Vaḍnagar in North Gujarat). The village granted was situated in the Broach District. These grants are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half[3], during which Buddharāja had to march from Vidiśā to Ānandapura. Again, the villages granted are not situated in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarat but in the Nasik and Broach Districts. It seems plain, therefore, that the grants were made during the victorious campaigns of Buddharāja, and that Malwa and Northern Gujarat were not permanently annexed to the Kalachuri empire. This surmise receives confirmation from Yuan Chwang's mention of Śīlāditya as a former king of Malwa.[4] This king is evidently identical with Śīlāditya I-Dharmāditya, whose known dates range from G. 286 to G. 292 (*i. e.*, from 605 A. C. to 611 A. C.). It will be noticed that they are subsequent to the date K. 347 (597 A.C.) of the Ābhōṇa plates issued by Śaṅkaragaṇa from his camp at Ujjayinī. Again, within six years of the date of Buddharāja's Sarsavṇī plates, we find Śīlāditya's brother Kharagraha I making two grants[5] (dated G. 297) from his camp at Ujjayinī. Malwa conquered by Śaṅkaragaṇa does not, therefore, seem to have remained under the sway of the Kalachuris for a long time. Buddharāja probably lost it to the king of Valabhī in the beginning of his reign when he suffered a defeat at the hands of Maṅgalēśa.

It has been suggested[6] that Buddharāja was the Mālava king who, according to Bāṇa's account, marched on Kanauj when he heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the mighty king of Thaneshvar, and killing his son-in-law, the young Maukhari prince Grahavarman, threw the latter's wife Rājyaśrī into prison 'like a brigand's wife with a pair of fetters kissing her feet.' Buddharāja's army was subsequently routed by Rājyavardhana, who captured thousands of elephants and horses as well as a large treasure. There are several difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The inscriptions of Harsha do not mention Buddharāja as an adversary of Rājyavardhana. On the other hand, they name Dēvagupta as the leader of the confederacy whom, together with all his allies, Rājyavardhana subdued and turned away like a wild horse. That in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, Malwa—probably the eastern part of it—was held by a king whose name ended in *gupta* seems certain; because Bāṇa mentions as Mālava princes the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who were asked to attend on Rājyavardhana and Harsha.[7] Bühler, therefore, conjectured[8] that the

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[1] No. 14.

[2] No. 15.

[3] See p. 53, below.

[4] O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 242.

[5] *P. T. A. I. O. C.* (1935), pp. 659 ff; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.

[6] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 406 ff.

[7] *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 138.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70. Bühler suggested, however, that the word Mālava perhaps referred to the country of Mālava in the Panjab, which was much nearer to Thaneshvar than Malwa in Central India.

Mālava king who killed Grahavarman was Dēvagupta, and Hoernle thought that the latter was a brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, and had usurped the throne of Malwa.[1] It is not unlikely that Dēvagupta was responsible for the destruction of Grahavarman. He was probably ruling over Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as his capital; for, according to Yuan Chwang's testimony, Western Malwa was then under the rule of Śilāditya I-Dharmāditya. Buddharāja cannot, therefore, be identified with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāṇa. Besides, in 605 A. C. when the aforementioned events took place, Maṅgalēśa was still supreme in the south. Only four years before, Buddharāja had sustained a crushing defeat at his hands and though for some reason Maṅgalēśa did not follow up the victory, the danger of his invasion could not have passed altogether. It is, therefore, doubtful if Buddharāja would have dared to carry his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

When Harsha swore to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother Rājyavardhana by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, he must have proceeded to make political alliances to achieve his object. His two powerful foes were Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, and the king of Mālava. His alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Kāmarūpa (Assam), was obviously intended to hold the Gauḍa king in check on his eastern frontier. Unfortunately, Bāṇa's narrative comes to an abrupt close. It does not, therefore, tell us what measures Harsha adopted against the Mālava king, who, though defeated by Rājyavardhana, was not completely crushed. It is possible to conjecture that he sought the help of Buddharāja, who was the southern neighbour of the king of Malwa. Buddharāja's victorious campaigns in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarāt were evidently directed against Dēvagupta and Śilāditya I. The latter may have been one of Dēvagupta's allies who are referred to in a general way in the inscriptions of Harsha. These expeditions were undertaken in 610 A. C. when, owing to the civil war in the Chālukyan kingdom, there was no danger of Buddharāja's territory being invaded by the Chālukyas. As we shall see later on, Harsha himself made war on the king of Valabhī probably after he had subdued the kings of the North.

The Vaḍnēr and Sarsavṇī grants of Buddharāja indicate that notwithstanding the crushing defeat he sustained at the beginning of his career, Buddharāja retained his hold over the whole country from Gujarat to Maharashtra. With the accession of Pulakēśin II, however, matters took a different turn. After consolidating his position in the Kanarese country and subjugating his immediate southern neighbours, the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas, Pulakēśin seems to have turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, which he captured after a hard-fought battle. He also became the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras[2], comprising the Marathi-speaking districts in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. The Aihōḷē inscription does not name his adversary, but there can be little doubt that he was Buddharāja. The record says that Pulakēśin used all the three royal powers (*viz.*, energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object. Diplomacy seems, therefore, to have played as great a part as actual fight in the defeat of Buddharāja, which may have taken place about 620 A. C.

History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhishmatī with more or less independence. It seems that one of them made a last effort to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but the attempt was not crowned with success, and the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Āluvas (*i. e.*, Ālupas), Gaṅgas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas. As this event is referred to in Vinayāditya's grant[3] of Śaka 609,

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, (1905), p. 562.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

the defeat of the Haihayas must have occurred before 687 A. C. Thereafter, we do not hear of the Haihayas till the 8th century A. C., except in connection with the marriages of the princesses of the family with the scions of the Eastern and Western Chālukya dynasties.[1] The Haihayas, therefore, seem to have remained loyal to their overlords, the Chālukyas, until the latter's overthrow by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas led to a change in the political fortune of the Haihayas or Kalachuris, to which we shall turn in a subsequent section.

THE EARLY GURJARAS

Several inscriptions[2] of the Gurjaras, all of them on copper-plates, dated in the Kalachuri era have been discovered in Western India between the Kīm and the Mahī. They range in dates from K. 380 to K. 486. This country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris till K. 361 at least; for, in that year Buddharāja made the grant of a village in the Broach District.[3] After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II extended the northern limit of his empire to the Kīm, adding to it the provinces of Konkan, the three Maharashtras and southern Gujarat. Just about that time Harsha, the mighty ruler of Kanauj, was making extensive conquests in the north, and countries far and near were submitting to him. It must have seemed very likely that he would soon press to the south. Pulakēśin, therefore, wisely decided to create a buffer state in Central Gujarat under Dadda II of the Gurjara race, who had probably acquired already some portion of it during the hostilities of the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas in the south. Dadda II on his part was only too glad to acknowledge the suzerainty and get the support of his powerful southern neighbour. The Aihōḷē inscription[4] tells us that the king of Lāṭa, who was none other than this Dadda, as well as the Mālava and the Gurjara, being impressed by Pulakēśin's valour, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave. The grants of Dada II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalachuri grants, and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (*i. e.*, the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja.'[5]

The Kairā grants of Dadda II mention two earlier princes of the dynasty, *viz.*, his grandfather Dadda I and father Jayabhaṭa I *alias* Vītarāga. The former, who is styled *Sāmanta*, was only a feudal lord. As regards the suzerain to whom he owed allegiance, Fleet conjectured that he and also his son Jayabhaṭa I must have been vassals of the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja.[6] As the known dates of Dadda II range from K. 380 to K. 392, he probably flourished from *circa* K. 370 to K. 395. His grandfather Dadda I must, therefore, be referred to the period from *circa* K. 320 to K. 345 or from 570 A. C. to 595 A. C. The contemporary Kalachuri emperors were Kṛishṇarāja and his son Śaṅkaragaṇa,[7] and not Buddharāja. It is again doubtful if Dadda I was at all ruling in Gujarat. From a copper-plate found at Saṅkhēḍā[8] we learn that Nirihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later on the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory

[1] See above, p. xlv.

[2] Nos. 16-24.

[3] No. 15, l. 22.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

[6] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 315.

[7] See above, pp. xlvi ff.

[8] No. 13.

of the Kalachuri Saṅkaragaṇa. Subsequently the country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris as shown by Buddharāja's Sarsavṇi grant. The Gurjaras, therefore, came into possession of it after the Kalachuris. The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka[1] and who probably flourished about 575 A. C.[2] He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Māṇḍōr near Jodhpur), which he and his brothers are said to have conquered. The connection of the two families is also indicated by the similarities of some names noticed in them.[3]

No records of Dadda I have yet been discovered, but from the Kairā grants[4] of his grandson we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun. We are again told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain from his base in Rajputana. He may be referred to the period 570-595 A. C.

About his son and successor Jayabhaṭa I, we know very little. From the *biruda Vītarāga*, 'one whose passion has vanished', applied to him, he seems to have been a man of tranquil nature. He had two sons, Dadda II who succeeded him and Raṇagraha who was apparently placed by his brother in charge of the eastern part of his kingdom. Jayabhaṭa I may have flourished from *circa* 595 A. C. to 620 A. C.

Dadda II *alias* Praśāntarāga, 'one whose passion has subsided', is known from several inscriptions. He was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His Kairā plates (two sets) are dated in K. 380 (629-30 A.C.) and K. 385 (634-35 A.C.), and record the grant of Śirīshapadraka (modern Sisōdrā, 11 miles from Aṅklēśvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas. Two other sets of plates,[5] issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-2 A. C.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kshīrasara in the *vishaya* (district) of Saṅgamakhēṭaka (modern Saṅkhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroda District). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Saṅkhēḍā grant[6] of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391. As stated above, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakēśin II soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates he is styled *Sāmanta* or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the *pañchamahāśabda* (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grandfather, he was a devotee of the Sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one 'who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.'[7] It has been recognized that Dadda II, the ruler of a petty state, a mere *Sāmanta*, could not have, unaided, given protection

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

[2] Majumdar places his father Harichandra in about 550 A. C.

[3] *Viz.*, two Nāgabhaṭas in the Māṇḍōr line and four Jayabhaṭas in the Gujarat line. It must, however, be noted that the Māṇḍōr line traces itself back to Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, while the Gujarat line claims to have descended from Karṇa, a hero of the Bhārata war. But both these Paurāṇic pedigrees were invented in later times—the former in the ninth and the latter in the seventh century A. C.

[4] Nos. 16 and 17.

[5] Nos. 19 and 20.

[6] No. 18. Three other grants purporting to have been issued by Dadda II are dated in Ś. 400, Ś. 414 and Ś. 417, but they are spurious. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 117 ff.

[7] Below, p. 85. The expression occurs in Nos. 21, 22, and 24.

to the ruler of Valabhi against the armies of the most powerful ruler of the time with the resources of a vast empire at his command. Besides, it is noteworthy that Dadda himself is silent about this glorious achievement ascribed to him;[1] for there is no mention of it even in his grants of K. 392 (641-42 A. C.), which were made towards the end of his reign and before which the event must certainly have happened. Scholars are, however, not agreed about the power that supported him. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dadda II was at the time a feudatory of the dynasty of Harichandra which bore hereditary enmity to the royal house of Thaneshvar.[2] It is, however, doubtful if the Pratihāras of Māṇḍavyapura were then so powerful as to resist the victorious march of the mighty Emperor of North India. From the Aihōḷe inscription[3] and the account of Yuan Chwang,[4] on the other hand, we learn that gathering troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries, Harsha advanced in person relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakēśin II, the great king of Maharashtra. The battle was probably fought on the bank of the Narmadā[5] in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom. Harsha's huge elephants fell in the fight and turned the scales in favour of his enemy. In this war the Gurjara Dadda was probably fighting on behalf of his liege lord Pulakēśin II. Though he himself did not claim credit for the victory, his descendants who were less punctilious in this regard ascribed it solely to his arms.

One of the causes of this war may have been the protection that Dadda gave to the king of Valabhi when he was attacked by Harsha. Dr. Altekar[6] points out that the war could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century A.C. when Harsha and Pulakēśin, both of whom aspired for the most enviable position of *Chakravartin*, were increasing their power and consolidating their position by conquering small kingdoms in the north and the south respectively. Pulakēśin's victory is mentioned in the Aihōḷe inscription of 634 A.C., while the earlier Lōhanēr plates[7] issued by him in 630 A. C. are altogether silent about it. The war seems, therefore, to have been fought between 630 A. C. and 634 A. C. The Valabhi ruler who sought Dadda's protection was Dhruvabhaṭa II *alias* Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G. 310 (629-30 A. C). From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that Harsha later[8] made peace with the Valabhi ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him. As stated above, Dadda II probably flourished from 620 A. C. to 645 A. C.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa II, who is known only from the grants of his successors. He is praised therein in general terms, altogether devoid of historical information. Soon after his accession, his country seems to have been invaded by the Valabhi ruler Dharasēna IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasēna II, who from his grants is known to have assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*

[1] Pandit Bhagvanlal tentatively suggested that 'the protection given to the Valabhi king is perhaps referred to in the Khēḍā grants in the mention of 'strangers and suppliants and people in distress,' but further on he admitted that 'the phrase quoted is by no means decisive.' *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 116.

[2] *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 12.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

[4] *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

[5] In the Aihōḷe inscription, after mentioning the defeat of Harsha, Ravikirti describes the army of Pulakēśin II as encamped on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

[6] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 302 ff.

[7] *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

[8] I do not agree with Dr. Altekar's view that 'Harsha's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakēśin'. There seems to have been only one war during which the ruler of Valabhi fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsha, who was defeated by Pulakēśin and his feudatory Dadda II.

and *Chakravartin*, and appears to have been the most powerful ruler of the time. Dharasēna advanced to and occupied Broach, which was probably the Gurjara capital at the time.[1] From his victorious camp at Broach, Dharasēna issued two sets of plates[2] in the same year G. 330 (648 A. C.). The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khēṭakāhāra *vishaya* (modern Kairā District) which was outside the Gurjara kingdom. It has, therefore, been suggested that Dharasēna IV was enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king.[3] The argument does not, however, appear convincing; for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory which they had recently conquered, they did not do so invariably—especially when the country was only raided and not permanently occupied.[4] Again, the adjective 'victorious' prefixed to Dharasēna's camp in these grants indicates that he had gone to Bharukachchha in the course of a military campaign. Dharasēna seems to have soon retired to his country, perhaps after exacting a heavy tribute from Jayabhaṭa II.

Like his father, Jayabhaṭa II was probably a devotee of the Sun, though there is no express mention of it in Gurjara records. A temple of the Sun called Jayāditya situated at Kōṭipura near Kāpikā (modern Kāvī in the Jambusar *tālukā* of the Broach District) was probably built by him.[5] It is known from a grant made several years later (in 827 A. C.) for its repairs by Gōvinda of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa branch.[6] Jayabhaṭa II may be referred to the period 645—665 A. C.

Jayabhaṭa was followed by Dadda III, who was the first Gurjara prince to become a devotee of Siva. Only one grant of his has been discovered so far, *viz*. that recorded on the Prince of Wales Museum plates, dated K. 427 (675 A. C.).[7] He is also mentioned in the grants of his successors. He had the *biruda Bāhusahāya* (one whose sole helper is his arm) and attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessor; for, he is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. The king of the west was probably the Valabhī ruler Silāditya III (*circa* 660-685 A. C.) who was his contemporary. It seems that soon after his accession Dadda made an incursion into the Valabhī kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas. He seems to have attained some success as suggested by the aforementioned statement. This occurred some time before 675 A. C., the date of his Prince of Wales Museum plates.[7]

During the reign of Dadda III the Gurjara kingdom was invaded by a ruler named Vajraṭa or Vajjaḍa as stated in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. Like the earlier invasion of Harsha, this attack also was repelled with the help of the Chālukya suzerain. The whole army of Vajjaḍa was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā by Jayasiṁha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.[8] This victory of the Chālukyas was regarded

[1] The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nāndīpura as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukachchha (Broach) sometime before K. 427 (675 A. C.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff and Vol. XV, pp. 339 ff.

[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 316; *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 18.

[4] As instances we may point out that the Vaḍnēr plates of Buddharāja, though issued from his victorious camp at Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nasik District, and the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III, though issued from his victorious camp at Mēlpāṭi in North Arcot, record the grant of a village near Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State.

[5] As shown above, Jayabhaṭa I did not probably rule in Gujarat and Jayabhaṭas III and IV were devotees of Śiva.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

[7] No. 121.

[8] See No. 28, ll. 9-10.

as memorable as it was decisive; for, like the earlier one over Harsha, it is mentioned in many records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as the most glorious achievement of their enemies, the Early Chālukyas.[1] The identification of Vajjaḍa and the approximate date of this victory will be discussed later on.[2] Dadda III flourished from *circa* 665 A. C. to 690 A. C.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhaṭa III is known from two records.[3] His Navsāri plates were issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (the modern Kārwān, about 15 m. south of Baroda). They record the grant of the village Samīpadraka near Kārwān on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in K. 456 (706 A. C.). The second set of plates, though discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik, registers the grant of a village near Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State) on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Libra in K. 460 (710 A. C.). The plates were issued from Bharukachchha.

In both the grants we find the old racial name Gurjara of the family discarded, and the claim made instead that the royal family was descended from Karṇa, evidently the hero of the Bhārata war.[4] Like his father, Jayabhaṭa III was a Śaiva and won the *pañchamahāśabda*. His descendants give him a higher title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great feudatories', but it is not noticed in his own records. Jayabhaṭa III probably flourished from *circa* 690 A. C. to 715 A. C.

The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhaṭa III, is known only from the grants of his son Jayabhaṭa IV. He had the same titles as his father, and was, like him, a devotee of Śiva. If the description given of him is not altogether conventional, he seems to have been a learned, pious and self-controlled prince. His reign was altogether uneventful and probably very short. He may be referred to the period 715-720 A. C.

Ahirōla's son and successor was Jayabhaṭa IV. He is known from two copper-plate records.[5] The earlier one which is fragmentary was discovered at Kāvī. It registers the grant of some land in favour of the god Āśramadēva installed at Kēmajju, not far from Kāvī in the Broach District. The grant was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer in K. 486 (736 A.C.). The second record, which was incised nearly three months and a half later in the same year, registers the grant of the village Mannātha in the same district to a Brāhmaṇa of the Hēṭāvuka sub-caste.

The description of Jayabhaṭa IV in both these records is given generally in conventional terms. Like his father, he was a Śaiva and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. There is, however, one verse in a rather corrupt form which refers to an important historical event.[6] We learn from it that Jayabhaṭa, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhī the Tājīkas who oppressed all people. This verse which occurs in the Kāvī plate also had been known for a long time; but several letters of it were lost by the breaking off of its right and left upper edges. Bühler, who edited the Kāvī plate, had, therefore, no complete text of the verse before him. One of his readings was also incorrect. His translation, 'who (*i.e.*, Jayabhaṭa) by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,'[7] was responsible for the conclusion, drawn by him and others who followed him, that this Jayabhaṭa inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhī.

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[1] See e.g. the Anjanavati plates of Gōvinda III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14.

[2] See below, pp. lx ff.

[3] The Kāvī plate dated K. 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhaṭa III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24), recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhaṭa IV.

[4] This is also noticed in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

[5] Nos. 25 and 24.

[6] See below, pp. lxiv ff.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 115.

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhaṭa went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy.

Jayabhaṭa IV may have come to the throne in *circa* 720 A. C. His Kāvī and Prince of Wales Museum grants are both dated in 736 A.C. The first encounter with the Arabs, in which Jayabhaṭa obtained a decisive victory, must, therefore, be placed between 720 A.C. and 735 A.C. The only period during this interval when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Biläduri[1] tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kīraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaj and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujain, Māliba and Baharīmad, and conquered Bailaimān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī.[2] Jayabhaṭa IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governer of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A. C.). As he was succeeded about 726 A. C. by Tamīm,[3] we may place the raid of Valabhī in *circa* 725 A. C. The contemporary king of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhaṭa IV was probably Śīlāditya V.[4]

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhaṭa himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā. At this point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin,[5] who inflicted a crushing defeat on them some time before 740 A. C., the date of his Navsāri plates. The Gurjara kingdom was thereafter probably annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the latter by the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukachchha. The Hānsōṭ plates[6] of Bhartṛivaḍḍha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa, were issued from Bharukachchha in V. 813 (756 A. C.).

The Gurjara kingdom seems to have been bounded by the Kīm in the south and the Arabian sea in the west. Northward it followed the course of the Mahī up to the former Rewakantha Agency, from where the boundary line ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals District to Chhota-Udaipur in the east. Over this country the Gurjaras ruled almost continuously for six generations comprising about a hundred and twenty years. Their capital was at first Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State), as all the records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have been shifted to the prosperous emporium Bharukachchha (Broach). Of the five later records—one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhaṭa III and two of Jayabhaṭa IV—one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān) south of Baroda, and two from Bharukachchha (without the addition of a word like *vāsakāt*), while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known. It is again noteworthy that the expeditions of Dharasēna IV, Śīlāditya III and later on of the Arabs were directed against Broach itself. It was, therefore, probably the later capital of the Gurjaras.

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[1] *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[2] Prof. Hodivala has ingeniously suggested that Māliba against which Junaid sent an army may be Baliba (Valabhī).

[3] *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 442.

[4] He was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A. C.). See *I. N. I.* Nos. 1369-70.

[5] See No. 30, ll. 25 ff.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

The Gurjaras were staunch adherents of Hinduism. Nearly all their grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The earlier rulers down to Jayabhaṭa II were worshippers of the Sun, while the later ones were, without exception, devotees of Siva.

THE SENDRAKAS OF GUJARAT

The Sēndrakas first appear on the political horizon of South India as feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kadambas. The Gokak plates,[1] dated in *circa* 532-33 A.C., mention the Sēndraka prince Indrapanda as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja. He was ruling over the territory round Jamkhandi, about 60 miles south by east of Kolhapur. Some other records mention the Sēndrakas in connection with the Kadambas. A copper-plate inscription[2] of the Kadamba king Harivarman records the royal grant of the village Maradē at the request of Bhānuśakti who is described therein as 'the ornament of the family of the Sēndrakas.' Another Kadamba inscription[3] mentions the *Sēndraka-vishaya* or the home province of the Sēndrakas. After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them became matrimonially connected. From the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśin II[4] we learn that his maternal uncle Srīvallabha Sēnānanda was 'an ornament of the Sēndrakas.' He was probably ruling over South Konkan as a feudatory of Pulakēśin II as the latter sanctioned his grant of the village Āmravāṭaka and some allotment at another village Avañchapālī in the Avarētika *vishaya*.[5] These villages were evidently situated in the vicinity of Chiplun, the former being probably identical with Āmbōli, 15 m. north of Chiplun. Another Sēndraka chief seems to have been appointed to govern some part of the Banavāsi kingdom which had been conquered from the Kadambas; for, a later inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II's grandson Vinayāditya[6] mentions the *Mahārāja* Pōgilli of the Sēndraka family ruling over the Nagarkhaṇḍ District, which, as we know from other records, was comprised in the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand. Again, the Sēndraka feudatory Dēvaśakti is mentioned in a record of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I, found in Karnul District of the Madras State.[7] The Sēndrakas claimed to be of the Bhujagēndra *anvaya*[8] or Phaṇīndra *vaṁśa*.[9] They, therefore, belonged to the Nāga race. Their modern representatives are the Sindēs, whose crest contains the Nāga emblem.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kim in the north to the Damangaṅgā in the south was placed in charge of a Sēndraka chief. The

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 594.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 50. For three other Sēndraka inscriptions of the same period, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

[5] Mr. Jackson suggested that Avarētikā was identical with Aparānta. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 41.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 239. A stone inscription at Lakshmeshvar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.) near the south-east corner of the Dharwar District mentions king Durgaśakti, son of Kundaśakti who was son of Vijayaśakti of the Sēndraka family, as a contemporary of Satyāśraya, son of Raṇaparākrama (who is obviously intended to be Pulakēśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I), but the inscription is spurious. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 106.

[9] *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 21 and 82-83.

Sēndrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants; for, Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr. Bühler that he had in his possession several sets of Sēndraka plates from Southern Gujarat.[1] It is very unfortunate that they are not forthcoming now.

Only four grants[2] of the family have been published so far. Of these, three were made by Allaśakti. The earliest of them was discovered at Kāsārē in West Khandesh. Before its publication it was thought that the rule of the Sēndrakas was confined to Southern Gujarāt. The Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti[3] which register his donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēṭa, modern Pimpalner,[4] about 45 miles west of Dhulia, clearly show that the Sēndrakas held Khandesh also. The plates are dated in the year 404 of the Kalachuri era (653 A. C.). Another inscription of Allaśakti was found at Bagumrā[5] in the Surat District. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 406 (656 A. C.), and registers the grant of the village Balisa, the modern Wanesa in the Bārḍoli *tālukā* of the Surat District.

From these grants we learn that Bhānuśakti, who is called Nikumbha in the Kāsārē plates, was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in 653 and 656 A. C., Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. C. He seems, therefore, to have been invested by Pulakēśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat and Khandesh after the defeat of the Kalachuri Buddharāja. In his grants he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with the onslaught of four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti, and the latter's son, Allaśakti.[6] In his grants Allaśakti claims to have won the *pañchamahāśabda* and assumes the *birudas Pṛithivīvallabha* and *Nikumbha*.

The Sēndrakas, though they were raised to power by the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, make no mention of their liege lords in their grants. From this Dr. Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant 'belongs to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance'.[7] When Fleet wrote, this inference appeared quite justified; because in other inscriptions of that period such as the Navsāri and Surat plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned.[8] Since then several other grants of the period have come to light, *e.g.*, the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, the Anjanēri plates of Bhōgaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, in which the reigning suzerain is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 297), but no Sēndraka grant can now be traced there.

[2] Two of these, viz., the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti bear dates of the Śaka era, and are, therefore, not included in this Volume. The Nāgad plates dated in Śaka 577 (656 A.C.) were issued from Allaśakti's camp near Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān in Gujarat) and record his grant of a village near Nāndīpuradvāri (modern Nandurbar in West Khandesh). (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 747-48). For an account of the Mundakhēḍē plates, dated Śaka 602 (681 A.C.), see below, p. lix, n. 2.

[3] No. 25.

[4] Some lines originally engraved on the second plate were cancelled and others incised over them. The statement refers to the later record.

[5] No. 26.

[6] His name is given as Nikumbhallaśakti by Bühler, but that *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* is evident from the seal of the Kāsārē plates which has the legend *Allaśakti*. The same name occurs in l. 17 of the Kāsārē plates. *Nikumbha* is prefixed as a *biruda* to the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. See his Mundakhēḍē plates, *A. R. B. I. S. M. for Śaka* 1834, pp. 169 ff.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 361.

[8] Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja (No. 34) which he referred to the same period. But the record is spurious.

re-establishment of Chālukya suzerainty even according to Fleet's view. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sēndrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Chālukya dominion owing to Pallava invasions in the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign.

After the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sēndrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat; for within fifteen years from the date of that grant we find a subordinate branch of the Western Chālukyas established in the lower Tāpī valley. The next date of the Kalachuri era that comes from Gujarat, *viz.*, K. 421, is furnished by the grant[1] which the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Śilāditya made on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. As we shall see later, it records the gift of a village situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanesa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. It is plain, therefore, that Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sēndrakas. The Sēndrakas then removed their seat of government to Khandesh, where we find Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti granting the village Sēṇāṇā by his Mundakhēḍē plates[2] dated Śaka 602 (680 A. C.). The donated village is now represented by Saundaṇē near the western border of the Khandesh District. The use of the Śaka era in dating the record also shows that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.[3]

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II seems to have annexed Maharashtra to the country under his direct rule.[4] In the Aihōḷē inscription[5] he is called the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in South India during his reign, also mentions him as the king of Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Maharashtra).[6] Pulakēśin seems to have placed the southern districts, *viz.*, Satara, Pandharpur and perhaps also Sholapur under his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana; for, the Satara plates[7] of the latter prince record the grant of a village on the southern

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[1] No. 27. The Manor plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa, which have been published recently, mention Śaka 613 (691-92 A.C.) as the twenty-first year, evidently, of the reign of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 21. The dynastic change seems, therefore, to have occurred in 671 A.C. The Surat plates of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, dated K. 421 (670-71), seem to have been issued soon after Gujarat came into the possession of Jayasiṁha.

[2] These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal *Prabhāta* (Vol. I) of Dhulia and then in *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Śaka 1834), but unfortunately they are not forthcoming now. The plates were found in the possession of the Patel of Mundakhēḍā, not far from Dhulia. They were issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, of the Sēndraka family from Jayapuradvārī and record the grant of the village Sēṇāṇā in the *vishaya* of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kallivana. I have elsewhere identified these places. Thus, Jayapuradvārī, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance to a defile, is modern Jēur, 6 m. north of Nāndgaon, which lies at the entrance to the valley between the Sātmālā and Ajaṇṭā ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon, 11 m. south-west of Jeur. Sēṇāṇā, the donated village, is the modern Saundaṇē near Kundalgaon. The grant, therefore, undoubtedly belongs to Khāndesh. The Nasik District was then under Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. See No. 28.

[3] The Navsāri plates, the last record of Gujarat dated in the Kalachuri era, were granted in K. 490 (740 A.C.).

[4] The Nirpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana mentions Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha as a younger brother of Pulakēśin apparently as the ruler of the Nasik District, but the grant is probably spurious; for, Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha was Pulakēśin's *son*, not brother. See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 358, n. 1.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

[6] *Ō. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303.

bank of the Bhīmā. The districts in Northern Maharashtra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakēśin's direct rule.[1] His second capital was probably Nasik. This city, as Fleet has shown,[2] answers to the description of Pulakēśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Vikramāditya I, who succeeded Pulakēśin II, appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha to govern South Gujarat, parts of North Konkan and the Nasik District. The Navasāri plates of Jayasiṁha's son Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, which were evidently issued soon after this appointment, state explicitly that the prosperity of Jayasiṁha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I.[3] The Sēndrakas who were previously ruling over South Gujarat moved to Khandesh. This change seems to have occurred in 671 A. C.; for, the recently discovered Manor plates state that Śaka 613 (691-92) was the twenty-first regnal year of Jayasiṁha.[4]

Jayasiṁha seems to have himself ruled over only the Nasik District. The Nasik plates dated in K. 436 (685 A. C.) record his grant of a village in that district. He placed his two sons in charge of the other parts of his kingdom, investing them with power to make grants of land in their own name. His elder son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, who ruled over South Gujarat, is known to have made two grants of land recorded in the Navsāri and Surat plates.[5] These are dated in the Kalachuri era which was then current in Gujarat. His second son Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa also made two land-grants recorded in the Manor and Balsar plates.[6] These are dated in the Śaka era which was apparently current in parts of North Konkan where Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa was ruling. The Nasik plates state that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasiṁha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.[7] As we have already seen, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves *Sāmantas* and evidently owed allegiance to the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems that some king named Vajjaḍa invaded the country of the Gurjaras, evidently from the North. The Gurjara ruler sought the help of his suzerain, the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, who ordered Jayasiṁha to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par with Pulakēśin II's brilliant victory over Harsha and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Chālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[8]

Before the discovery of Jayasiṁha's Nasik plates, no reference to this victory over Vajjaḍa was known to occur in any record of the Western Chālukyas. Fleet, however, conjectured[9] that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India, which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya.[10] Thus from the Nerur plates of the latter, dated Śaka 622 and 627, we

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[1] The Lōhaṇēr plates, dated Śaka 552 (630-31 A.C.) record Pulakēśin II's grant of a village in the Baglan *tāluka* of the Nasik District. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 37 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.

[3] No. 27, l. 9.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

[5] Nos. 27 and 29.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII pp. 17 ff. and *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

[7] See No. 28, lines 9-13.

[8] Dantivarman, the founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa power, is thus described—काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षम् । कार्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14. Vajraṭa, mentioned here, is plainly identical with the Vajjaḍa of the Nāsik plates.

[9] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 368.

[10] The same view has been stated recently by Venkataramanayya, who identifies this paramount king with Vajrāyudha of Kanauj. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 181 ff. I have examined it in detail in the same journal, Vol. XX, pp. 353 ff.

learn that Vinayāditya acquired the *pālidhvaja* banner and all other insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarāpatha (North India).[1] The Nasik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical. For, Jayasiṁha's victory was decisive; he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the territory between the Mahī and the Narmadā. On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India; for, though with the help of his valiant son Vijayāditya, he won the *pālidhvaja* banner, the signs of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the insignia of *ḍhakkā*, elephants, *etc.*, he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces. Secondly, Jayasiṁha's success was attained sometime before K. 436 (685 A. C.), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayāditya's battle with the emperor of the North was not fought till Saka 616 (694 A.C.) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihar plates[2] issued in that year. It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur plates of his son Vijayāditya, dated Saka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign; for, he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity. There was anarchy in the kingdom, which Vijayāditya suppressed when he effected his escape.[3] We may, therefore, date it in *circa* 695 A. C. Jayasiṁha was probably living at the time; for, only two years before this date his son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya made a grant in his name;[4] but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjaḍa is, therefore, not identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayāditya.

Who was then this king Vajjaḍa? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa. As stated above, the Rāshṭrakūṭa records name the king as Vajraṭa, but they belong to a much later age. Besides, no name like Vajraṭa occurs in any genealogical list of the period.[5] Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhaṭa, we get no better result. Similar names ending in *bhaṭa* no doubt occur in the dynastic lists of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras[6] and the Maitrakas of Valabhī,[7] but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjaḍa. The Vasantagaḍh inscription[8] dated V. 682 indeed mentions one Vajrabhaṭa as a feudatory of Varmalāta; but he flourished too early for this invasion which, as we have seen, took place between K. 406 and K. 436 (656 A.C. and 685 A. C.); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V. 682 (625 A. C.). The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of Yaśōvarman is shrouded in obscurity. So the problem of the identity of Vajraṭa is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that he was Śīlāditya III, the king of Valabhī (*circa* 660-685 A. C.).[9] He was a very powerful ruler; for he assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramē-*

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 and 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 125. See the description of Vijayāditya in the Nerur plates.

[4] That Jayasiṁha lived for some years after 693 A.C. is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya is omitted in the grants of Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśin. This is generally taken to indicate that he predeceased his father.

[5] Two princes of this name are mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1657 and 1664, but they belong to much later periods.

[6] For instance, Nāgabhaṭas I and II in the Imperial Pratīhāra Dynasty.

[7] For instance, Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Harsha, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and Dērabhaṭa mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1332 and 1333.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 191.

[9] Śīlāditya III may have been provoked into launching this attack on the Gurjara kingdom by Dadda III's incursion into the Valabhī territory. See above, p. liv.

śvara. From a copper-plate inscription[1] recently published by Mr. A. S. Gadre, it seems that Śilāditya III occupied the Gurjara country for some time during this very period; for the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antikā situated in the *vishaya* of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at Sraddhikā, modern Sādhi, about 5 miles south by west of Padra in the Baroda District. The grant is dated in G. 357 (676-77 A. C.), *i. e.*, only about 9 years before Jayasiṁha's Nasik grant which records his victory over Vajjaḍa. Now, Bharukachchha was not only included in the country of the Gurjaras, but was their capital in this period. When a foreign ruler makes a grant in this district, it clearly indicates that the Gurjaras had lost their hold over that territory. The dates of the Gurjara kings also suggest that they had suffered reverses in this period. Between K. 392 (642 A. C.), the last known date of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga and K. 456 (706 A. C.), the next known date of his great-grandson Jayabhaṭa III, there is a gap of 64 years. Two Gurjara princes Jayabhaṭa II and Dadda III ruled in this period, but only one record of this period has been discovered.[2] These were troublous times for the Gurjaras; for, their country was invaded twice by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, their powerful neighbours on the west. The first invader was Dharasēna IV. This king, who assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Chakravartin*, issued two grants from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha in G. 330 (649-50 A. C.).[3] The villages granted lay, however, in the Kheṭaka *vishaya* outside the Gurjara kingdom. Dharasēna IV seems, therefore, to have only raided the Gurjara territory. He did not annex it to his kingdom. This invasion took place during the reign of Jayabhaṭa II (*circa* 645—665 A. C.). Twenty-seven years later Śilāditya III tried to emulate the achievement of his ancestor. He invaded the Gurjara kingdom and occupied the territory round Broach for some time as is indicated by his aforementioned grant of G. 357 (676-77 A. C.).[4] Dadda III-Bāhusahāya then sought the aid of the Chālukya Emperor, by whose command Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, who was ruling over the adjoining territory, proceeded to the north and drove the enemy out of the Gurjara kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III, son and successor of Dadda III, record his grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa who also, like the donee of Śilāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at the same village Sraddhikā. This clearly shows that the Gurjaras had recovered possession of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* before K. 456.

It may, however, be objected that Śilāditya III is not known by the name Vajraṭa. This objection has not much force; for from the middle of the seventh century A. C. *Śilāditya* became the conventional name of all kings of Valabhī. Śilāditya III was followed by four other kings, all of whom were known by the same name *Śilāditya*. As in the case of the Daddas and the Jayabhaṭas of the Gurjara dynasty, they must have had other personal names by which they were distinguished from one another. Some of the predecessors of Śilāditya III had personal names in addition to those ending in *āditya*. See, *e. g.*, the names of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya and Kharagraha II-Dharmāditya. Some of these names again ended in *ṭa*. The inference seems, therefore, justifiable that Vajraṭa was another name of Śilāditya III. His defeat by Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha may have occurred some time between 677 A. C. and 685 A. C.

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[1] *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

[2] See No. 121, pp. 617 ff., below.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff.; and XV, pp. 329 ff.

[4] This is the only grant of land in the Broach District made by Śilāditya III. He did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. *Important Inscriptions* etc., p. 18.

Two inscriptions of the time of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha have been found in Southern Gujarat. The earlier one, dated K. 421 (671 A. C.), records the grant of the village Asatti-grāma, which Bühler has identified with Astgaon, 7 miles south-east of Navasāri.[1] The second inscription,[2] dated K. 443 (693 A. C.), which was found at Surat, registers the grant of a field in the village of Ōsumbhalā, modern Umbhēl, 7 miles south of Kamrej. Both these grants were made by the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya—the former from Navasārikā and the latter from his victorious camp at Kusumēśvara (modern Kōsmāḍā, 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl). That he was ruling on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha is indicated not only by his title *Yuvarāja*, but also by the seal of the latter grant which bears the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya*. Jayasiṁha seems to have lived for a few years after K. 443; for, his son Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya apparently predeceased him, since his name is omitted in the later records of the dynasty.

Jayasiṁha's younger son Maṅgalarasa who succeeded him[3] was ruling in North Konkan. He is known to have made two land grants. The Manor plates recently discovered in the Thana District, Bombay State, are dated in the Śaka year 613 (691 A. C.). They mention the prince's name with the *birudas*, *Vinayāditya*, *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Yuddhamalla* and *Jayāśraya*, and record his grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun-god and the repairs of his temple at Mānapura, modern Manor in the Palghar *tālukā* of the Thana District. Another copper-plate grant of this prince was found at Balsar in the Surat District.[4] It was made at Maṅgalapurī which was probably founded by Maṅgalarasa himself and was evidently his capital. This grant mentions the same *birudas* of Maṅgalarasa. It is dated in the Śaka year 653 (731-32 A. C.). Maṅgalapurī has not been identified, but the dating of the record in the Śaka era suggests that the grant must have been made outside Gujarat,[5] probably in North Konkan where the Śaka era was then current. The plates, though granted in Konkan, seem to have been taken over to Gujarat just as the Anjaneri plates of Jayabhaṭa, issued in Central Gujarat, were found in the Nasik District and the Kāsāre plates of Allaśakti, also issued in Gujarat, were discovered in West Khandesh. Besides, if the grant had been made in Gujarat, Navasārikā, which was the Chālukya capital in South Gujarat, would in all probability have been mentioned as the place of issue. Maṅgalarasa is also mentioned with only one *biruda Jayāśraya* in the Navsāri plates[6] of his younger brother Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. From the description given therein it appears that Maṅgalarasa regained by the might of his arm the territory which had previously been lost. The name of the enemy from whom he wrested it has, however, not been specified.

It has been generally held that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin succeeded Maṅgalarasa in Southern Gujarat; for, in his Navsāri plates dated K. 490, he mentions himself as medi-

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[1] No. 27.

[2] No. 28.

[3] If the date of the Kairā plates of the Chālukya Vijayarāja is referred to the Gupta era, Vijayarāja will have to be placed between Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya and Maṅgalarasa, but the plates are probably spurious. See below, pp. 168-69.

[4] This record is known only from the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5. The original plates have not been published. From Bhagvanlal's account it appears that the name of the donor is given therein as *Maṅgalarāja*.

[5] It must, however, be admitted that the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti, though issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān) in Gujarat, are dated in the Śaka era. This was probably because the grant was of a village in Khandesh where the Śaka era was current. The Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti are likewise dated in the Śaka era.

[6] No. 30.

tating on his feet. But a careful study of the record shows that while the expression denoting succession which occurs as many as three times in that record is *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating on his feet), that used to express Pulakēśin's relation to his brother is *tat-pāda-paṅkaj-ārādhan-ānudhyāta*[1] (meditating on the propitiation of his lotus-like feet). The difference in the two expressions is certainly striking and seems to suggest that Pulakēśin was ruling in Gujarat contemporaneously with his brother who was governing parts of North Konkan.

The Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin record his grant of a village in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmaṇēya (modern Kamrej, 10 m. north-east of Surat). They are dated in K. 490 (740 A. C.). Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakēśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshṭra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakshiṇāpatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Muhammadan chroniclers. Of the princes named above, Saindhava is generally identified with the king of Sindh. From Futu-hu-l Buldān[2] of Al Bilādurī also we know that during the Khalifat of Walīd I, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, crossed the Sindhu and defeated and killed Dāhir, the king of Sindh. Sulaimān, the successor of Walīd I, called back Muhammad. Jaisingh, son of Dāhir, took advantage of this opportunity to regain his territory; but when Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh during the Khalifat of Hashām (724-743 A. C.), he again pursued a vigorous policy and defeated and killed Jaisingh.[3] It appears, however, from the Ghumli plates recently discovered, that the Saindhava king defeated by the Arab army was probably Pushyadēva (*circa* 734-754 A. C.), the founder of the Saindhava feudatory family which ruled in North Saurāshṭra.[4] Kachchēlla is the king of Cutch. One of the Arab raids during the governorship of Junaid was directed against Kīraj which Elliot identified with Cutch.[5] Saurāshṭra was under the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Though their territory was invaded by the Arabs, they repelled the attack with the help of the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa IV.[6] Perhaps in a later raid the Arabs were more successful. The Chāvōṭaka king was plainly of the Chāpa dynasty which was ruling at Bhilmal. This can be inferred from the statement in the *Brahmagupta-siddhānta* that the astronomer Brahmagupta, the Bhillamalakāchārya or the teacher residing at Bhilmal, wrote the *Siddhānta* in the Śaka year 550 (628 A. C.) under Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty.[7] From Al Bilādurī's work also we learn that Junaid raided Bailamān which is probably identical with Bhilmāl. The Maurya king was probably Dhavala who is known from the Kaṇaswa inscription of his friend Sivagaṇa,[8] dated V. 795 (738-39 A. C.). He was probably ruling over the country corresponding to modern Mewad.[9] Finally, the Gurjara king was probably

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[1] This expression clearly shows that *pād-ānudhyāta* which occurs frequently in Sanskrit inscriptions means 'meditating on the feet of' and not 'blessed or favoured by the feet of' as suggested by some scholars. See my note on the expression in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 288 ff.

[2] *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 125.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

[5] *E. D. H. I.*, p. 391.

[6] See above, p. lv.

[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff.

[9] Dhavala is probably identical with Dhavalappadēva whose inscription dated G. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewaḍ (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1).

Jayabhaṭa IV whose kingdom the Arabs must have overrun before they advanced as far as Navsāri.

The Navsāri plates record that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on the invading Arab army. This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid; for, as we have seen, the latter must have taken place in *circa* 725 A. C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīn about 726 A. C. The raid against Navsāri is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat.[1] The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight. Again, the wording of the eulogistic part of the grant shows that it must have been drafted after the annexation of the Gurjara principality.[2] We may, therefore, date the Arab raid about 739 A. C.

The Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi, whose name has not been specifically mentioned, but who must have been Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.), was so much pleased with Pulakēśin's heroism that he conferred on him the four titles *Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of Dakshiṇāpatha), *Chalukkikulālaṅkāra* (the Ornament of the Chālukya family) *Pṛithivīvallabha* (the dear Lord of the Earth) and *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable). Pulakēśin seems to have annexed the territory to the north of the Kīm after this Arab raid.

Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas. Within eighteen years after the date of the Navsāri plates we find a Rāshṭrakūṭa family established in the Surat District. The Antroli-Chharoli plates[3] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karka II, dated Saka 679 (757 A. C.), record the grant of the village Sthāvarapallikā (the modern Chharoli in the Surat District). The country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family[4] which owed allegiance to the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty of Jābālipura (modern Jālōr).[5]

The country under the rule of the Gujarat Chālukyas originally extended along the western coast from the Kīm in the north to the Thana District in the South. Eastward it stretched up to the Ghāṭs. This kingdom was extended by Pulakēśin who annexed the Gurjara territory to it.[6] Maṅgalapurī, not yet identified, was the capital of Maṅgalarasa,

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[1] Al Bilāduri, however, has recorded that in the days of Tamīm, the successor of Junaid, the Musalmāns retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[2] The eulogistic portion of the record on the Navsāri plates contains some expressions which are known to occur only in Gurjara grants; see below, p. 280.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

[4] See the Hānsōṭ plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartṛivaḍḍha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

[5] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

[6] Some scholars suppose that the Chālukya rule extended to Kairā in North Gujarat; for, it was from a marriage pandal at Kheṭaka (modern Kairā) that a Chālukya princess was abducted by the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243. The princess is supposed to be the daughter of either Maṅgalarasa or Pulakeśin. This view is open to several objections. If the Ellora plates of Dantidurga are dated in Śaka 663, they would show that the marriage must have taken place in any case not later than 720 A.C. Kairā was not then included in the dominion of the Gujarat Chālukyas. Besides, it is doubtful if *kheṭaka-maṇḍapa* in that passage refers to any place-name at all. It appears there as an adjective of *raṇē* and means '(in the battle) in which there was a pandal made by the shields (of the fighting men)'. Even if *Kheṭaka* is taken as a place-name, it cannot refer to Kaira: for (i) it was not included in the kingdom of the Gujarat Chālukyas; and (ii) it was far away from the principality of Indra II. It is doubtful if he was then powerful enough to penetrate so far to the north. Besides, there were other places of that name in the dominion of the Chālukya Emperor where the incident could have happened. See my article on Dantidurga in *J. M. S. G. U.*, Vol. I, p. 36, n. 22.

while Navasārikā, modern Navsāri in the Surat District, was the capital of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. The grant of K. 421 was made by Śryāśraya Śilāditya while residing at Navasāri. This was also probably the place of issue in the case of Pulakēśirāja's Navsāri plates, though there is no specific mention to that effect.

The Gujarat Chālukyas were patrons of Hinduism. They were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. All their known grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and such other rites.

THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

Two sets of Anjaneri plates[1] recently discovered have brought to light a new feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik District in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. This family claimed descent from Hariśchandra, doubtless the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svāmichandra, who heads the genealogical list in both the Anjaneri grants, rose to power during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Anjaneri plates inform us that the Chālukya Emperor loved him as his own son, and it was doubtless by his favour that he became the ruler of 'the entire Konkan country consisting of fourteen thousand villages.' As one of the Anjaneri grants of his grandson Bhōgaśakti is dated in 710-11 A. C., Svāmichandra must have flourished about 660 A. C. Vikramāditya I seems to have appointed him first to rule over Konkan.[2] Svāmichandra's descendants continued to mention gratefully this favour of Vikramāditya I, though they made no reference to the contemporary Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi.[3]

Three generations of this family are known from the Anjaneri plates—Svāmichandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhōgaśakti *alias* Pṛithivīchandra (the Moon on the earth) who made the two grants. The name of the last prince recalls similar names of Sēndraka princes which also end in *śakti*. The question, therefore, arises if these princes belonged to the same clan as the Sēndrakas. It must, however, be noted that as Bhōgaśakti traced his descent from Hariśchandra, he could not have belonged to the Sēndraka family which claimed connection with the Nāga race. The lion seal of the Anjaneri plates and the use of small circles to embellish the tops and corners of the letters incised on them indicate some sort of connection with the Kadambas; for we find these peculiarities in the Bannahaḷḷi plates of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of this family edited here, that which is dated K. 461 (710-11 A. C.) records the grant of eight villages and certain rights, dues and taxes

[1] Nos. 31 and 32.

[2] The Sanjān plates, edited by Mr. Jackson in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 40 ff., purport to record the grant of Buddhavarasarāja, a younger brother of Pulakēśin II, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Pausha. The plates are not dated, but as the genealogy of the Imperial family is carried down to Vikramāditya I, they purport to belong to his reign. The only year during the period from 645 A. C. to 680 A.C. in which there was a solar eclipse in the *amānta* Pausha was 660 A.C. Buddhavarasa may, therefore be regarded as a predecessor of Svāmichandra in Northern Konkan; but the plates are probably spurious; because (1) though Buddhavarasarāja claims to be a Chālukya, the emblem on his seal is the figure of a lion and not that of a boar; (2) the grant is very incorrectly written and contains two long expressions borrowed *verbatim* from ll. 10-11 of the Bagumrā grant of Allaśakti. The record seems to have been fabricated with the help of Chālukya and Sēndraka grants, and the seal was formed on the model of that of Bhōgaśakti's grants. Prof. Sten Konow also, who has re-edited the grant in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff., regards the plates as spurious.

[3] In 671 A.C. Vikramaditya I appears to have transferred Thana and some other districts of North Konkan to Dharaśraya-Jayasimha. See above, p. lx.

in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa who was named Bhōgēśvara evidently after the donor, and was installed in a temple at Jayapura, modern Jarwar Budrukh near Anjaneri in the Nasik District. In the eulogistic portion of the record Bhōgaśakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. As we have seen above, a similar statement is also made about the Chāḷukya prince Maṅgalarasa who flourished in the same period. This suggests that the two families had experienced a disaster from which they recovered by the valour of Bhōgaśakti and Maṅgalarasa respectively. This was probably at the time of Vinayāditya's death (696 A. C.) when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayāditya there was anarchy in the kingdom.[1] The devastation which the country suffered is reflected in the second set of the Anjaneri plates. From it we learn that Bhōgaśakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagiripaṭṭana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages some time after their devastation.

The successor of Bhōgaśakti was probably overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga; for, from the Ellorā plates the latter appears to have occupied the Nasik District some time before 715 A. C.[2]

Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti, is said to have ruled over the whole Kōṅkaṇa country consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The country under his sway probably extended along the western coast from the southern limit of the Thana District in the north to the river Vāsishṭhī in the south. Some time after Jayasiṁha's death in *circa* 695, Bhōgaśakti seems to have extended his sway to the Nasik District above the Ghāṭs. The capital of this country was probably Purī as it is said to be the chief city of the Kōṅkaṇa of fourteen thousand villages. This city, as we have seen, was also the capital of the Mauryas. It has not yet been definitely located, but may be identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State.[3]

THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Until recently there was a perfect blank in the history of the Kalachuris for more than two centuries after the overthrow of Buddharāja. Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-885 A. C.), mentioned at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription[4] and the Banaras plates of Karṇa,[5] was believed to be the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The discovery of two lithic records, one at Saugor,[6] the headquarters of the Saugor District, and the other at Kārītalāi[7] in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, has carried back the genealogy of the Tripurī branch by a few generations. The Saugor inscription was put up during the reign of Saṅkaragaṇa who meditated on the feet of

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff. As shown elsewhere, I read the date of this grant as K. 463 and take it as equivalent to 715 A.C. If the date is read as 663 and referred to the Śaka era, it would be equivalent to 741 A.C.

[3] *P. I. H. C.*, (1940), pp. 86 ff.

[4] No. 45.

[5] No. 48.

[6] No. 35. This inscription has been known for a long time. It was listed by Hiralal in the first edition (published in 1916) of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition also of that work he gave no detailed description of its contents. He, however, called it the oldest Kalachuri record and referred it to the ninth century A. C. He doubtfully read in it the name *Vāgharāja* in place of *Vāmarāja*. The contents of the record were for the first time discussed by the present writer in his article entitled 'Vāmadēva, An Early Kalachuri King', published in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas, pp. 152 ff.

[7] No. 42.

Vāmarājadēva. Both Saṅkaragaṇa and Vāmarājadēva are mentioned in this record with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. This Vāmarājadēva is plainly identical with Vāmadēva who is invariably mentioned with the same imperial titles in the beginning of the formal portion of all official records of the Later Kalachuris of Tripurī and on whose feet they are described as meditating.[1] Vāmarāja[2] was held in such a veneration by all Kalachuri kings of Tripurī probably because he was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power.[3]

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? The aforementioned Saugor inscription is the earliest record which names him. It is not dated; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the middle of the eighth century A.C. Though this inscription states that Saṅkaragaṇa, during whose reign it was put up, meditated on the feet of Vāmarāja, it would be rash to assert that the latter was his immediate predecessor; for, we find the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with the names of as many as five other kings. But it would not perhaps be wrong to refer Vāmarāja to the end of the seventh century A.C.[4]

We have seen above how after the overthrow of Buddharāja, the Kalachuris had to remain in obscurity and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya Emperors. But their stubborn spirit and the memory of their past achievements did not allow them to remain in a subordinate position for a long time. As the Chālukyas were then supreme in the south, the Kalachuris turned their attention to the north where they found a favourable field for the expansion of their power in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. After the death of Harsha, his extensive kingdom crumbled to pieces. In the consequent confusion and scramble for power, Vāmarāja seems to have found the opportunity he was seeking. He overran Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Bāndā District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.[5] From very ancient times this fort has been sacred to Siva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India.[6] In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., it was in the occupation of Udayana of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty.[7] The subsequent history of the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their

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[1] Kielhorn has shown that the expression *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in connection with five Kalachuri kings, *viz.*, Karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha. For the different interpretations of this expression, see my article on Vāmadēva mentioned above, p. lxvii, n. 6.

[2] In subsequent records, his name has been contracted into *Vāmadēva*.

[3] The expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs also in connection with the name of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman in the Dhureti plates of his reign (No. 72) and also in a record of his feudatory Kumārapāladēva of Karkarēḍī. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230 ff. But this is plainly due to the ignorance of the drafters of the records, who blindly copied the expression from earlier inscriptions. It may be noted in this connection that the ancestors of Kumārapāladēva were feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records (Nos. 65 and 68) actually use this expression in connection with the name of the contemporary Kalachuri suzerains.

[4] As shown below, he was probably identical with the unnamed brother of Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in the beginning of the Kahla plates, who lived towards the close of the 7th century A. C.

[5] The fort of Chitrakūṭa near Kāmtā in Bundelkhaṇḍ may also have been occupied by Vāmarāja. The Kanarese poet Pampa says that it was situated in the Chēdi country. *J. R. A. S.* for 1882, p. 19. In some Rāshṭrakūṭa records, its name is coupled with Kālañjara and the two are described as important outposts of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. See, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

[6] See *Padmapurāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, adhyāya 39, v. 54.

[7] A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Vishṇu has been found at Kālañjara. *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and Plate IX. His descendants moved to Chhattisgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116. ff.

possession up to the end of the eighth century A.C. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras,[1] Rāshṭrakūṭas,[2] Chandēllas[3] and Muhammadans,[4] but the Kalachuris' occupation of the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachuryas of South India mention with pride in their records the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara*, 'the lord of Kālañjara, the best of cities'.[5] This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālañjara.

The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva[6] state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partapgarh and Rai Bareli Districts, U. P.). We are further informed that after having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in turn, conquered Śvētapada. As shown below, this Lakshmaṇarāja is identical with Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription. Like the former, the latter also had a uterine brother. Besides, he is said to have first occupied a fort (Kālañjara) and later on established himself at Śaivaya[7] which may be identical with Śvētapada.[8] As shown below, Lakshmaṇarāja I's great-grandson Lakshmaṇarāja II *alias* Rājaputra flourished about 775 A.C. Lakshmaṇarāja I can, therefore, be placed in *circa* 700 A.C. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates. His name is, again, lost in the Kasiā stone inscription, but in view of what is said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. As his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably ruling in 700 A.C., Vāmarāja may have flourished from *circa* 675 A.C. to 700 A.C.

The Kasiā inscription names two ancestors of Lakshmaṇarāja I, *viz.*, his grandfather Śaṅkaragaṇa and his father Nannarāja. Śaṅkaragaṇa may have flourished from 625 A.C. to 650 A.C., and Nannarāja, from 650 A.C. to 675 A.C. It is not stated where they were ruling, but if Vāmarāja was the first prince who conquered and established himself at Kalañjara, his father and grandfather might have been reigning at Māhishmatī, the old Kalachuri capital. In that case, Śaṅkaragaṇa may have been a son of Buddharāja (*circa* 600-625 A.C.) who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. So Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Kasiā inscription may have been named after Buddharāja's father Śaṅkaragaṇa. The connection of the Earlier and the Later Kalachuris may, therefore, be stated in the following genealogical table[9]:—

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[1] The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A.C., the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* was ruled over by Śarvavarman, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

[2] In the tenth century, the Pratihāras seem to have lost both Chitrakūṭa and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshṭrakūṭas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭas till the time of Kṛishṇa III. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

[3] According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127- 28), the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandēllas during the reign of Yaśōvarman (*circa* 930-950 A.C.).

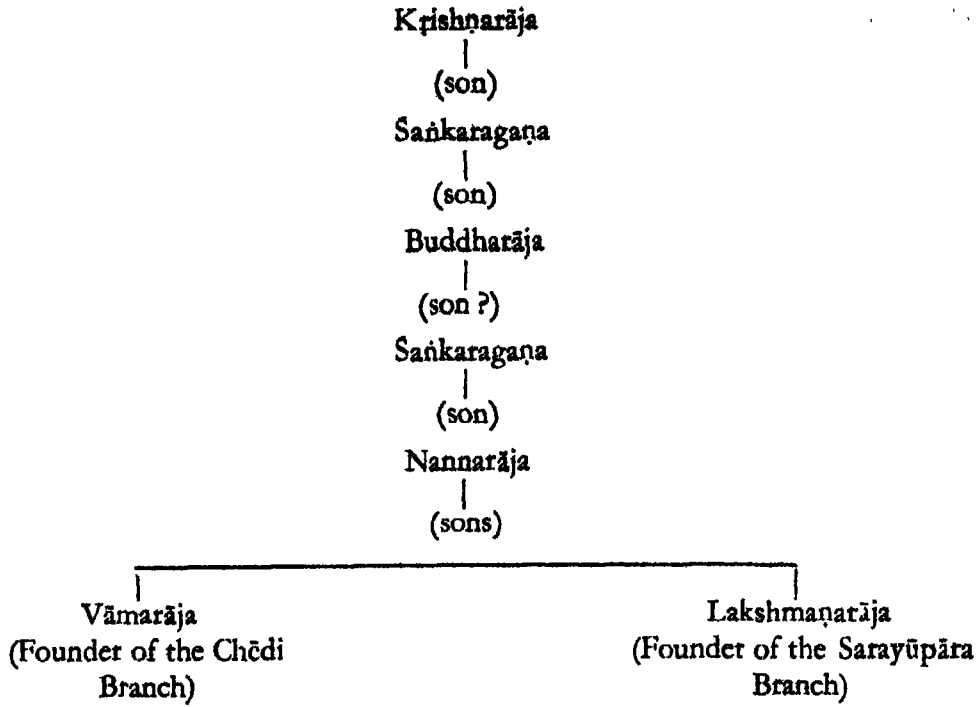
[4] It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Ibak in April 1203 A.C., but was soon recovered by the Chandēllas.

[5] See, e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 24.

[6] No. 74, l. 5.

[7] No. 73, ll. 15 and 16.

[8] Śvētapada was wrongly identified by R. D. Banerji with the northern part of the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 70). The correct reading in l. 25 of the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman is *Śvētapaṭa* meaning *Śvētāmbara*. Śvētapada may be identical with Svētapatha or Sētapatha mentioned in Sāñchī inscriptions, No. 89 and No. 475 respectively (*M. S.*, Vol. I, p. 299), but the country has not been identified. Śaivaya seems to be the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Seavaa* derived from Śvētapada.

[9] The identification of Vāmarāja with the elder brother of Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā and Kahla inscriptions, on which the table is based, is probable, though not quite certain.

Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumtī in the north to the Narmadā in the south, and comprising the modern Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Saugor and Jabalpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the central portion of Uttar Pradesh. He assumed the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events in his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown,[1] Chēdi was originally the name of the country along the south bank of the Yamunā from the Chambal on the north-west to the Kārvī (which flows north-east of Chitrakūṭa) on the south-east. Its limits southward were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times, Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Baghelkhand, which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris almost till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[2] and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend *Tipuri* (Sanskrit, *Tripurī*) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C.[3] Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division,[4] and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī, the capital of the Chēdi country.[5] The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[6] and the *Matsya-purāṇa*.[7] The Tripurī-*vishaya* (the district of Tripurī) is described, in the Betul plates of Saṅkshōbha, as situated in the Ḍabhālā (*i.e.* Ḍāhala) country,[8] which was under the rule

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.
[2] Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, v. 60, mentions that a king of Tripurī was defeated by Sahadēva.
[3] *A. C. A. I.*, Introd., p. cxl.
[4] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, adhyāya 14, v. 9.
[5] Hēmachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, v. 41.
[6] Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, v. 60.
[7] *Matsyapurāṇa* (Anand. Sk. series), adhyāya 114, v. 53.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.

of the Parivrājaka kings down to 528 A.C. at least. It is, however, not known who was holding that country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Śaṅkaragaṇa I of Tripurī. We do not know even the names of the princes who ruled in this period. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava*, was one of them. He is described by Rājaśēkhara as a Karachuli (*i.e.*, Kalachuri) poet.[1] Another Sanskrit poet, Bhīmaṭa, whom Rājaśēkhara mentions as the lord of Kālañjara, perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājaśēkhara tells us that he composed five Sanskrit plays, of which *Svapnadaśānana* was judged to be the best.

Śaṅkaragaṇa I is the next known Kalachuri prince. Only two records of his reign have so far been discovered. The one discovered at Saugor registers some religious or charitable work done by a woman for the spiritual merit of her father and mother. In this record Śaṅkaragaṇa is mentioned with the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, which show that he must have been ruling over a fairly large territory. The second inscription is incised on the pillar of a temple at Chhōṭi Dēori, about a hundred miles to the east of Saugor. It records the donation of a granary in two villages in the neighbourhood, apparently to the god Śiva enshrined in the temple. This record also is not dated; but on palæographic grounds it can be referred to the same age as the aforementioned Saugor stone inscription, *viz.*, about the middle of the eighth century A.C.

The names of the successors of this Śaṅkaragaṇa are not known until we come to Lakshmaṇarāja I of the Kārītalāī stone inscription dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). In the century that intervened between the reigns of these two kings, several important events took place in the political history of North India. In the second half of the eighth century A.C., the Pratīhāras and the Pālas were contending for supremacy at Kanauj; but they were both vanquished by the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. The Sañjān plates[2] of Amōghavarsha I tell us that Gōvinda III, after defeating Nāgabhaṭa II and Chandragupta, both of whom were evidently rulers of Central India, marched to the foot of the Himālayas, where Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, submitted to him. Then he returned to the bank of the Narmadā, and acquiring Mālava, Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Vēṅgī, Ḍāhala and Oḍraka countries, made his servants rule them. This suggests that Gōvinda III raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes, or after deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their territories. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates[3] of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Malwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. In some other records of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭas, we find references to battles fought by them with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in Ujjayinī. Malwa was, therefore, made a protectorate, and a subordinate branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was established in Gujarat to check the advance of the Pratīhāras. In the case of the Kalachuris also, he followed a similar policy. He did not, of course, supplant the ruling prince, but he made him acknowledge his suzerainty.[4] The subordinate position of the Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja I is indicated by the Kārītalāī inscription[5] of his reign, which, even in its present fragmentary condi-

[1] Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali* (Gaekwad's Or. Series), p. 46.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 158.

[4] The Nilgund inscription of Amōghavarsha I states that Gōvinda III fettered the prince of the fort Chitrakūṭa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 103. This fort was probably in the occupation of the Kalachuris at that time.

[5] No. 37.

tion, clearly shows that it eulogized the achievements, not of Lakshmaṇarāja, but of his suzerain's father Gōvinda III.[1] It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning Kalachuri king is relegated to the margin. Later on, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, from time to time, entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris of Tripurī[2] and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.

The Kārītalāi inscription of the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja I is dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). We may, therefore, place the Kalachuri king from *circa* 825 A.C. to 850 A.C.

Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably succeeded by Kōkalla I, who may have been his son. No inscription of this king has yet been found; but we get some account of him in two later records, the Bilhāri stone inscription[3] and the Banaras plates of Karṇa.[4] Kōkalla made some matrimonial alliances which increased his power and prestige. He himself married a Chandēlla princess named Naṭṭādēvī.[5] From the Cambay plates we learn that the king Akālavarsha (*i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II) married the daughter of Kōkalla, an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna.[6] She became his chief queen and bore him a son named Jagattuṅga. This latter prince also, as we shall see later, married two Kalachuri princesses.

The Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates describe the help that Kōkalla rendered to a number of his contemporaries. The former says that Kōkalladēva, after having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north.[7] The statement evidently means that Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. The Banaras plates state that Kokalla's hand gave freedom from fear to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Srī-Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa.[8] That this is no empty boast is shown by the records of the other dynasties also.

Kṛishṇarāja who is figuratively called Kōkalla's pillar of victory in the south is none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Krishna II-Akālavarsha. He is identical with the Vallabharāja who received protection from Kōkalla; for, *Vallabha* or *Śrī-vallabha* was a title assumed by many Rāshṭrakūṭa kings.[9] The Arabs called the Rāshṭrakūṭas by the name of *Balharā*,[10] which is admittedly a corrupt form of *Vallabharāja*. As already shown, Kṛishṇa II was the son-in-law of Kōkalla. He must have sought his father-in-law's help when he was engaged in a conflict with the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-88 A.C.). We find references to these hostilities in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Thus

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[1] In line 9 it mentions the routing of Nāgabhaṭa (II), evidently by Gōvinda III.

[2] The aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription indicates that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Amōghavarsha used to visit the place to pay his respects to a saintly person there. Though Amōghavarsha I was forty-two years old at the time of this Kārītalāi inscription, it is doubtful if his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Kōkalla's daughter at the time; for, the son is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. The inscription does not state when Amōghavarsha had gone to Kārītalāi. Perhaps, one of the objects of his visit was to seek Kōkalla I's help when he was deposed by his kinsman in the early part of his reign.

[3] No. 45.

[4] No. 48.

[5] No. 48, l. 10.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

[7] No. 45, l. 8.

[8] No. 48, ll. 8-9.

[9] See the discussion of this matter by Fleet in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. The Bagumrā plates of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa refer to a Vallabha-*nṛipa* who can be none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa II.

[10] *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 218.

the Ederu plates of Amma[1] tell us that Vijayāditya frightened Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila and burnt their city completely. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva[2] states that Vijayāditya III burnt Chakrakūṭa and terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura and joined by Kṛishṇa. The Malispuṇḍi inscription of Ammaraja II[3] gives the further detail that this Saṅkila was the lord of the excellent Ḍāhala (country). He was, therefore, a Kalachuri prince and is evidently identical with Saṅkuka[4] (called also Śaṅkaragaṇa in the Karḍā plates), the son of Kōkalla, whose younger sister was married to Kṛishṇa II. Success seems at first to have attended the arms of Vijayāditya; for, he is said to have burnt Chakrakūṭa and also Kiraṇapura where Kṛishṇa II and Saṅkila were then encamped. The former of these two places has been identified with the central portion of the Bastar District[5] and the latter with a place of that name in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh.[6] Pāṇḍaraṅga, the general of Vijayāditya, pressed as far as Achalapura in Berar, which he is said to have stormed and burnt.[7] Later, on however, Kṛishṇa II won notable successes as implied in the Kalachuri records. The Eastern Chālukyas themselves admit in their records that on the death of Vijayāditya III, their country was overrun by the forces of a kinsman of the Raṭṭa king[8] and that the diadem of Chālukya-Bhima I, the successor of Vijayāditya III, was struck at by Vallabha.[9] These wars must have been waged during the period 880-890 A.C. Saṅkila or Śaṅkaragaṇa, though described in some Chālukya records as the lord of the Ḍāhala country, was probably the crown prince at the time and was sent by his father to help his son-in-law in his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas.[10]

Another son of Kōkalla I, named Arjuna, seems to have helped Kṛishṇa II's son Jagattuṅga with a large army probably during his wars with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras on the northern frontier of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom.[11]

The identification of Bhōja, the second prince helped by Kōkalla I, is more difficult. Kielhorn was of opinion that this Bhōja was the first prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty,[12] who flourished from *circa* 835 to 885 A.C. Some scholars[13] have, however, latterly advanced the view that the protégé of Kōkalla I was Bhōja II, the son and successor of Mahēndrapāla and grandson of Bhōja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla. Kōkalla espoused the

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 39. Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *Saṅkila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

[6] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., p. 95.

[7] *A. R. S. I. E.* (1923), pp. 61 and 98. Achalapura was probably the capital of a feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa family which at this time owed allegiance to the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa. See also below, p. lxxxiii.

[8] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 40. The inscription has the word *dāyāda* (meaning 'an agnate') referring to this kinsman. He seems, therefore, to have been a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince, perhaps of the Gujarat branch. It is noteworthy that the Masulipatam grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I mentions his defeat of a king of Lāṭa who was an ally of Kṛishṇavallabha. *A. R. S. I. E.* (1914), p. 84. If *dāyāda* was used in a wider sense, it might refer to Śaṅkaragaṇa.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231.

[10] Perhaps Śaṅkaragaṇa had ascended the Kalachuri throne before these wars came to a close.

[11] See v. 16 of Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 38. The verse occurs also in the Sāngli plates of the same king. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

[12] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

[13] See, *e. g.*, Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., p. 101; Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī*, etc., p. 4; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 255-56.

cause of Bhōja II and succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. This prince, however, ruled only for a short time; for, we find Mahīpāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession.[1] It is, therefore, doubtful if Kōkalla's achievement in this case would at all be glorified by his successors as the erection of a column of victory in the north. Besides, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that there was a war of succession. Bhōja II is known only from one record, namely, the Asiatic Society of Bengal plate (dated V. 988) of Vināyakapāla, who is described therein as meditating on his feet. If Vināyakapāla is identical with Mahīpala, as is generally held,[2] it looks strange that he should reverentially mention his predecessor Bhōja II, whom he is said to have dethroned. Besides, it is doubtful if Kōkalla I was living at the time of this supposed war of succession. As we have seen, he was fairly advanced in age in 880 A.C., as his son Saṅkaragaṇa was then sufficiently grown up to take the field against Vijayāditya III. It is, therefore, doubtful if he lived to meddle in the matter of succession to the Pratīhāra throne thirty years later. As shown below,[3] his grandson Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of Mahīpāla, and he was preceded by two other princes on the Chēdi throne. Kōkalla, therefore, seems to have died some time during the reign of the Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla. The Bhōja whom he rendered help must consequently be identified with Bhōja I.

When did Bhōja I require the help of the Kalachuri king? This must plainly have been in the early part of his reign when he had to contend against the mighty Dēvapāla of Bengal (*circa* 810-855 A.C.). We know that Rāmabhadra, the father of Bhōja, was a weak king. That he lost a large part of his kingdom is clear from the Barah plate of Bhōja I, which confirms a grant in the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* which had been interrupted during the reign of Rāmabhadra,[4] evidently due to the inroads of Dēvapāla. According to the Monghyr plates, the elephants of this Pāla king reached the Vindhyas and his cavalry

[1] The last known date of Mahēndrapāla is V. 964 (907-8 A.C.), mentioned in the Sīyaḍōṇī stone inscription. He may, therefore, have closed his reign about 910 A.C. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is Ś. 836 (914 A.C.), furnished by the Haḍḍālā plates. So Bhōja II could have reigned only for two or three years.

[2] This identification is open to doubt; for, Mahīpāla nowhere in his inscriptions mentions Bhōja as his predecessor. It is more likely that Mahēndrapāla had three sons Mahīpāla, Bhōja II and Vināyakapāla, who succeeded him one after another. As Mahāmahōpādhyāya G. S. Ojha has pointed out, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Besides, it seems clear from Āryakshēmīśvara's *Chaṇḍakauśika* that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikēya; for, the poet refers to his patron as Mahīpāla in the prologue of his play and as Kārttikēya in the last verse of the fifth Act. Mahīpāla is, therefore, not likely to have been known also by the name of Vināyakapāla or Hērambapāla. On the other hand, Vināyakapāla seems to have been a younger brother of Mahīpāla, as Gaṇēśa was of Kārttikēya. The only possible objection to this view is that unless we identify Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla (or Hērambapāla), the statement in the Sīyaḍōṇī inscription that Dēvapāla meditated on the feet of Mahīpāla would conflict with that in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga that Dēvapāla was the son of Hērambapāla. Ojha tries to solve this difficulty by taking the two Dēvapālas as distinct persons. He says that Dēvapāla who is called *Hayapati* (lord of horses) in the Khajuraho inscription could not have been a Pratīhāra prince as *Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. We have, however, to remember that according to the testimony of the Arab writer Sulaiman, the Pratīhāras maintained a fine cavalry, and in contemporary records Bhōja is described as having an army of excellent and controllable horses (*sad-vaśya-vāh-ānvitaḥ*); *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 184. The Kuḍlur plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha state that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III crowned Mārasiṁha king before proceeding to the north to conquer Aśvapati who was proud of his horses (*A. R. A. S. M. for* 1921, p. 23). This passage also seems to use *Aśvapati* as a title of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Perhaps the word *sūnu*, used in the Khajuraho inscription to state the relation of Dēvapāla to Hērambapāla, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as *tāta* (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

[3] See below, p. lxxviii.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

roamed in the Kāmbōja country.[1] The Bādal pillar inscription states that Dēvapāla humbled the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras.[2] Bhōja seems to have ultimately succeeded in retrieving his position towards the end of Dēvapāla's reign.[3] Like Guṇāmbhōdhi of the Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri family,[4] Kōkalla I apparently rendered help to the Gurjara Pratihāra king in these wars. The relations between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras seem to have been more or less amicable during the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, since much of the latter's time and energy was spent in quelling internal rebellions and in fighting with his eastern neighbours, the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, as well as with his kinsmen who were probably the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat.[5] Notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance with Amōghavarsha I, therefore, Kōkalla I could render help to Bhōja I in strengthening his position in the north. It is also not unlikely that the help he gave to the mighty king of Kanauj has been exaggerated in the aforementioned inscriptions of his descendants.

After the conclusion of his war with the Pāla king, Kōkalla seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with him. From the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, we learn that his father Vigrahapāla, the son of Jayapāla, married a princess named Lajjā who had adorned the family of the Haihayas.[6] The inscription does not name any ancestors of Lajjā; but in view of Kōkalla's policy of making matrimonial alliances, it is not unlikely that she was his daughter or some near relative.

Śrī-Harsha and the lord of Chitrakūṭa, who also are said to have received protection from Kōkalla, are usually taken to be identical. Kielhorn identified this Harsha with the homonymous prince of the Chandēlla dynasty;[7] but it is doubtful if his rule had at this time extended in the north as far as Chitrakūṭa. From the Khajuraho inscription dated V. 1011 (954 A.C.), we learn that it was Yaśōvarman, the son of Harsha, who first annexed the hill of Kālañjara.[8] Chitrakūṭa, which lies 25 miles north-east of Kālañjara, seems then to have been, like the latter, held by the Gurjaras. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Harsha who received protection from Kōkalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might have extended to Chitrakūṭa (modern Chitor in Mewad).[9] According to the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya, this Harsha conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhōja who can be none other than the great Pratīhāra Emperor. The identification, therefore, appears quite plausible in view of the alliance of both this Harsha and Kōkalla with Bhōja I.

Finally, Śaṅkaragaṇa was identified by Kielhorn with Kōkalla's own son. There is, however, no point in saying that Kōkalla gave protection from fear to his own son. Śaṅkaragaṇa is more likely to be the homonymous prince of the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which had settled in the Gōrakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva state that this Śaṅkaragaṇa was the father of Guṇāmbhōdhi. The same record tells us further that Guṇāmbhōdhi took away

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 305.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 163.

[3] In the Gwalior *praśasti* Bhōja is said to have remarried Lakshmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was evidently Dēvapāla. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 109 and 113, n. 4.

[4] See the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva (No. 74). This record states that Guṇāmbhōdhi deprived the Gauḍa king of his royal fortune.

[5] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., p. 77.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 301.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28.

[9] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 486.

the fortune of the Gauḍa king, for which he received some territory from Bhōja. His father Śaṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, have received some help from Kōkalla I during the early part of the latter's reign.

The Amōdā plates[1] of Pṛithvīdēva I, dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.), state that Kōkalla, an ancestor of Pṛithvīdēva I, forcibly dispossessed the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Sākambharī, the Turushkas and a descendant of Raghu, of treasures, horses and elephants, and erected a column of victory on the earth.[1] As shown below, this Kōkalla was probably the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī; but it is doubtful how far the description of his conquests contained in this record, dated nearly two centuries after him, can be taken to be correct; for, we have no corroboration of it in other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or even of Tripurī. Besides, we find that Kōkalla I formed alliances with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who are probably referred to here as the lord of Karṇāṭa and a descendant of Raghu respectively. His hostility with these kings is, therefore, not likely.

Kōkalla I was succeeded by his son, who is called Mugdhatuṅga in the Bilhāri inscription and Prasiddhadhavala in the Banaras grant. Both these appear to be *birudas* rather than personal names. The former of them was evidently suggested by his association with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who were fond of names ending in *tuṅga*. The personal name of Kōkalla's son and successor was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. As we have already seen, the Maliapuṇḍi inscription calls Saṅkila (*i.e.*, Śaṅkaragaṇa) the lord of the excellent Ḍāhala country.[2] The Karḍā plates state that Śaṅkaragaṇa was the lord of Chēdi.[3] There is no doubt, therefore, that Śaṅkaragaṇa ascended the Kalachuri throne; but no prince of this name is mentioned as Kōkalla I's successor either in the Bilhāri inscription or in the Banaras grant—the two records which are our main authorities for the early history of the Tripurī branch. Śaṅkaragaṇa must, therefore, be identified with Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala. A third *biruda* of his, *viz.*, *Raṇavigraha* is mentioned in some Rāshṭrakūṭa records[4], and is also known from a *subhāshita* of Rājaśēkhara cited in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa.[5]

The Bilhāri inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.[6] This statement is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavala, cited in the Banaras grant. It states that Prasiddhadhavala took possession of Pāli, thinking that there would be born in his family (many) men eminent on account of their greatness in this world.[7] This apparently means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. Several inscriptions[8] of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty state that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī, and that he made his younger brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the neighbourhood. If this Kōkalla is identified with

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[1] No. 76, ll. 6-8.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

[4] The Cambay and Sangli plates of Gōvinda IV state that Lakshmī, the wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, was the daughter of Raṇavigraha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250), while the Karḍā plates say that she was the daughter of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the lord of Chēdi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 264). Raṇavigraha was, therefore, a *biruda* of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

[5] Cf. *Nadīnāṁ Mēkala-sutā nṛipāṇāṁ Raṇavigrahaḥ | Karīnāṁ cha Surānandaḥ Chēdi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanam ||* *Sūktimuktāvali* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 47.

[6] No. 45, l. 10.

[7] No. 48, l. 13.

[8] See, *e.g.*, No. 76, ll. 8-9; No. 77, ll. 5-6 *etc.*

Kōkalla I, it becomes clear that Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala conquered Pāli from the lord of Kōsala and placed one of his brothers in charge of it. This Kōsala is probably Dakshiṇa or Southern Kōsala, comprising modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country on the east. There is still a village named Pāli in the Bilaspur District, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur, which was no doubt situated in Dakshiṇa Kōsala. There is even now an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli, which testifies to its past importance. The surrounding territory was evidently called the country of Pāli, which was wrested by Mugdhatuṅga from the lord of Kōsala. The latter, as shown below,[1] must have been a prince of the Bāṇa dynasty, probably Vikramāditya I, called also Jayamēru, the son of Malladēva, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva and has left an inscription incised over the door of its *garbhagriha*. As he flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.C.,[2] his date squares with that of Śaṅkaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatuṅga who probably reigned from 890 A.C. to 910 A.C.

Śaṅkaragaṇa II had a son named Bālaharsha, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Lakshmī and Gōvindāmbā, both of whom married the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa's brother-in-law Kṛishṇa II. Jagattuṅga had, from Lakshmī, a son named Indra III, who succeeded Kṛishṇa II,[3] and from Gōvindāmbā, another named Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, who also later on sat on the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne.[4] Some Rāshṭrakūṭa records[5] further mention Śaṅkaragaṇa's brother Arjuna, who must have been ruling over a *maṇḍala* of the Chēdi kingdom. The latter's son Ammaṇadēva had a daughter named Vijāmbā, who married Indra III and bore him two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, both of whom succeeded their father, one after the other.

Śaṅkaragaṇa II was followed by his son Bālaharsha. He is mentioned only in the Banaras plates, which give him a merely conventional praise. The Bilhāri inscription omits his name probably because he was a collateral. Bālaharsha sounds like a *biruda*, but we have now no means of knowing the personal name of this prince.

Bālaharsha had probably a very short reign (*circa* 910-915 A.C.). He seems to have died sonless; for, he was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I. No inscriptions of this prince also have yet been discovered ; but from the records of other dynasties and especially from a play of his court-poet Rājaśēkhara, we have more information about him than about any other early member of the Tripurī house.

The Bilhāri inscription states that Yuvarājadēva I fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, sported with the ladies of Karṇāṭa, applied the ornamental mark to the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, and was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga.[6] This implies that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa, and married beautiful and accomplished ladies from these provinces. Curious as it might seem, the foregoing description in the Bilhāri inscription is corroborated by a passage in the Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśēkhara, which was staged at Tripurī. Yuvarājadēva I himself is the hero of this play. From the fourth Act of it, we learn that the king had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avanti, Jālandhara

[1] Below, p. 418.

[2] The known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.) to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.). Vikramāditya I may, therefore, be referred to the period 870—895 A.C.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

[6] No. 45, ll. 10-11.

and Kērala.[1] In another Act of the same play, he is called *Ujjayinī-bhujaṅga*, which suggests his victorious raid on Malwa.[2] Even in an inscription of his enemies, Yuvarājadēva I is described as one who had planted his foot on the heads of famous kings.[3] There is not, therefore, much exaggeration in what the Bilhāri inscription says of him—"Up to the Kailāsa mountain, where Pārvatī is constantly engaged in sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western ocean, the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies."[4] Yuvarājadēva assumed imperial titles. He is called *Paramēśvara* in the Bilhāri inscription and *Chakravartin* in the aforementioned play of Rājaśēkhara. Another title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*[5] which indicates his supremacy in the north-east Deccan is known from the same play of Rājaśēkhara.

Yuvarājadēva married Nōhalā, who became his chief queen. She belonged to the Chaulukya lineage and was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Siṁhavarman. We have no information about the country where these princes were ruling. Perhaps Avanivarman was related to the king Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. As the latter is said to have donated certain places such as Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd in Madhya Bharat) to the Saiva ascetic whom he invited to his country, it is plain that he was ruling in Central India. If Avanivarman, the father of Nōhalā, was related to Avantivarman, he also might have been ruling somewhere in the same part of the country.[6]

The Karḍā plates[7] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Karka II state that Yuvarājadēva gave his daughter Kandakadēvī in marriage to Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa. Baddiga was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Gōvinda IV. As he was reigning from *circa* 935 A.C. to 939 A.C., his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A.C.

Yuvarājadēva was a patron of men of letters. Rājaśēkhara, a well-known Sanskrit poet, flourished in his court. In his early days Rājaśēkhara was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his two Sanskrit plays *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bālabhārata* (or *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*) and the Prakrit drama *Karpūramañjarī* during the reigns of the Gurjara Pratīhāra Emperors Mahēndrapāla I and his son Mahīpāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III and later on due to the raids of Yuvarājadēva I, Rājaśēkhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālajalada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalachuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the rhetorical work *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[8] As already stated, the former was staged at

[1] *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* ed. by Arte, p. 113.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12. The same title of *Ujjayinībhujaṅga* was borne by two captains of the Gaṅga prince Mārasiṁha, *viz.*, Śudrakayya and Gōggiyamma who also apparently had raided Malwa during the expedition of their master Mārasiṁha. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 9.

[3] Cf. *Vikhyāta-kshitipāla-mauli-rachanā-vinyasta-pādāmbujaṁ......Chēdirājaṁ*, in verse 28 of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśōvarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

[4] No. 40, ll. 11-12.

[5] Mr. Arte's edition of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* has *Triliṅg-ādhipati* on p. 39, but it is evidently a mistake for *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati*. As shown below, the same title was borne by several later Kalachuri kings.

[6] It is not, however, known if Avantivarman belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty. The Ūnā plates dated Vikrama Saṁvat 956 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.) were issued by a Chālukya prince named Avanivarman II. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I; but he cannot be identified with Nōhalā's father, because his father and grandfather were Balavarman and Avanivarman I respectively.

[7] *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff.

[8] *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

the Kalachuri court and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarāja-dēva I's reign, to which we may now turn. Its plot may be summarised as follows :—

"The king Vidyādharamalla *alias* Karpūravarsha of Tripurī receives at his court Vīrapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna, the lord of Kuntala, who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who would marry Mṛigāṅkāvalī, the daughter of the king Chandravarman of Lāṭa, would be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūravarsha with Mṛigāṅkāvalī. Chandravarman, her father, has no son, and so, since her childhood he has brought her up as a boy under the name Mṛigāṅkavarman. None but Bhāgurāyaṇa knows of this secret. He manages to have the pretended crown prince of Lāṭa brought to Tripurī to stay at the Kalachuri court. Karpūravarsha's chief queen Madanasundarī, who, though related to Chandravarman, is shown to be ignorant of the personation, used to dress occasionally the pretended boy in a female garb. When the king sees her once in a dream, he falls in love with her. The queen, in order to play a practical joke on the king, induces him to marry a sister of the pretended boy. This sister is none other than Mṛigāṅkāvalī herself, though the queen, who is ignorant of her real sex, takes her to be Mṛigāṅkavarman in a female garb. The king agrees and the marriage is performed. In the meanwhile, news comes from Chandravarman that a son has been born to him. He, therefore, requests his niece, the queen of Karpūravarsha, to bestow his daughter Mṛigāṅkāvalī, whom he has brought up as a son, on a worthy consort. The queen realizes her mistake when it is too late. To make the best of the situation, however, she bestows both Mṛigāṅkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā, the Kuntala princess, on the king. Just then comes a messenger bearing the following letter from the king's General Śrī-Vatsa :—

"Through the power of Your Majesty who is an ornament of the Karachulis, through the clear intellect of the great minister Bhāgurāyaṇa as well as through the execution of Your Majesty's orders by insignificant soldiers like myself, all the mighty kings of the east, the west and the north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Vīrapāla, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his kinsmen, sought Your Majesty's protection. As Your Majesty ordered, we placed him at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payōshṇī."

The General then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, *viz.*, those of Karṇāṭa, Siṁhala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Kōṅkaṇa and others, defeated them and placed Vīrapāla on the throne. Finally, Bhāgurāyaṇa declares that the Karachuli king reigns supreme over the whole country 'from the milky ocean in the north to the sea filled with the water of the Tāmraparṇī in the south, from the western ocean, which receives the Narmadā, to the eastern sea, the shore of which is sanctified by the fall of the Gaṅgā.'

The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is a drama of harem-intrigue. The plot summarised above resembles in some respects those of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvali* of Harsha. Still it is likely to have a historical basis. The play was staged at Tripurī before the court of Yuvarājadēva, who is none other than the first Kalachuri king of that name. He is also identical with the hero of the play, Vidyādharamalla, whose alternative name Karpūravarsha recalls Kēyūravarsha, the *biruda* of Yuvarājadēva I. Besides, Vidyādharamalla is called *Karachuli-tilaka*, an ornament of the Karachulis (*i.e.*, Kalachuris) and is represented as ruling at Nṛipurī which is plainly a mistake for Tripurī. He is again called *Triliṅgādhipati*. This title corresponds to *Trikaliṅgādhipati* assumed by

several later Kalachuri kings. Like the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana[1] and the *Karṇasundarī* of Bilhaṇa, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* also seems to have been based on historical events in the career of the contemporary king. From the analysis of the play given above, it will be noticed that it mentions the following events :—

(1) Yuvarājadēva married the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of Lāṭa, and this matrimonial alliance apparently strengthened his position.

(2) He espoused the cause of Vīrapāla, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank of the Payōshṇī, defeated it and placed Vīrapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

It is not possible to say definitely if the first of these was a historical event. It is not stated to which royal family Chandravarman of Lāṭa belonged. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Rājaśēkhara represents a Chaulukya king as ruling over Lāṭa and attending the *svayaṁvara* of Sītā (Act III, verse 57). From the description of the several kings who attended the *svayaṁvara*, which is full of anachronisms, it is plain that Rājaśēkhara is referring to the state of affairs in his own times. So Chandravarman of Lāṭa may have been intended to be represented as a prince of the Chaulukya dynasty. From some inscriptions[2] and literary references[3] we know that a Chaulukya chief named Bārappa was ruling over Lāṭa in the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. He was the son of Nimbārka. Earlier members of this line are not known. Perhaps Chandravarman was intended to represent the predecessor of Nimbārka. He would, in that case, be a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I. This must, of course, remain a conjecture until positive evidence of the earlier rule of this family in Lāṭa becomes available.

The second event described in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have a foundation in fact. Vīrapāla whose cause was espoused by Yuvarājadēva I is called the king of Kuntala. Kuntala was the name of the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavatī, comprising the Southern Maratha Country as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Madras and Mysore States. In many records the Rāshṭrakūṭas are referred to as the kings of Kuntala. Vīrapāla was, therefore, apparently a claimant for the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. His claim seems to have been superseded, and so he sought Yuvarājadēva's help to gain his kingdom.

Was there such a war of succession about this time in the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas? The Karhad[4] and Deoli[5] plates of Kṛishṇa III tell us that Gōvinda IV, whose known dates range from 930 A.C. to 933 A.C., was the source of the sportive pleasures of love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and when his health was undermined, he ultimately met with death. From some other records, however, we learn that Amōghavarsha III, the uncle of Gōvinda IV, fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV which resulted in the king's death. The Prince of Wales Museum plates[6] of the Silāhāra prince Chhadvaidēva say that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV, who was acting unjustly. There was thus a civil war in the Rāshṭra-

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

[2] See the Surat plates of Kīrtirāja, dated Śaka 940 (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 88); also the Surat plates of Trilōchanapāla, dated Śaka 972 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.). As Bārappa was the grandfather of Kīrtirāja, he may be placed about 960 A.C.

[3] Bārappa is called the king of Lāṭa in Hēmachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, and the general of Tailapa, the sovereign of Tiliṅgaṇa, in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Rāsamālā*. In the *Sukṛitasaṅkīrtana* (Canto II, v. 5), however, he is said to have been the general of the lord of Kānyakubja.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

kūṭa kingdom at the close of Gōvinda's reign. The aforementioned Deoli and Karhad plates further tell us that after the death of Gōvinda IV, the feudatory princes entreated Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III to ascend the throne. This clearly indicates that there was some trouble about succession to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne at that time. Vīrapāla of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was apparently a claimant for the throne, and when he failed to get it, he sought Yuvarājadēva's help. The latter had by that time made extensive conquests *in the north, east and west, but as the play states, he could not, for some time, gain a footing* in the south. This was evidently due to the increasing power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Yuvarājadēva apparently thought that the civil war at the close of Gōvinda IV's reign afforded him an excellent opportunity to place his own protégé on the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. He sent a large army under his able general, who defeated the Kuntala king and his allies in the battle of the Payōshṇī, and placed Vīrapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

This Vīrapāla is probably Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.[1] The latter, we know, was Yuvarājadēva's own son-in-law. The Kudlur[2] and Sudi plates[3] further tell us that he was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi with the Gaṅga prince Pērmāḍi Būtuga II. Baddiga's son Kṛishṇa III also had married a Kalachuri princess. It is not, therefore, surprising that Yuvarājadēva espoused the cause of Baddiga.[4] Rājaśēkhara has changed the names of the historical persons who figure as characters in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Kēyūravarsha, for instance, appears as Karpūravarsha, and his minister Bhākamiśra, as Bhāgurāyaṇa. So Baddiga may have been represented as Vīrapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna.[5]

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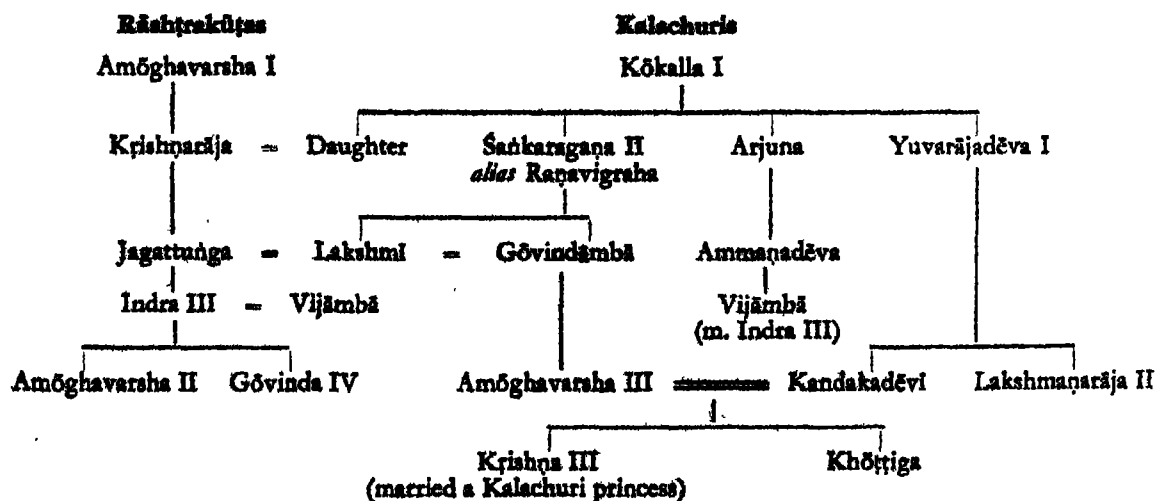
[1] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 109 ff.

[2] *A. R. A. S. M.* (1921), pp. 21-22.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

[4] Gōvinda IV also was a relative of Yuvarājadēva, but he was more distantly related to him than Amōghavarsha III; for, he was a grandson of his niece. The following table shows the matrimonial alliances of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris :—

[5] I previously proposed to identify Vīrapāla with some other claimant for the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne (*e.g.*, Bappuva) on the following grounds—(i) The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* represents that Yuvarājadēva afterwards married Vīrapāla's daughter. This would evidently be impossible if Vīrapāla represented Baddiga. (ii) The Karhad plates dated Ś. 880 (958 A.C.), state in verse 25 that Kṛishṇa III, while he was *Yuvarāja*, defeated Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. R. G. Bhandarkar first suggested that this Sahasrārjuna was a Kalachuri king as the Kalachuris traced their descent from the mythical hero Kārtavīrya-Sahasrārjuna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284. This king could be none other than Yuvarājadēva I, who was the father-in-law of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Kṛishṇa III. As Amōghavarsha ruled only for about four years, this defeat of the Kalachuri king must have occurred within a year of the former's

The recently published Muruḍ plates of the Silāhāra prince Aparājita state that Amōghavarsha III exterminated his wicked enemies in a fierce battle fought at the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkara.[1] The latter is probably identical with Karkarāja, the lord of Achalapura, mentioned in the Sudi and Kudlur plates as an antagonist of Būtuga, the son-in-law of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.[2] Achalapura, which is identified with Ellichpur[3] in the Amaravati District of Madhya Pradesh, was, therefore, the scene of the battle. This town lies only about 10 miles west of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshṇī). Rājaśēkhara's statement that the battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshṇī is thus corroborated by independent inscriptional evidence.

This Karkara and his younger brother Bappuva were probably relatives and staunch supporters of Gōvinda IV. The Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor had made Bappuva the ruler of North Karṇāṭaka, and placed Karkara in charge of Vidarbha. From the Mahākūṭa temple inscription[4] we learn that Bappuvarasa (who is plainly identical with the aforementioned Bappuva) granted three rice-fields to Nandikēśvara in 933 A.C. In this inscription he is called *Mahāsāmanta* and is said to have attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. He is further described as a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gōpāla. This Gōpāla is probably identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV. Bappuva seems to have taken a leading part in the civil war which raged in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom towards the end of Gōvinda IV's reign. He at first won some successes for his lord, but was afterwards defeated by the Chālukya chief Arikēsarin II, who, as stated in Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya*,[5] fought for Baddiga. Arikēsarin and other allies of Baddiga then seem to have marched on the imperial capital Mānyakhēṭa where they killed Gōvinda IV.[6]

In the meantime, Yuvarājadēva's army under his able general invaded the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom from the north. Baddiga[7] and probably his valiant son Kṛishṇa III also

(Continued from last page.)

accession; for, it is placed first among the achievements of Kṛishṇa III as crown prince. For these and some other reasons, it appeared plausible that Yuvarājadēva, on political grounds, backed up some other claimant than Baddiga, and fought with the latter. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri has, however, recently pointed out that the aforementioned verse in the Karhad plates does not record any defeat of the Kalachuri king, but only glorifies Kṛishṇa III by stating that he excelled even Sahasrārjuna, the progenitor of the royal family in which his mother and wife were born. The passage from an unpublished manuscript cited below, p. lxxxiii, note 4, which has recently come to my notice, leaves no room for doubt that Prof. Sastri's interpretation is correct; for, it states that Amōghavarsha continued to stay at the Chēdi capital even after his enemies were exterminated, while Kṛishṇa was governing the kingdom by his command. The difficulty presented by Rājaśēkhara's statement that Yuvarājadēva married Vīrapāla's daughter still remains. Perhaps, that incident, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, is a mere poetic invention intended to complicate the love affairs in the drama. See his *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., p. 110.

[1] Cf. श्रीमत्कर्कराष्ट्रकूटकटकेऽसह्यसंघर्षतो
रौद्रद्रोहदवप्रतापशमनं निस्त्रिंशधाराजलैः ।
येनाकारि समुद्धृतेन्द्रधनुषा भूपाश्रमानिर्विभुता
भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसुधनोऽसद्धूलिविध्वंसनात् ॥ *I. I. B. S.*, Vol. I, p. 47.

[2] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 612 ff.

[3] The ancient place-name has now been restored.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 104; Vol. XVIII, p. 316.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329.

[6] See Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya*, āśvāsa IX; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 328-29. The description in the Deoli and Karhad plates that Gōvinda IV died early because his health was undermined by his dissolute life is a myth invented by his enemies. The Prince of Wales Museum plates recently edited by me (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.) state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted Gōjjiga (*i.e.*, Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly.

[7] Rājaśēkhara states in his play that the General Vatsa placed Vīrapāla at the head, when he marched to the Payōshṇī.

accompanied the forces. They marched on Achalapura, the capital of Karkara.[1] If the description in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is correct, a large number of Gōvinda's feudatories and allies had assembled at Achalapura to oppose the invading forces.[2] A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshṇī (modern Pūrṇā), which flows only about 10 miles east of the town. Karkara and other allies of Gōvinda were defeated. The Kalachuri army then marched on to Mānyakhēṭa, which Arikēsarin had already stormed and taken. He had also killed the Emperor Gōvinda IV. The feudatories that had gathered at Mānyakhēṭa then offered the crown to Baddiga and 'entreated him to accept it to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, and he too, being prompted by the god Siva, ascended the glorious throne of heroes'.[3] The last known date of Gōvinda IV is 933 A.C. and the earliest date of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III is 937 A.C. The battle of the Payōshṇī may, therefore, have been fought in 935 A.C. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have been staged at Tripurī in jubilation at this great victory over a formidable confederacy of southern kings. Yuvarājadēva I was now at the height of his power; for, he had attained the enviable position of *Chakravartin*.

The cordial relations of the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas continued as before. Although some of the feudatories of Gōvinda IV had been defeated and the imperial capital had been occupied, peace and order were not established for some time in the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominion. Baddiga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, preferred to return to the Kalachuri capital,[4] while his son Krishṇa III, who was appointed *Yuvarāja*, subdued the rebellious feudatories. He killed Bappuva and his ally Dantiga,[5] and governed the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in the name of his father, who continued to stay at Tripurī.

Soon after this, Yuvarājadēva I suffered a defeat, at the hands of Yaśōvarman, the Chandēlla king, who was ruling over the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti. The Khajuraho inscription[6] says that Yaśōvarman vanquished in battle a Chēdi king who had countless forces, who had planted his lotus-like foot on rows of diadems of famous kings and who was being protected by a multitude of angry and invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut that were marching along like huge mountains of collyrium. R. B. Hiralal thought that this battle took place at the time of the accession of Yuvarājadēva I.[7] The latter was, however, a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman. Besides, he is described in the aforementioned record as having already defeated a number of famous kings. The

[1] I have shown above (p. xlvii) that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha were originally feudatories of the Early Kalachuris and later transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They were at first ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur. Later, Achalapura seems to have become their capital.

[2] It is not unlikely that the names of some of them were inserted for the sake of alliteration.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284; Vol. V, p. 194.

[4] The following verses which occur at the end of an unpublished commentary on a Śaiva work state that Vandyaga (*i.e.*, Baddiga) was staying at the Chēdi capital (Tripurī) after exterminating his enemies and that his son Krishṇa (III) was governing the kingdom by his order in the Śaka year 858 (936 A.C.) गतवति शककाले मङ्गलेष्वष्टसंख्ये शरदि विशदपक्षे चाश्विने शुक्रवारे । सहुनि सुरपतीशो योग आयुष्मतीयं तिथिरपि च गतानां पञ्चमी यत्र युक्ता ॥ चेदिकुलराजधान्यां गतवति श्रीवन्द्यगे निहत्यारीन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधां परिरक्षति कृष्णराजेऽपि ॥ The *tithi* mentioned here, *viz.*, Friday, Āśvina śu. di. 5, Śaka 858, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September 936 A.C., which leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS. and the correctness of the statements made therein. I owe this interesting reference to the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum.

[5] This Dantiga is probably identical with Dantivarman who was defeated by Būtuga. The description in the Sudi and Kudlur plates suggests that he was a ruler of Banavāsi in North Kanara. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 180; *A. R. A. S. M.* (1921), p. 22.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

[7] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 287.

battle must, therefore, be dated towards the close of his reign.

Yuvarājadēva was a fervent devotee of Siva. He invited a Saiva ascetic named Prabhāvaśiva from Madhumatī which still survives as a small village under the name Mahuā, about a mile to the south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. He built for him a monastery at the expense of an enormous amount of money at Gurgi in the former Rewa State and donated several villages for the maintenance of the Saiva ascetics residing there.[1] He also erected a temple of Siva nearby. At Bhērā-Ghāṭ near his own capital Tripurī, he built a round hypæthral structure dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs.[2] From the characters of the short inscriptions on their pedestals, it appears that most of the images of the Yōginīs installed in the cells of this temple belong to the time of Yuvarājadēva I. This temple, therefore, is of the same age as the hypæthral granite structure at Khajuraho, which also was similarly dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs. From its round shape, the temple was known as the Gōlakī Maṭha (Circular Temple). It became in its turn an important seat of Saiva Āchāryas and spread its branches in Cudappah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State. In an inscription[3] discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District, it is stated that Yuvarājadēva gave, as *bhikshā*, three lakhs of villages to his *guru* Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Gōlakī Maṭha. This means that he assigned one third of the revenue of the Ḍāhala country which contained nine lakhs of villages.[4] His queen Nōhalā was also equally devoted to the same Saiva sect. She called another Saiva ascetic named Īśvaraśiva and donated two villages to him as a reward for learning (*vidyā-dhana*). She erected a lofty temple of Siva under the name of Nōhalēśvara[5] and endowed it with the grant of seven villages situated in the neighbourhood.

Yuvarājadēva had a very learned, pious and capable Brāhmaṇa minister, named Bhāka-miśra. He is probably the prototype of Bhāgurāyaṇa who figures as the counsellor of the hero in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Another minister of his, who probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of Bhānu. He was a devotee of Vishṇu, and caused colossal images of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Balarāma and Paraśu-rāma incarnations of Vishṇu to be carved out of rocks at Bāndhōgarh where he has left his own inscriptions.

Yuvarājadēva I was one of the most powerful rulers of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He raided distant countries and made even famous kings feel the weight of his arm. It is difficult to say if his raids resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory; for, no inscriptions of his reign have been discovered outside the Chēdi country. But his titles *Chakravartin* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati* indicate that he occupied for a time the leading position among the powers of North and South India. This was evidently when the power of the Pratīhāras declined in the north owing to the raids of Indra III and that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was on the wane in the south owing to dissensions in the royal family during the reign of Gōvinda IV. Yuvarājadēva was a pious man, a great builder, and a patron of religion and literature.

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[1] No. 46, ll. 43 ff.

[2] Though the temple is called Chausaṭh Jōginī Temple, there are in all 81 cells, one of which contains an image of Gaṇapati, and the rest, those of Yōginīs. Five of these are of an earlier, perhaps Kushāṇa, age. *H. T. M.*, p. 78.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

[4] This statement needs to be verified from other records. The records of the Saiva Āchāryas them-selves found in the Chēdi country make no mention of this munificent gift.

[5] It is not known where this temple was situated. It is perhaps identical with the temple at Nōhatā on the main road between Jabalpur and Damoh. According to Cousens, it belongs at the latest to the 10th century A.C. See *A. R. A. S. I. for* 1903-4, p. 58.

Yuvarājadēva I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇarāja II, who was his son by his favourite wife Nōhalā. In the early part of his reign, Lakshmaṇarāja seems to have taken part in the northern campaign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. A Kanarese inscription[1] recently discovered at Jurā, 12 miles from the Maihar railway station, shows that Kṛishṇa III led an expedition in the north after he ascended the throne, and set up a monument in the Chēdi country. It is not dated; but as it mentions Kṛishṇa's extermination of the Chōla king, it must have been put up after 947 A.C.[2] It has been suggested that the erection of this monument implies defeat of the Chēdi king; but since there is no mention or even suggestion of it in the Jurā inscription, it seems that Kṛishṇa III set up the monument as he marched through the Chēdi kingdom. His relations with Lakshmaṇarāja II seem to have been as cordial as those of his father with Yuvarājadēva I.

Like his father, Lakshmaṇarāja also raided distant countries. The Kārītalāi inscription[3] of his reign, which must have contained an account of his conquests, has unfortunately lost its initial historical portion; but in the records of his successors, he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated Pāṇḍya, who was an adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gurjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmaṇarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir; but the Bilhāri inscription[4] states that he defeated the lord of Kōsala (*i.e.*, South Kosala or Chhattisgarh) and pressed on as far as Orissa. He vanquished the ruler of this latter country also, and obtained from him an effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliyā, wrought with jewels and gold. As regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujarat, we have the statement in the same inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja, in the course of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently identical with Sōmanātha near Verāval in Saurashtra and dedicated to the deity the aforementioned effigy of Kāliyā. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line[5] in the contemporary Kārītalāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the Chōlas, who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the south in the latter half of the tenth century A.C., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja before he could press as far south as Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not recovered from the attack of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,[6] when his country was raided by Lakshmaṇarāja. Perhaps the object of the panegyrist was not to enumerate all kings defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja, and the Pāṇḍya king finds a mention because he was ruling in the extreme south.

The Gurjara king defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji.[7] The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva, and conjectured that he must

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

[2] Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao ascribes it to 963-64 A.C.

[3] No. 42.

[4] No. 45, ll. 23-24.

[5] No. 42, line 1.

[6] Compare *Kṛitvā dakshiṇa-dig-jay-ōdyata-dhiyā Chaul-ānvay-ōnmūlanam tad-bhūmiṁ nija-bhṛitya-vargga-paritas=Chēraṁma-Pāṇḍy-ādikān* in the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 285.

[7] *H. T. M.*, p. 13.

have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gurjaras. But these suppositions do not appear to be correct. As stated before, Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Oḍra (Orissa). This Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country. Besides, Lakshmaṇarāja who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District of the United Provinces must have flourished long before Lakshmaṇarāja II of the Tripurī house.[1]

Lakshmaṇarāja sought to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas, who were the rivals of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the Deccan. He gave his daughter Bonthādēvī in marriage to Vikramāditya IV, whose son Tailapa II (*circa* 956-997 A.C.) later on overthrew the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king Karka II in 973 A.C.

Like his father and mother, Lakshmaṇarāja was a devout Śaiva. The Bilhāri inscription states that he showed his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, and invited to his country the Śaiva pontiff Hṛidayaśiva, the spiritual successor of Chūḍāśiva. The latter ascetic seems to be identical with Sikhāśiva, whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva had already been invited by Yuvarājadēva I. Hṛidayaśiva received from Lakshmaṇarāja the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha at Bilhāri. He then placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the aforementioned temple of Nōhalēśvara. Another Śaiva ascetic of the time was Praśāntaśiva,[2] the spiritual successor of Prabhāvaśiva. He became the head of the monastery at Gurgi in the former Rewa state. He built there a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva I, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another at Vārāṇasī (Banaras) for the performance of austerities.

The only record of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign discovered so far is the Kārītalāi stone inscription. It is not dated, but in view of the date of Yuvarājadēva I fixed above, we may place Lakshmaṇarāja II in the period 945-970 A.C.

Lakshmaṇarāja had a very learned, accomplished and pious minister named Sōmēśvara, the son of Bhākamiśra who had served his father in the same capacity. He is highly glorified in the aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription. He is said to have mastered the Vēdas, logic, *tantra* and *kāvya*, and to have been proficient in music and other fine arts. He built at Kārītalāi a temple of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu under the name Sōmēśvara and established eight Brāhmaṇas there, for whose maintenance he donated the village Dīrghaśākhika, modern Dighi, 6 miles south-east of Kārītalāi. The king Lakshmaṇarāja, his queen Rāhaḍā and the prince Śankaragaṇa, who is described as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, endowed the temple with gifts of several villages. Another minister of the king, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated 1048-49 A.C., but his name is lost in the lower mutilated portion of it.

Lakshmaṇarāja II was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa III, who was his son probably from the queen Rāhaḍā. He is mentioned in both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates; but later inscriptions omit him, probably because he was a collateral. A stone inscription at Bargaon, 27 miles from Murwārā, records certain gifts in honour of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa. The deity was probably installed by Śaṅkaragaṇa III and named after himself.[3] It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Vishṇu in the Kārītalāi inscription.

[1] See below, p. cxii.

[2] He is mentioned in No. 44, ll. 8-9 and No. 46, ll. 11 ff.

[3] Compare the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the deity installed in a temple erected by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, as stated in the Bodhan stone inscription dated 1056 A.C. *H. A. S.*, No. 7.

Śaṅkaragaṇa seems to have been involved in a conflict with the Chandēllas, whose kingdom was conterminous with his on the west. Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman and brother of Dhaṅga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.[1] From a stone inscription discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall many years ago at Bhilsa, we learn that Vāchaspati of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who was the chief minister of Kṛishṇa, conquered the lord of Chēdi and a Śabara chief named Siṁha and placed the kings of Rālā *maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on their thrones.[2] Another stone inscription discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde at Maser, 25 miles north of Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, mentions that Narasiṁha of the Sulkī (*i.e.*, Chālukya) family initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood by the command of Kṛishṇarāja.[3] As the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇa was a younger brother of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 952 to 1002 A.C., he can be referred to the period 960-985 A.C. The Kalachuri king, defeated and perhaps slain by his ministers, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. It is significant that both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates have nothing but conventional praise for him. As his brother Yuvarājadēva II, who succeeded him, was a contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 974—994 A.C.), Śaṅkaragaṇa III seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years from *circa* 970 A.C. to 980 A.C.

Śaṅkaragaṇa III probably left no issue; for, he was succeeded by his brother Yuvarājadēva II. About the political events of his reign we have very little information; for, though he is named in many later inscriptions, they bestow only conventional praise on him. The Karaṇbēl inscription[4] alone states that he raided the countries in all quarters, and with great devotion, presented the wealth he obtained from their rulers to the god Sōmēśvara. As no other inscription mentions this achievement of Yuvarajadēva II, and as a similar one is described in connection with his father Lakshmaṇarāja II,[5] one is inclined to look with suspicion on this description.

The prestige of the Kalachuris seems to have sunk very low during the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. From the Udaipur *praśasti*[6] we learn that the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals, and held his sword on high at Tripurī. Vākpati could not have occupied the Kalachuri capital for a long time; for, he soon found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border of his kingdom. He seems, therefore, to have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.

From a verse[7] which occurs in some inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, it has long been believed that Tailapa II, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty, defeated a king of Chēdi.[8] Rai Bahadur Hiralal went so far as to identify the Chēdi ruler with Yuvarājadēva II.[9] As Yuvarājadēva's sister Bōnthādēvī was the mother of Tailapa,[10]

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[1] Four inscriptions found at Dudahi name Kṛishṇapa, the son of Yaśōvarman who is plainly the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

[3] *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

[4] Appendix, No. 3, v. 13.

[5] No. 45, ll. 23-24.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

[7] *Hūṇa-prāṇahara-pratāpa-dahanō yātrā-trasan-Māravas=Chaidya-chchhēdy=akhila-kshamā-jaya-naya-vyutpanna-dhīr=Utpalaḥ | yēn=ātyugra-raṇ-āgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prāchurya-śaury-ōdayaḥ kārāgāra-nivēśitaḥ kavi-vṛishā yaṁ varṇayan ghūrṇatē ||* This verse occurs in several inscriptions. See e.g. the Kauthe grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23; the Yēwur grant of Vikramāditya VI, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276; the Miraj grant of Jayasiṁha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 etc.

[8] *E. H. D.*, p. 131; *H. T. M.* p. 14; *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 770.

[9] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 291.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276.

there is, of course, no chronological difficulty in this identification; but in view of Tailapa's close relationship with the Kalachuri king, his invasion of the Chēdi country appears improbable. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned verse describes the exploits, not of Tailapa II, but of a king named Utpala, whom he subjugated and threw into prison.[1] Dr. Fleet identified this Utpala who defeated a Chēdi king with Pāñchāla, a western Gaṅga prince, whom, according to some other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle.[2] From the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*,[3] however, we learn that Utpala was a name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muñja. So this defeat of the Chēdi king by Utpala is not different from that mentioned in the Udaipur *praśasti*, to which we have already referred.

As Yuvarājadēva II's grandson Gāṅgēyadēva closed his reign in 1041 A.C., we have to accommodate two reigns, *viz.*, those of Yuvarājadēva II and Kōkalla II in the period 980-1015 A.C. Of these, Yuvarājadēva II had probably a shorter reign of about 10 years (*circa* 980-990 A. C.); for, his son Kōkalla II was very young when he came to the throne. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state that Kōkalla was placed on the throne by the chief ministers of Yuvarājadēva. This seems to suggest that he was a minor, when he began to rule. He may, therefore, have flourished from *circa* 990 to 1015 A.C.

The only record of Kōkalla II's reign is the Gurgi stone inscription,[4] which is besides very much mutilated just where a *praśasti* of the Chēdi kings begins. Verse 34 of this inscription, which refers to the exploits of Kōkalla II, is somewhat better preserved. It intimates that the Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauḍa and Kuntala, being panic-stricken, evidently when they heard of Kōkalla's advance,[5] deserted their kingdoms. The Gurjara king, who is said to have sought shelter in the Himālayas, must have been a ruler of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, probably Rājyapāla. The Gauḍa king was probably Mahīpāla I (*circa* 992-1040 A.C.). The king of Kuntala, who was forced to leave his kingdom,[6] was perhaps Vikramāditya V of the Later Chālukya Dynasty. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa describe that the progress of Kōkalla's four-membered army was checked only by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans. The vagueness of this description, however, makes it difficult to say if Kōkalla actually made successful incursions into the territories of the aforementioned kings.

That the Kalachuris had lost their place among the leading political powers of North India, during the reigns of Yuvarāja II and Kōkalla II, is also clear from the absence of any reference to them in the list of the prominent Hindu states which opposed Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.C. When in about 989 A.C. Jayapāla resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigin, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjar and Kanauj.[7] Again in 1008 A.C. when Jayapāla's son, Ānandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjar, Delhi and Ajmer. In neither

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[1] See my article 'Did Tailapa defeat a Chēdi king?' *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 132 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 18, no. 12.

[3] Canto XI, v. 92.

[4] No. 46.

[5] Banerji thought that verse 34 of this inscription described the conquests of Gāṅgēyadēva; but this is incorrect; for, as has been pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII, 129), the preceding verse (33) names Kōkalla (II). This leaves no room for doubt that the achievements glorified in verse 34 belong to him and not to Gāṅgēyadēva.

[6] There is no reference to the ruler of Banavāsī, as wrongly supposed by Banerji.

[7] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Translation by Briggs, p. 18.

we find any mention of the Kalachuris,[1] which shows that in this period o count as a great political power in North India.

was succeeded by his son Gāṅgēya in *circa* 1015 A.C. He was an aggres-g, and by his conquests raised his family to a high level of glory and pros-eginning of his reign, however, he occupied a comparatively subordinate is indicated by the modest titles *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* and *Mahārāja*, s mentioned in the Makundpur stone inscription, dated 1019 A.C. A ption[2] at Mahōbā states that Bhōja and Kalachuri-chandra (the Moon of waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara, the master of warfare, who lestruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch. handra is probably Gāṅgēya.[3] The reference here is evidently to the āla for his abject submission to Mahmud, in which the Chandēlla prince a leading part. He was aided by some princes, one of whom, we know, apaghāta ruler Arjuna.[4] The Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya e fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition against

h Gāṅgēya carried on the war with the Chālukyas, which had been com-ther. He seems to have achieved success for a time. In some records ,[6] Gāṅgēya is described as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that wishing to from Gāṅgēya, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. The king of course, be taken to mean the contemporary ruler of the Later Chālukya , Jayasiṁha, who ruled from about 1015 A.C. to 1042 A.C. From the

e mentions this confederacy; but his statement may be incorrect in regard to Delhi and *Sultan Mahmud*, p. 89, n. 3.
ol. I, p. 222. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has recently made the ingenious suggestion that ed by the Muhammadan historians as 'a Satanic leader who had assumed superiority , defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with, and possessed a great army, and strong forts which were secure from attack and capture, and who defended ırā against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.C. is really Kōkalla Chid or Kōkalla II of p. 146. This is, chronologically, not impossible; because the earliest known date is 1019 A.C. But Prof. Hodivala's other suggestion that he is identical with the ıra who helped the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara in defeating the pusillanimous Rājya-to be correct for two reasons: (i) the Muhammadan historians say that Kulchand ter his defeat at Mahāvan, and (ii) in 1019 A.C. when Rājyapāla was defeated, Gāṅgēya, on the throne. See the Makundpur stone inscription, dated K. 772 (1019 A.C.).
1 and, following him, Dr. H. C. Ray identify him with Kōkalla II; but this is incorrect.

kund inscription. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 233.
n of a *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms., discovered by Prof. Bendall in the Nepal Durbar Library, men-*Puṇyāvalōka* Gāṅgēyadēva, born in the lunar family, as ruling over Tīrabhukti in Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it as equivalent to 1019-20 A.C. yadēva with the homonymous Kalachuri king, as the date falls in his reign. On the ence, it was believed for a long time that Gāṅgēya extended his sway to Tirhut early in et *Puṇyāvalōka*, however, made this identification doubtful; for, Kalachuri kings are not ed such epithets ending in *avalōka*. I have recently drawn attention to another epithet usly misread by Bendall as *Gauḍadhvaja*) applied to Gāṅgēya in the same colophon. It is king of Tirhut was different from the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva who was *parama-*out worshipper of Śiva. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva of Tīrabhukti, *B. O. R. I.*, Silver Jubilee Vol., pp. 291 ff.
and No. 51, l. 9.

Kulenur inscription[1] it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājēndra to attack Jayasiṁha from three sides. Victory does not, however, appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasiṁha's cousin Chaṭṭadēva *alias* Kundarāja. From another inscription we learn that the battle was fought on the bank of the Gautama-Gaṅgā or Gōdāvarī.[2] Bhōja and his allies appear to have sustained a disastrous defeat; for, the Balagamve Inscription states that Jayasiṁha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king.[3]

The alliance between the Kalachuris and the Paramāras seems to have been of short duration; for, we find that Bhōja soon attacked and defeated Gāṅgēya. In one of the Nāndī verses of the inscribed Sanskrit play *Pārijātamañjarī*, Bhōja is said to have had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya.[4] The Udaipur *praśasti*[5] and the Kalwan plates[6] also refer to Bhōja's victory over a Chēdi king who can be none other than Gāṅgēyadēva.

Verse 19 of the Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa[7] describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēya's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa, which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse. This latter verse says that Gāṅgēyadēva, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm the pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean after vanquishing the king of Utkala. In this war Gāṅgēya was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāṇa. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I[8] record that Kamalarāja, an early prince of the Tummāṇa branch, vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva. The king of Utkala was, it seems, a member of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Śubhākara II, as shown below. During this campaign Gāṅgēya seems to have also defeated Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti, the ruler of South Kōsala. In one of his grants Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas, *i.e.*, the people of the Chēdi country, and carried fire and sword into their home province of Ḍāhala.[9] The war seems to have continued for some time, and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he might have assumed the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Karṇa mentions this title in his first known grant[10] issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death.

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni had shattered the power and prestige of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. Trilōchanapāla is the last known Pratīhāra king who was exercising some loose authority over the Gangetic Doab till 1027 A.C.; for, his Jhusi grant[11] of that year records the donation of a village to the Brāhmaṇas of Pratishṭhāna. The power of the Chandēllas, the only other ruling family of Central India capable of thwarting the ambition of Gāṅgēya, was waning after the death of Gaṇḍa. Some time after 1027 A.C. Gāṅgēya seems to have embarked on a bold policy of conquest and annexation. Throwing

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 330.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 359.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.
4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 101.
5 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235.
6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71.
7 No. 51.
8 No. 76, l. 13.
9 *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. I (1905), p. 4.
10 No. 48, l. 34.
11 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

off the yoke of Chandēlla suzerainty, he overran the Doab and even carried his arms as far as the Kāngrā valley; for, he is said to have thrown into the cage of a prison the king of the Kīra country.[1] Gāṅgēya's conquest of the Doab is corroborated by the find of his coins in Uttar Pradesh. He then fixed his residence in the holy city of Prayāga, which, with some interruption,[2] he held to the last.

Gāṅgēya next extended his sway to Banaras. Several powerful rulers seem to have vied with one another for the occupation of this ancient city, which was regarded as holy by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmaṇas. Towards the close of the 10th century, it was in the occupation of the Chandēllas; for, a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1055 (998 A.C.) records the grant of a village which the powerful king Dhaṅga made at Kāśikā or Banaras.[3] Thereafter, the city seems to have passed into the possession of the Pālas. The Sārnāth stone inscription[4] dated V. 1083 (1026 A.C.) records that by the order of the Pāla Mahipāla I of Bengal, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kāśī. Some time after this date, the city seems to have again changed hands. The *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi* describes a swift raid of Ahmad Niyal Tigin, the Governor of the Panjab, which he carried out in the summer of H. 424 (1033 A.C.).[5] This raid was directed against the city of Banaras which belonged to the territory of Gaṅg. This Gaṅg is none other than Gāṅgēya, for, the date falls in his reign. The Muhammadan army plundered the city from morning to mid-day; but it could remain there no longer 'because of the peril.' This seems, therefore, to have been a surprise raid, and the invaders knew full well what risk they would run if they stayed there longer. They, therefore, left the city in haste and got back in safety.

After these conquests Gāṅgēya seems to have assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. These titles appear in the Piawan rock inscription of his reign dated K. 789 (1037-38 A.C.). His fame spread far and wide. Albērūnī, writing in 1030 A.C., mentions in his work that Gāṅgēya was the ruler of the Ḍāhala country, the capital of which was Tiaurī (Tripurī).[6]

Gāṅgēya's conquests brought him into conflict with the Chandēllas. An inscription from Mahōbā[7] states that when Gāṅgēya thought of the impending fierce fight (with the Chandēlla Vijayapāla), even he who had slighted and conquered the whole world felt that the lotus of his heart had the knot of martial pride closed. This seems to imply that the redoubtable Gāṅgēya submitted to the Chandēlla king. Judging by subsequent events, however, victory seems ultimately to have rested with the Kalachuri king.

In the east Gāṅgēya carried his arms as far as Aṅga and Magadha. The copperplate grants of his son Karṇa record that he looked radiant with the mass of wealth of the king of Aṅga[8] (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts). The expedition against Magadha seems to have occurred towards the close of Gāṅgēya's reign. It was led by his son Karṇa. From the Tibetan accounts we learn that the army of Karṇa advanced as far as Gayā. The Pāla king Nayapāla was then ruling over Magadha. Karṇa's troops sacked some of the

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[1] No. 50, l. 18; No. 51, l. 9.

[2] The Karā inscription (V. 1093) of Yaśaḥpāla, whose lineage is not known, records the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba *maṇḍala*. *J. R. A. S.* (1927), p. 694. Yaśaḥpāla had the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. He seems to have dispossessed Gāṅgēya of Allahabad for some time.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

[5] *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

[6] Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (1914), Vol. I, p. 202.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

[8] This may have been Mahīpāla I (988-1038 A.C.). *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five men, out of whom four were ordained monks and one an *upāsaka*. Ultimately, through the efforts of the renowned Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpaṁkara, who risked his life several times in crossing the rivers that lay between the contending parties, a treaty was signed, by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms.[1] This expedition seems to have taken place some time before 1040 A.C., which is the approximate date of Atiśa's departure for Tibet. As Gāṅgēya was ruling till the beginning of 1041 A.C., the invasion of Magadha cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have occurred towards the end of Gāṅgēya's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēya.

Gāṅgēya was fond of residing at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga,[2] which became his second capital. He died at the same place. His hundred wives are said to have immolated themselves on his pyre. The date of his death can be accurately determined from that of his first annual *śrāddha* which was performed by his son Karṇa at Prayāga. According to Karṇa's Banaras grant, which was made on the occasion, the *śrāddha* was performed on the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 793. Gāṅgēya must, therefore, have died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

Gāṅgēya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Kalachuri power was weak and effete. By his valour and diplomacy, he revived the imperial glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include a major part of the modern Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratīhāras were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the attacks of the Muslim iconoclasts, he took them under his own protection, and to guard them effectively, he made Prayāga his second capital.[3] From the grants of his grandson Yaśaḥkarṇa, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of *Vikramāditya*.[4] Even in the records of his enemies he was called a world-conqueror (*jita-viśva*).[5] At his death, he left a fairly large empire, which was further extended by his son Karṇa.

Gāṅgēya was an ardent Śaiva. According to the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Narasiṁha,[6] he erected a matchless temple of the Mēru type, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. His Piawan rock inscription also seems to have recorded the installation of a Śiva-*liṅga*.[7]

Gāṅgēya introduced the Lakshmī type of coinage, which became very popular in North India. The obverse of these coins is wholly occupied by the king's name in bold Nāgarī characters in three lines, and the reverse, by the figure of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper, and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-dramma, quarter-dramma and one-eighth dramma.[8]

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[1] *J. B. T. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.

[2] See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 12.

[3] Kalachuri inscriptions make no mention of Gāṅgēya's encounter with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose contemporary he was. Prof. Hodivala makes the ingenious suggestion that Kābakan, who ruled the country bordering on the territory of Nanda (*i.e.*, the Chandēlla Gaṇḍa) and who sent some wonderful presents to Mahmud after the latter's generous treatment of the Chandēlla ruler, was Gāṅgēya. He is said to have been a master of 1000 elephants. *S. I. M. H.*, pp. 73 ff.

[4] See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 11.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

[6] No. 60, v. 9.

[7] Appendix, No. 1.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

The Lakshmī type introduced by Gāṅgēya was subsequently copied by the Chandēllas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Tomaras, and was introduced even in distant Kashmir.[1]

As stated above, Gāṅgēyadēva was succeeded by his son Karṇa in 1041 A.C. From several inscriptions of his reign as well as from references in literary records, Sanskrit and Prakrit, we can form a general idea of the main political events of his reign.

The Rewa stone inscription[2] dated in K. 800 (1048-49 A.C.) shows that in the first seven years of his reign, Karṇa attained remarkable victories in the east, south and west. He seems to have first proceeded to the east. Verse 26 of the aforementioned inscription states that the ship of the king of the eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of Karṇa's forces, its joints being rent by dashing against the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants. This verse clearly implies that Karṇa obtained a decisive victory over the king of the eastern country, who lost his life in the encounter. Who was this king of the eastern country? He could scarcely have been the contemporary Pāla king; for, the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihar and North-West Bengal. From the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Narasiṁha,[3] on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave a full play to heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenour of the description suggests that the ruling family was supplanted and the kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact, we find the Vermans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A.C. Gōvindachandra, the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal,[4] is also mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription[5] of Rājēndra Chōla I as the ruler of Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in *circa* 1021 A.C. by Rājēndra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (1014—1044 A.C.). When Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal, either this prince or his successor was on the throne. After the overthrow of the Chandra king, Karṇa placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and gave his daughter Vīraśrī in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter distinguished himself in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa in the country of Aṅga.[6] The Rewa inscription shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected in any case before 1048-49 A.C.

Karṇa next turned his attention to the south. Verse 25 of the aforementioned Rewa inscription describes Karṇa's southern campaigns in a figurative style. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern direction in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (by kissing).' It is difficult to say how far this figurative description correctly represents historical facts. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in this verse, had long ceased to be supreme in the south, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in 890 A.C.[7] A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nōlamba-

[1] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. III, p. 26.

[2] No. 51.

[3] No. 60, l. 10.

[4] *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 196. See the Paikpārā inscription of his reign. *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VII, pp. 405 ff.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

[6] *I. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

[7] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

vāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A.C.;[1] but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchi and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long list of his conquests in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchi is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgāpurī or Gāṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājēndra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital.[2] Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasiṁha.[3] R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman, who was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.C. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in verse 25 of the Rewa inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in 1048-49 A.C. Karna's adversary must, therefore, be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājēndra Chōla I, who ruled from 1044 to 1054 A.C.

While Karṇa was in the south, he seems to have encountered the king of Kuntala. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The battle does not seem to have ended in a decisive victory for either side; for, both the belligerants claimed success for themselves. As stated above, the Rewa inscription speaks of the fortune of the Kuntala king being seized by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, on the other hand, records in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that Āhavamalla (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, after which glory never embraced the country of Ḍāhala.[4]

Karṇa seems to have come into conflict with the king of the Gurjara country also. Verse 27 of the Rewa inscription says that when Karṇa approached the Gurjara country, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from their foreheads. This description indicates that Karṇa had raided Gujarat before 1048 A.C. This is also corroborated by an Apabhraṁśa verse in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala* which states that Karṇa had exterminated the forces of a Gurjara king. This may have been followed by negotiations for peace as subsequent events show.

Though Karṇa had thus raided different parts of India in the first seven years of his reign, he was not yet able to annex any territory to his kingdom. His success during the next two or three years was much greater. His contemporary on the throne of Malwa was the illustrious Bhōja, who was as much distinguished for valour as for learning. He had also raided different countries and defeated the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and others. The defeat he had inflicted on Gāṅgēyadēva must have been rankling in Karṇa's mind. The latter, therefore, formed an alliance with Bhīma of Gujarat.[5] The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west. Just about this time Bhōja died, and as he did not leave any son, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the

[1] *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 371-2.

[2] See, *e. g.*, *VDCH.*, Canto I, v. 115; Canto III, v. 76; Canto IV, v. 28 etc. Bilhaṇa mentions Gaṅgākuṇḍapura also as a Chōla capital., *Ibid.*, Canto VI, vv. 21-24.

[3] Appendix, No. 3, l. 10.

[4] *VDCH.*, Canto I, vv. 102-3.

[5] Mērutuṅga in his *PCH.* (p. 51) states that Karṇa, promising Bhīma a half of the Mālava kingdom, invited him to attack Bhōja in the rear. Though Mērutuṅga's account contains much fanciful matter, this statement may be true. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* (II, 18) states that Bhīma spared the life of Bhōja though the latter had fallen into his hands.

risings of the scions of the Paramāra family. It fell an easy prey to the invaders, who soon captured Dhārā, the capital of Malwa,[1] and dethroned Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhōja.[2] According to Mērutuṅga's account, Karṇa violated the previous agreement and annexed the whole of Malwa.[3] This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. Hēmachandra in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* states that Bhīma, penetrated to the capital of the Chēdi country; but Karṇa made peace with him by presenting him horses, elephants and the golden *maṇḍapikā* of Bhōja which he had carried away.[4]

Karṇa next turned his attention to the Chandēlla kingdom. The Chandēlla dynasty had produced several powerful princes, some of whom such as Yaśōvarman, Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla had exacted submission from the Kalachuris. But at this time the throne was occupied by a weak ruler named Dēvavarman, son of Vijayapāla. The only inscription of his reign is a copper-plate record[5] discovered at Nanyaurā in the Hamirpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It registers the grant of a village which Dēvavarman made in V. 1107 (1051 A.C.) on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. Soon after this, he seems to have succumbed to an attack by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* (Canto XVIII, v. 93), speaks of Karṇa as 'Death to the lord of Kālañjara' who was evidently Dēvavarman.[6] After this victory, Karṇa incorporated the country of Jajjhauti into his own dominion.

About this time Karṇa also invaded North-Western Bengal. This was his second invasion of the Pāla kingdom. On this occasion he pressed as far as Paikore in the Birbhum District of Bengal. His route must have lain through South Bihar. The Pāla king, who must have been Vigrahapāla III, seems to have soon capitulated to the invader. Karṇa's invasion of the Pāla dominion is attested to by the discovery of an inscribed decorative pillar which the Chēdi king dedicated to a goddess during his stay at Paikore.[7] The Karaṇbēl stone inscription[8] intimates that the king of Gauḍa submitted to Karṇa. Hēmachandra[9] records that the king of Gauḍa entreated Karṇa to save his life and throne in return for a large treasure which he presented to him. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin (Canto I, v. 9), however, claims a victory for the Pāla king Vigrahapāla. Whatever may have been the actual result of the war, the two families were afterwards united by a matrimonial alliance. Karṇa gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vigrahapāla and thus turned the Pāla adversary into a faithful ally.[10]

[1] *PCH.* p. 51. The Vaḍnagar *praśasti* also states that with his cavalry Bhīma captured Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava Chakravartin. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 297.

[2] In the *VDCH.* (Canto III, v. 67) Bilhaṇa states that the king of Mālava, evidently Jayasiṁha, sought the help of Sōmēśvara when he lost his kingdom.

[3] *PCH.*, p. 51.

[4] *DK.*, Canto IX, v. 57. Mērutuṅga also quotes a traditional verse which states that Bhīma received from Karṇa, *inter alia*, a golden *maṇḍapikā*. See *PCH.*, p. 52. The words *rājñā Rēvā na laṅghy-ēti*, which occur in v. 54 of Canto IX in *DK.*, have been taken by Mr. A. Ghosh to mean that the king (Karṇa or Bhīma) promised not to cross the Narmadā. *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VII, p. 17. This is incorrect. The words occur in the speech of Karṇa addressed to Dāmōdara, the ambassador of Bhīma. Karṇa says that he would have gone forth to meet and receive Bhīma, but the astrologers had advised him not to cross the Rēvā.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

[6] V. Smith thought that it was Kīrtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, who was driven by Karṇa from the throne. But the description in the *VDCH.* and the *PCHU.* clearly indicates that Karṇa not only drove the lord of Kālañjara from the throne but also exterminated him. He could, therefore, be none other than Dēvavarman; for, Kīrtivarman lived to regain his throne as described below.

[7] No. 49, l. 5. Cf. the Apabhraṁśa verse cited below, p. xcvii, n. 1.

[8] Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

[9] *DK.*, Canto IX, v. 38.

[10] *RCH.*, Canto I, v. 9. This *kāvya* states that Vigrahapāla vanquished Karṇa, but saved him by making with him a treaty of peace which an old commentator of the work calls *kapālasandhi*. In this *sandhi* a large sum of money is required to be paid the conqueror. See *RCH.*, Introd., p. x.

In 1052 A.C. Karṇa was thus at the height of his power. He had under his sway practically the whole of Central India including the erstwhile kingdoms of the Pratīhāras, the Paramāras and the Chandēllas. In the east the Pāla and Varman kings were matrimonially allied with him. In the north his authority was recognized as far as the Kāngrā valley,[1] the ruler of which had submitted to him. In the west, the only foe worthy of his steel was Bhīma of Gujarat; but as stated already, Karṇa had made peace with him. In the south, he had inflicted a defeat on the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, though his campaigns do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory. His authority was in any case unquestioned in North India,[2] and if Bilhaṇa's account can be believed, the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the forces of his enemies.[3]

To proclaim his attainment of the position of *Chakravartin* or Universal Emperor, Karṇa seems to have crowned himself again in the Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.). His regnal year, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription[4] of his general Vappulla, is counted from this second coronation.

On account of his ambition and successful military campaigns, Karṇa is called Hindu Napoleon. And like the great French Emperor, he suffered serious reverses in the latter part of his career. He could not retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned and driven out of Malwa, sought the Chālukya king Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla's aid against the powerful confederacy of Bhīma and Karṇa. The Chālukyas and Paramāras were inveterate foes, and their hostilities continued for several generations. Āhavamalla had himself previously stormed Dhārā, from which the king Bhōja had to flee.[5] But on this occasion Āhavamalla thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāra house; for, he realized that if Karṇa was allowed to retain possession of the Paramāra territory, he would become a menace to the northern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to support the cause of Jayasiṁha, and directed his valiant son Vikramāditya to lend his aid to Jayasiṁha to regain his throne.[6] It would appear that in his northern campaigns, Vikramāditya was not always successful; for, an Apabhraṁśa verse mentions Karṇa's victory over the mighty Vikrama, evidently

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[1] See Appendix, No. 5, l. 11.

[2] In his *DK.* (Canto IX, vv. 33 ff), Hēmachandra makes Bhīma's ambassador Dāmōdara refer to several other victories of Karṇa, *viz.*, those over the rulers of Daśārṇa and Kaliṅga and the kings Bhadrabhaṭa, Yanti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti and Manti. Hēmachandra seems to have distorted the names of kings to illustrate grammatical rules. It is also not unlikely that these are altogether fictitious names.

[3] *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, v. 93. As Mr. A. Ghosh has already pointed out, *tukkhāra* in this verse does not mean any race, but denotes a particular breed of superior horses, probably the Tokharian horses. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 19.

[4] No. 53. The date of this inscription is Saṁvat 812, Thursday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the ninth regnal year. This date regularly corresponds to Thursday, January 4th, 1061 A.C. As this date fell in the ninth regnal year, Karṇa must have been crowned a second time in 1052 A.C. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile this date with the first coronation which occurred in 1041 A.C. (See below, pp.239 ff.) D.R. Bhandarkar thought that *navame* in the Rewa inscription of Vappulla was a mistake for *navadaśe* and that the inscription was put up in the nineteenth regnal year. But the month of Māgha in the nineteenth regnal year should fall in K. 811, not in K. 812; for Māgha of the first regnal year fell in K. 793, as the Kalachuri year began in Kārttika. A. Ghosh has suggested that the regnal year is correctly mentioned, but the figures of the *saṁvat* were wrongly written as 812 instead of 802. This explanation also is not of any help; for, the month of Māgha in the ninth regnal should fall in K. 801, not in K. 802. We must, therefore, suppose that the second coronation of Karṇa did take place some time in 1052 A.C.

[5] *VDCH.*, Canto I, vv. 91-94.

[6] *Ibid.*, Canto III, v. 67.

Vikramāditya VI, the son of Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla.[1] However, Vikramāditya eventually succeeded in placing Jayasiṁha on the throne of Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa,[2] for which he must have overrun the Chēdi country. These encounters must have occurred before 1055 A.C.; for, we find Jayasiṁha secure on the throne in the month Āshāḍha of that year.[3]

The Chandēlla kingdom also soon slipped out of Karṇa's hands. Kīrtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, soon succeeded in regaining his ancestral territory. Verse 26 of a Chandēlla inscription discovered at Mahōbā[4] records the victory of Kīrtivarman over Lakshmīkarṇa in the following words—"Just as Purushōttama (Vishṇu), having produced the nectar by churning, with the mountain (Mandara), the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakshmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz.*, Kīrtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmīkarṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants." Lakshmīkarṇa is, no doubt, identical with the Kalachuri Karṇa. In the Ajayagaḍh rock inscription[5] of the Chandēlla Vīravarman (dated V. 1317), Kīrtivarman is described as the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing the ocean in the form of Karṇa, and as the lord of Creatures (Brahmā) in creating anew (his) kingdom. The *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*, which also refers to this event in its prologue, calls this Karṇa *Chēdipati* (Lord of the Chēdi country). From this work we learn that Kīrtivarman's victory was mainly due to the bravery of his Brāhmaṇa general, Gōpāla. The play was performed before Kīrtivarman to commemorate this brilliant victory of the Chandēllas. In the prologue of the play, Gōpāla is eulogised as the Great Boar who raised the earth which was submerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of powerful kings.[6] In another passage he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory after exterminating the army of Karṇa, even as Vishṇu obtained Lakshmī by churning the ocean of milk.[7] In a third passage, Gōpāla's anger is said to have been roused to re-establish on the earth the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which (sovereignty) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdi who was Rudra and Kālāgni (the Fire of world-destruction) to the families of all kings.[8] In a subsequent passage of the same prologue, Gōpāla is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious Kīrtivarman after vanquishing the powerful Karṇa, even as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling strong delusion.[9] The multiplicity of references to this victory suggests the stupendous nature of the task accomplished by Gōpāla. Another chief who also claimed credit for saving Kīrtivarman from Karṇa was mentioned in a fragmentary inscription[10] found at Jhānsi; but, unfortunately, his name is lost.

The date of the restoration of Chandēlla power cannot be definitely fixed; for, the only known date of Kīrtivarman's reign is that furnished by a rock inscription at the Deogarh Fort, *viz.*, V. 1154 (1098 A.C.).[11] This inscription states that Vatsarāja, the chief

[1] Cf. बै गंजिअ गोलाहुवइ राउ उद्दंड ओहु जसु भअ पराउ। गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ न बुज्झ ॥ *Prākrita Paingala*, I, 126.

[2] *VDCH.*, Canto III, v. 74.

[3] See the date of his Māndhātā grant; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

[6] *PCHU.*, p. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 216.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff.

minister of Kīrtivarman, wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and built the fort which he named Kīrtigiri, evidently in honour of his lord Kīrtivarman. The unnamed enemy is probably Karṇa himself. Karṇa's defeat must, however, have occurred long before the date of this inscription. Vincent Smith approximately dates the accession of Kīrtivarman in 1060 A.C.[1] If this date is correct, Karṇa must have been in occupation of the Chandēlla kingdom for seven or eight years.

Towards the close of his reign, Karṇa made another attempt to wipe out the neighbouring state of Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was afraid of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained a greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country at the time. It says that when Bhōja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which the sovereign was submerged, his brother Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings such as the lord of Karṇāṭa and Karṇa, who swept over it like great oceans, this (prince) did indeed act like the holy Boar.[2] The expression *rājyē cha kuly-ākulē* in this verse is significant. Besides the meaning given above, it signifies another, *viz.*, that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramāra) family. Even though Jayasiṁha had ascended the throne with the help of the Chālukya king Āhavamalla, it seems that there were some members of the Paramāra family (*kulyas*) who did not acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasiṁha was related to Bhōja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar.[3] In that case there may have been other members of the Paramāra family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasiṁha had the support of the powerful Chālukya Emperor, Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla, they could not do anything; but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa, who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malwa permanently. When he found that the Malwa kingdom was torn by a civil war, he made his alliance with Sōmēśvara II, the son of Āhavamalla, and invaded Malwa. The wording of the aforementioned verse of the Nagpur Museum inscription shows that the invaders were more than two. This is corroborated by a stone inscription of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, recently discovered at Ḍōṅgargaon in the Yeotmal District of Berar, which states that Malwa was invaded by a confederacy of three kings.[4] Two of these were, of course, the Kalachuri

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII, p. 149.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 185. Kielhorn read the second hemistich of this verse (32) as येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपममिलत्कर्णाटकर्णप्रमुख्यैर्भूपालकदर्थितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहायितम् ॥ C. V. Vaidya ingeniously conjectured that the correct reading should be कर्णप्रमुख्योर्वीपाल–, and I find from the original stone deposited in the Nagpur Museum that this *is* the actual reading. This reading suits the metre and yields a better sense. It shows that Malwa was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings. This is corroborated by the Ḍōṅgaraon inscription of Jagaddēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183), as stated above.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

[4] See the verse ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्धैर्मग्नां मालवमेदिनीम् । उद्धरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्धत ॥ *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

Karṇa[1] and the Karṇāṭa king (Sōmēśvara II)[2] as stated in the Nagpur Museum inscription. The third member of the confederacy was probably the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country, we know that this Udayāditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hōysaḷa prince Eṛeyaṅga joined Sōmēśvara II in his attack on Malwa. Eṛeyaṅga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort, and burnt and devastated Dhārā.[3]

Jayasiṁha succumbed to this attack, and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster which befell the Mālava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription, which likens it to the catastrophe of the destruction of the world when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. The Udaipur *praśasti* compares it to the dense darkness which envelopes the world when the sun sets.[4] Both the similes indicate the gloom of despondency which had then overpowered the adherents of the Paramāra family. This invasion of Malwa occurred early in the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1069-1075 A.C.), in *circa* 1070 A.C.

It is not known how the invaders divided the spoils. Karṇa may have annexed Malwa and given the country to the south of the Narmadā to Sōmēśvara II.[5] The Kalachuri Emperor could not, however, retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Udayāditya, one of the brothers of Bhōja,[6] rescued the country from the grip of Karṇa. The Nagpur Museum inscription compares him with the primeval Boar who uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The Udaipur *praśasti* describes him as another Sun, as it were, who, destroying the dense darkness, namely, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, gladdened the hearts of the people by his splendour. In the latter half of the *praśasti* recently discovered at Udaipur, Udayāditya is credited with the total destruction (*saṁhāra*) of the king of Ḍāhala (*Ḍāhalādhīśa*), who is plainly the Kalachuri Karṇa.[7] The restoration of the Paramāra rule in Malwa may be dated in *circa* 1073 A.C.[8] The Jabalpur

[1] Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chaulukya king Karṇa of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma. Some late Sanskrit works, no doubt, state that the Chaulukya Karṇa defeated a king of Malwa, but they do not state that the latter was Jayasiṁha. On the other hand, the Kalachuri Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is mentioned in an Apabhraṁśa verse cited in the *Prākrita-Paiṅgala*. This view is again corroborated by the latter part of the recently discovered Udaipur *praśasti* which states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Ḍāhala. D. C. Ganguli's statement that Udayāditya, by defeating Gurjara Karṇa, obtained Mālava (*H. P. D.*, p. 132 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 266) is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the *Prithvīrājavijaya*.

[2] The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1075 A.C.) mentions Sōmēśvara II as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mālavyas. The reference is clearly to his extermination of the Paramāra Jayasiṁha.

[3] *H. P. D.*, pp. 128-29.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

[5] Sīyaka seems to have extended his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā. In the time of Muñja the Gōdāvarī was the southern boundary of the Paramāra dominion, and though Tailapa may have annexed some territory to the north of this river, it was soon recovered by Sidhurāja as stated in the *NSCH.*, Canto I, v. 74. A copper-plate inscription of Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōvarman has been found at Kalvan in the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff), indicating that the country continued to be held by the Paramāras. After this time no records of the Paramāras except those of Jagaddēva have been found in Mahārāshṭra. Jagaddēva is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff.

[6] It was believed for a long time that Udayāditya was a distant relative of Bhōja; but the Ḍōṅgargaon inscription, which calls him the *bhrātā* of Bhōja, has put the matter beyond doubt.

[7] *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1925-26), p. 15.

[8] The earliest known date of Udayāditya is V. 1137 (1080-81 A. C.) furnished by the Udaipur inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83). An earlier date (V. 1116) of the king also occurs at the same place; but it is given by a very late record of the 16th century A. C., which Dr. F. E. Hall calls 'a horribly incorrect scrawl' (*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 35).

and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that Karṇa himself crowned his son Yaśaḥkarṇa.[1] We do not know why he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. It may be because of discomfiture at the failure of his schemes to bring the whole of India under one royal umbrella; or, he may have been forced to do so by the powerful rulers of Malwa, Jajjhauti and Gujarat, all of whom were now up in arms against him. His reign seems to have come to an end in 1073 A.C.; for, the earlier of the two known grants of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa was made in 1076 A.C.[2] As it mentions Yaśaḥkarṇa's expedition against an Andhra king, the Kalachuri emperor must have come to the throne at least two or three years earlier. We may, therefore, place his accession and the abdication of his father in circa 1073 A.C.

Karṇa was the greatest king of the Kalachuri dynasty. In the early part of his career, he seems to have carried everything before him and to have become the undisputed *Chakravartin* of North India.[3] In the Goharwa plates, which he issued in the seventh regnal year (1047 A.C.), he is seen to have assumed, besides the usual imperial titles, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, two high-sounding ones, *viz.*, *Trikaliṅgādhipati* (Lord of the Three Kaliṅgas) and *Nijabhuj-ōpārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati(tya)*, (he who by his arms has acquired overlordship over the three *rājās*, *viz.*, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men). Of these two titles, *Trikaliṅgādhipati* seems to have been first assumed by his ancestor Yuvarājadēva I.[4] It may have been revived by Gāṅgēyadēva after his conquest of Utkala;[5] for, some contemporary kings of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty ruling over Kōsala and Utkala proudly mention this title in their records.[6] The other title 'Overlord of the three *Rājās etc.*' was for the first time assumed by Karṇa.[7] It continued to be used not only by his descendants[8] but by several kings of other dynasties also, such as the Gāhaḍavālas,[9] the Sēnas[10] and the Chandēllas.[11] Originally, it seems to

[1] Nos. 56 and 57, verse 16. This seems to conflict with the statement in the latter part of the Udaipur *praśasti* which speaks of the total destruction of Karṇa by Udayāditya. Karṇa may have been killed on the battlefield.

[2] The plates give the date (K.) 823; but the details do not work out satisfactorily, and it seems that their correct date is (K.) 827. Besides, if Yaśaḥkarṇa really made the grant in K. 823 (1172 A. C.), we shall have to suppose that Sōmēśvara II's accession, his alliance with Karṇa and invasion of Malwa, the devastation of Dhārā and killing of Jayasiṁha, the defeat of the allies by Udayāditya, Karṇa's abdication of the throne, Yaśaḥkarṇa's coronation and subsequent invasion of the Andhra country—all these events happened in the brief period of four years from 1068 A.C. (the accession of Sōmēśvara II) to 1072 A.C. (the supposed date of the Khairhā plates). This seems to be extremely unlikely.

[3] He is called the seventh *Chakravartin* of the world in the Gōpālpur stone inscription. Appendix, No. 5, l. 9.

[4] See above, p. lxxviii.

[5] See above, p. xc.

[6] See, *e.g.*, the Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.). This grant describes the king as the self-chosen lord of Kaliṅga, Kōṅgōda, Utkala and Kōsala, and further as the lord of Trikaliṅga which he conquered with his own arms. This makes it clear that Trikaliṅga was different from the other countries named in it. According to R. C. Majumdar, Trikaliṅga denoted 'the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikaliṅga (or Trikaliṅgāṭavī) has been coupled with Vēṅgī. A similar expression (viz., *sa-Kaliṅga-trayāṁ Vēṅgīṁ*) occurs in the Parbhaṇi plates (Ś. 888) of Arikēsarin (G. H. Khare's *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 49).

[7] Prof. Rapson, who has examined this question in detail (*W. C. V.*, pp. 196 ff.), has come to the conclusion that 'during the period of its use from c. 1040 to 1240, it (*i.e.*, the title) denoted the overlord of the Allahabad District, the region of the once famous kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and that it passed by conquest from one possessor of this region to the next.' It may, however, be noted that Karṇa's own Banaras plates, dated K. 1042, do not mention this title though he undoubtedly held Allahabad at the time.

[8] See, *e. g.*, No. 56, ll. 23 ff; No. 61, ll. 3 ff; No. 63, l. 21.

[9] See, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100. The Gāhaḍavāla kings from Gōvindachandra to Hariśchandra used this title.

[10] The Sēna kings Lakshmaṇasēna and his two sons Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna adopted this title.

[11] The Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman bore this title. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 232.

have signified Karṇa's suzerainty over the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Pālas of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratīhāras maintained a fine cavalry and are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as *Aśvapati* or *Hayapati*.[1] Kaliṅga was known for its breed of elephants.[2] Its rulers are occasionally referred to as *Gajādhiśas* or Lords of Elephants.[3] The king of the east received, according to Yuan Chwang, the title of the lord of men.[4] As we have already seen, Karṇa had vanquished all these kings and in his case the title was significant; but in the case of his descendants and of some kings of the other dynasties who imitated him, it was clearly an empty boast.

According to the *Rāsamālā*, one hundred and thirty-six kings were in attendance upon Karṇa.[5] The Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Narasiṁha states that the Pāṇḍya and Hūṇa kings and the rulers of Murala, Kuṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Kīra were panic-stricken when Karṇa gave a full play to his valour.[6] The Karaṇbēl stone inscription says that Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra used to wait upon him.[7] It may be that the names of some of these kings have been inserted in the verses by the writers of the *praśastis* for the sake of alliteration; but the foregoing account of Karṇa's conquests based on incontrovertible inscriptional and literary evidence testifies to the general correctness of the description. In the records of his enemies, Karṇa's whirl-wind campaigns are likened to the flooding waters of the oceans at the time of world-destruction. On account of the aggressive and ruthless policy which he pursued towards contemporary rulers, he is called Rudra and Kālāgni (Fire of world-destruction) in the Sanskrit play *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*. These similes and metaphors vividly portray the terror he struck in the hearts of his adversaries.

Great as Karṇa was in war, he was greater in peace. He gave a liberal patronage to religion and literature. At Banaras he built a high twelve-storeyed temple called *Karṇamēru*, which was probably dedicated to Siva;[8] for, he was himself a Śaiva and called himself *paramamāhēśvara* in his grants. He built a *ghāṭ* called *Karṇa-tīrtha* at Prayāga where his Goharwa grant was made. He established a settlement of learned Brāhmaṇas, which he named Karṇāvatī after himself. This place is generally identified with Karaṇbēl, now a small village adjoining Tewar; but from the description in the grants of Yaśaḥkarṇa that it was, as it were, the crown of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā), it would appear that it was situated somewhere on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Though Karṇa thus extended his patronage to the Vedic and Purāṇic Hinduism, he was no sectarian. There was religious toleration in his kingdom. The Sārnāth stone inscription[9] dated K. 810 shows that Buddhist monasteries continued to flourish during his reign.

Karṇa made the holy city of Banaras his capital. It was at Banaras that the Sanskrit poet Bilhaṇa met him.[10] Learned Brāhmaṇas received liberal gifts at his hands. A verse which is repeated in both of his known grants states that the world was deafened by the engraving of copper-plates which he granted to Brāhmaṇas.[11] Even now stories about

[1] See above, p. lxxiv, n. 2.
[2] *KAS.*, Prakaraṇa 20.
[3] See, *e.g.*, No. 100, v. 8.
[4] *B. R. W. W.*, Vol. I, p. 13.
[5] *RM.*, Vol. I, p. 89. See also *PCH.*, p. 50.
[6] No. 60, v. 12.
[7] Appendix, No. 3, v. 21.
[8] Nos. 56 and 57, v. 13.
[9] No. 52.
[10] *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, v. 93.
[11] No. 50 v. 30 and No. 51, v. 32. The same verse with a slight change in one expression and the substitution of *Chandra* for *Karṇa* occurs in the Chandrāvatī plates (V. 1150) of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 195.

the munificence of Karṇa Ḍahāriā are current in Banaras.[1] Bilhaṇa, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir, received a great honour in his court. He says that he defeated one Gaṅgādhara and composed a beautiful *kāvya* in praise of Rāma while at Karṇa's court.[2] Other poets of Karṇa's court, known from Sanskrit anthologies, are Vallaṇa, Nāchirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati. Several verses of these poets are included in the *Kavīndravachana-samuchchaya* and other anthologies.[3] Karṇa patronised Prakrit poets also. Some anonymous Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhraṁśa verses in praise of him are cited in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala*.[4] Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa *kāvya Karakaṇḍachariu*, says in his concluding verses that he used to delight, by his verses, the mind of the king Karṇa.[5]

Karṇa married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī.[6] Hūṇa kings are known from references in the records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India; for, there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratīhāra, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not been fixed. Karṇa had, from Āvalladēvī, a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa, who succeeded him. Two of his daughters Vīraśrī and Yauvanaśrī are also known. The former, who is named in the Bēlāvā plates of Bhōjavarman,[7] married Jātavarman of Eastern Bengal. Yauvanaśrī is mentioned as the wife of Vigrahapāla of North-East Bengal in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin.[8]

Yaśaḥkarṇa succeeded his father in *circa* 1073 A.C. Only two records of his reign are known, *viz.*, the Khairhā[9] and the Jabalpur plates.[10] Both contain an identical eulogistic portion which was first drafted in Banaras. The only historical event which they mention is Yaśaḥkarṇa's invasion of the Andhra country. Verse 23 of these grants says that 'extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇa) worshipped, with the offerings of many ornaments, the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī with her dancing eye-brows of waves sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams, sweet with the cries of intoxicated swans.' There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but the foregoing description suits especially the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tāluka*, which contains a particularly big Śiva-*liṅga*, fourteen or fifteen feet high. The temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as suggested in the above verse, but the reference may be to the tank at Drākshārām which is called *Sapta-Gōdāvarī* and which is popularly supposed to contain the waters of the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The Andhra king defeated by Yaśaḥkarṇa was probably Vijayāditya VII, who ruled from 1061 to 1076 A.C. In this campaign, Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have been aided by Jājalladēva I of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Dakshiṇa Kōsala; for, the latter in his Ratanpur

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[1] For an interesting story about Karṇa which Sir G. Grierson heard in Banaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

[2] *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, vv. 93-94.

[3] *KVS.* (ed. by F. W. Thomas), Introd., pp. 100 ff. A *subhāshita* mentions Vidyāpati as the court-poet of Karṇa. See *Subhāshitāvali* (ed. by Peterson), v. 186. Merutuṅga also mentions Vidyāpati, Karpūra and Nāchirāja as poets at Karṇa's court.

[4] See *C. W. B.*, Vol. II, pp. 534 ff.

[5] *Karakaṇḍachariu* (ed. by Prof. H. Jain), p. 107.

[6] See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 15.

[7] *I. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

[8] *RCH.*, Canto I, v. 9.

[9] No. 56.

[10] No. 57 and Appendix, No. 2.

inscription dated K. 866 boasts that the lord of Chēdi had sought his friendship by means of presents.[1]

Soon after Karṇa's death, Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have lost Kanauj and the surrounding territory. The Basāhi plate says that when king Bhōja became a guest of the eyes of the celestial damsels and Karṇa existed only in renown, and when the earth was sorely troubled, the husband whom she chose from love and took with confidence as the protector was Chandradēva.[2] The aforementioned Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva dated K. 866 (1114 A.C.) mentions the king of Kānyakubja as different from the lord of Chēdi. This clearly indicates that the latter had lost his control over Kanauj, as it had passed into the possession of the Gāhaḍavālas.

As stated before, the eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plates is an almost exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. The date of the former is now lost as the second plate is not forthcoming, but there are grounds to suppose that it was K. 836 (1084 A.C.).[3] If the description in the plate could be relied on, Yaśaḥkarṇa was master of Banaras till that date. Soon thereafter, he seems to have lost that city also to the Gāhaḍavālas; for, the Chandrāvatī plates, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District, are dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.).[4]

In the latter part of his career, Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have made a supreme effort to regain his lost possessions in the north. He carried his arms as far as Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in Bihar) and devastated the country;[5] but he did not probably succeed in annexing any territory; for, after 1090 A.C. we have several grants of the Gāhaḍavālas from the Banaras District, which shows that they were securely established there.[6] This conclusion receives an additional support from a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1177 (1122 A.C.) which records the sanction of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandradēva to the transfer of two villages in the Antarālapattalā (*i.e.*, Antarvēdī or Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab) which had been previously granted by Yaśaḥkarṇa to the Saiva ascetic Rudraśiva.[7] This clearly shows that the Kalachuris did not succeed in regaining possession of the Doab during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa.

With the loss of the northern provinces, the kingdom of Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have shrunk to the home province of Ḍāhala, and Tripurī again became his sole capital. From the Nagpur *praśasti* we learn that the city was stormed by the Paramāra king Lakshmadēva (*circa* 1086-1094 A.C.), who annihilated his warlike and spirited adversaries, and encamped on the bank of the Rēvā, his elephants allaying the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the stream of the river.[8]

Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakshaṇavarman (*circa* 1100-1110 A.C.); for, in an inscription of the latter's descendant Vīravarman, Sallakshaṇavarman's sword is said to have robbed the Chēdis of their

[1] No. 77, v. 20.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.

[3] See below, pp. 301 ff.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

[5] For a possible motive of this raid, see below, p. cxiv.

[6] Jayaswal, who thought that the Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarṇa were dated in K. 874 (1122 A.C.), advocated the view that Yaśaḥkarṇa regained Banaras some time after the 21st July, 1122 (the date of Gōvindachandra's Kamauli plate H, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110) and before the 14th August 1124 A.C. (the date of Gōvindachandra's Banaras grant), but this does not seem to be correct.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

fortune.[1] Yaśaḥkarṇa was also unsuccessful in his encounter with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.[2]

It is difficult to state definitely the limits of Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign. The earlier of his two grants seems to have been issued in K. 827.[3] He must have been reigning then for about 3 years and, therefore, may have come to the throne in *circa* K. 824. The only date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa is K. 902. Gayākarṇa's reign seems to have closed soon thereafter; for, in K. 907 he was dead and his son Narasiṁha was on the throne. So the period of about 80 years (K. 824 to K. 904) is covered by only two reigns. It seems probable that Yaśaḥkarṇa had a longer reign than his son, of whose achievements very little is known. He may, therefore, be referred to the period K. 824 to K. 874 (1073-1123 A.C.).

Yaśaḥkarṇa assumed the same imperial titles as Karṇa; but he had neither the ambition nor the military genius of his father. During his reign the Kalachuri kingdom lost the northern provinces of Kanauj, Prayāga and Banaras, and became very much circumscribed. He tried to regain his possessions by forming alliances[4] and even invaded northern and southern countries; but his raids produced no permanent effect and did not extend the limits of his dominion. The Paramāra invasion of his capital must have dealt a shattering blow to his power and prestige.

Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier[5] of these, dated K. 902, which was discovered at Tewar, records the erection of a temple dedicated to Śiva by the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvabrahman. The second inscription[6] is from Bahuribandh in the north of the Jabalpur District. It has partially lost its date.[7] It mentions Gōlhaṇadēva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (Chief Feudatory) of Gayākarṇa. He was evidently a descendant of a scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family which had settled in the Chēdi country in the 8th or 9th century A.C., when the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas were matrimonially connected. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Jina Śāntinātha by a private individual named Mahābhōja.

These inscriptions, both of which come from the Jabalpur District, do not help us in determining the extent of Gayākarṇa's kingdom. The discovery[8] of a hoard of the Chandēlla Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwar in the Teonthal *tahsil* of the former Rewa state in 1910 seems to indicate that Gayākarṇa had lost the territory north of the Kaimur range. That he had come into a conflict with the Chandēllas is clear from an inscription found at Mau which says that 'the Chēdi king, being vanquished in a fierce fight, runs away in haste at the mention of Madanavarman's name.'[9] As Madanavarman was ruling from *circa* 1124 A.C. to 1164 A.C., the Chēdi king defeated by him was probably Gayākarṇa.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

[2] *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 133 and 137. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āchugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have conquered the Māle or Highlands of the Ghāṭs and to have defeated a king of Ḍāhala. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 230. As Āchugi II was ruling in 1122-23 A.C. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 452), the king of Ḍāhala defeated by him must have been Yaśaḥkarṇa.

[3] See above, p. c. n. 2.

[4] Notice the expression *aina-saṅgraha-kritā* applied to him in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, No. 77, v. 20.

[5] No. 58.

[6] No. 59.

[7] For a discussion of its date, see below, p. 310.

[8] *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.) (1914), pp. 199 ff.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 198.

Gayākarṇa seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. The latter belonged to an offshoot of the Kalachuri house of Ḍāhala. The early princes of this branch owed allegiance to the Kalachuri Emperors ruling at Tripurī and fought their battles. We have already seen that in his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa), Gāṅgēyadēva received valuable help from Kamalarāja of Tummāṇa.[1] Pṛithvīdēva I, the earliest prince of this branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh, does not claim in his Amōdā plates a higher title than *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.[2] He was plainly a feudatory of the contemporary ruler of Ḍāhala. But his descendants began gradually to assert their independence. Jājalladēva I, the son of Pṛithvīdēva I, boasts in his inscription that the contemporary lord of Chēdi, who was Yaśaḥkarṇa, sought his friendship, and that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti honoured him with presents of wealth.[3] The crushing defeat that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, inflicted on the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga[4] increased his power and prestige. He seems to have openly renounced subordination to Gayākarṇa. The latter sent a large force against him; but it suffered an ignominious defeat. In a Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), Ratnadēva II is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king.[5] The latter must have been no other than Gayākarṇa.

Gayākarṇa married Alhaṇadēvī, the daughter of Vijayasiṁha, the Guhila prince of Prāgvāṭa or Mevad and Syāmaladēvī, who was herself the daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the Mālava *maṇḍala*.[6] This alliance, which in a way united the royal families of the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, healed the sores of many generations. Alhaṇadēvī had two sons, Narasiṁha who succeeded his father, and Jayasiṁha who 'like Lakshmaṇa did marvellous service to his elder brother.' Gayākarṇa's spiritual preceptor was Śaktiśiva.[7]

As stated before, Gayākarṇa's reign seems to have come to a close soon after K. 902 (1151 A.C.); for, when the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription was incised in K. 907, he was already dead and his son Narasiṁha was on the throne.

Only three inscriptions of the reign of Narasiṁha have been discovered so far. The aforementioned Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription, dated K. 907 (1155 A. C.), records the construction, by Alhaṇadēvī, of a temple of Śiva under the name Vaidyanātha together with a monastery, a hall of study and a row of gardens attached to it. She endowed the temple with the gift of two villages and placed it in charge of the Pāśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi. The other two inscriptions were discovered north of the Kaimur range—one[8], dated K. 909 (1158 A.C.), at Lāl Pahāḍ near Bharhut, and the other[9], dated V.1216 (1159 A.C.), near the foot of Alha-Ghāṭ, 'which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gaṅgā.' The former of these records the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by one Ballāladēva, who was the son of an officer of Narasiṁha, while the second registers the erection of a temple of Ambikā and the construction of a *ghāṭ* by the *Rāṇaka* Chhīhula. The discovery of these lithic records north of the Kaimur range indicates that Narasiṁha succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral

[1] Above, p. xc.
[2] No. 76, l. 25.
[3] No. 77, ll. 19-20.
[4] No. 93, l. 6; No. 97, l. 4; No. 98, l. 6.
[5] No. 93, l. 5.
[6] No. 60, ll. 5 ff.
[7] No. 64, l. 10.
[8] No. 61.
[9] No. 62.

dominion which had been lost by his father. He continued to use the same high-sounding titles as his ancestors Karṇa and Yaśaḥkarṇa had done, though his kingdom had become very much circumscribed.

Like his ancestors, Narasiṁha was a devotee of Śiva. His spiritual preceptor was Kīrtiśiva, the disciple of Saktiśiva, who is said to have contributed to his prosperity.[1] A stone inscription from Jabalpur states that his fame had spread in all directions. He is identical with Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Saktiśambhu mentioned as the head of Gōḷakī Maṭha in an inscription discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District.[2]

Narasiṁha was probably an old man when he came to the throne; for, his father Gayākarṇa and grandfather Yaśaḥkarṇa had unusually long reigns. He seems to have died without a son, as he was succeeded by his brother Jayasiṁha. As the earliest known date of the latter is K. 918, Narasiṁha seems to have ruled from K. 905 to K. 915 (1153-1163 A.C.).

Jayasiṁha seems to have been a brave and ambitious prince. The Jabalpur plates of his reign have the following verse about him which is also found repeated in the Kumbhī grant of his son Vijayasiṁha:—"On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasiṁhadēva, the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports, and other kings also leaving the earth through apprehension crossed the ocean."[3] We have no means to ascertain whether Jayasiṁha actually raided the countries of these kings. But that he led at least one expedition is known from an inscription at Shēorinārāyaṇ.

This invasion was directed against Jājalladēva II, the contemporary ruler of Ratanpur. The Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription tells us that Ulhaṇadēva, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, routed with his arrows the army of the Chēdi-king. Seeing that his forces were being exterminated, the Chēdi king Jayasiṁha, whose name is partially preserved in the inscription, advanced in person, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.[4] From the subsequent description it appears that Ulhaṇadēva lost his life in the fight. It is not stated how the battle ended. Probably Jayasiṁha was defeated and had to sue for peace; for, there is no mention of this battle in the subsequent records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The battle must have been fought soon after Jayasiṁha's accession which we have conjecturally placed in K. 915; for, the aforementioned Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription, which describes it, is dated K. 919.

Five inscriptions of the reign of Jayasiṁha have been found. The earliest of them is his Jabalpur grant.[5] It is dated K. 918 and records the gift of the village Agarā which Jayasiṁha made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full-moon day of Āśvina (the 30th September 1167 A.C.). Another Jabalpur inscription[6] of his reign is dated K. 926 (1174-75 A.C.). The proper object of it is to record that Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of Jayasiṁha, erected a temple of Śiva under the name of Kīrtīśvara, and that Jayasiṁha endowed it with certain villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Like his elder brother, Jayasiṁha continued to hold to the last the valley of the Tamasā or Tons; for, the Rewa plate of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kīrtivarman, the ruler of Karkarēḍī, which is dated K. 926, mentions him as suzerain with full titles of paramountcy.[7]

[1] No. 64, ll. 11-12.
[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.
[3] No. 63, ll. 18-19; Appendix, No. 4, v. 23.
[4] No. 98, ll. 16 ff. The name of the king is partially preserved in line 16.
[5] No. 63.
[6] No. 64.
[7] No. 65, ll. 2-4.

The latest date of Jayasiṁha's reign is K. 928, which is furnished by a stone inscription at Tewar recording the erection of a temple of Siva by a private individual named Kēśava.[1] The next known date is K. 944, which belongs to the reign of his son and successor Vijayasiṁha.[2] Jayasiṁha, therefore, seems to have reigned from K. 915 to K. 940 (1163-1188 A.C.). Towards the close of his reign Jayasiṁha seems to have been forced to pay homage to the Chandēlla king Paramardin. In a fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.), it is stated that the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of Paramardin's arms.[3] Paramardin flourished from *circa* 1165 A.C. to 1203 A.C. The Kalachuri king who submitted to him was probably Jayasiṁha.

Like his predecessors, Jayasiṁha assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* as well as 'Lord of Trikaliṅga' and 'Overlord of the three *Rājās*, the lord of horses *etc*.' These titles had then become quite conventional and meaningless. He was a devotee of Siva, and as stated before, made some gifts of villages to that deity. His spiritual preceptor was Vimalaśiva.[4]

Jayasiṁha had two queens—Kēlhaṇadēvī mentioned in his Jabalpur plates,[5] and Gōsaladēvī known from the Kumbhī plates[6] and the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription.[7] The village Gōsalapur, about 19 miles north by east of Jabalpur, was evidently founded in the name of the latter queen.

As stated before, Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son Vijayasiṁha. It seems that in the beginning of his reign the ruler of Karkarēḍī attempted to throw off his yoke. As we have already seen, Kīrtivarman, who was ruling over Karkarēḍī in K. 926, was a vassal of Jayasiṁha. His brother Salakshaṇa, who succeeded him, revolted against his overlord, but he was promptly subdued by Malayasiṁha, another feudatory of Vijayasiṁha, in the battle of Karkarēḍī. This event is mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription[8] of Vijayasiṁha, dated K. 944 (1193 A.C.). In the Rewa plate, issued two years later in V. 1253 (1195 A.C.), Salakshaṇavarman acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasiṁha and names him with the usual Kalachuri titles of paramountcy.

The aforementioned Rewa stone inscription states that Malayasiṁha routed another chief named Vikrama; but the latter cannot be identified as no further details are given.

The last record of Vijayasiṁha's reign is the Rewa stone inscription, the date of which is partially effaced.[9] From the first two figures which are not altogether illegible, it seems that the record was incised in K. 96 (x). As the Dhurēti plates[10] show that the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman was in occupation of the territory round Rewa in K. 963 (1212 A.C.), Vijayasiṁha seems to have lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand in K. 961 or K. 962.

Vijayasiṁha seems also to have submitted to the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa. In the

[1] No. 66.

[2] No. 67.

[3] ' ' मधुरति श्रुते यये च त्रिपुरीपतिः । मूर्च्छनामेव संधत्ते गीते मद्भुजविक्रमे ॥ in l. 7 of the Mahōbā stone inscription (*BK*. p. 438). There is a play on the word *mūrchchhanā* used in the verse. It means (1) a swoon and (2) a melody. So the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin.

[4] No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

[5] No. 63, l. 22.

[6] Appendix, No. 4.

[7] No. 69, l. 1.

[8] No. 67, l. 12.

[9] No. 70.

[10] No. 72.

Puḷuñja stone inscription[1], which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., Simhaṇa is called *Ḍāhala-hṛit-kutūhala* 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Ḍāhala country'. The expression is perhaps intended to signify that when Siṁhaṇa invaded Ḍāhala, the people of the country flocked together out of curiosity to see him.

It is not known when Vijayasiṁha's reign came to an end. The Kumbhī plates[2] and the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription[3] mention Ajayasiṁha as *Mahārājakumāra*, or crown prince. He was plainly Vijayasiṁha's son, but whether he actually ascended the throne is not known. Vimalaśiva seems to have continued as *Rājaguru* during the reign of Vijayasiṁha.[4]

We have already seen that towards the close of his reign, Vijayasiṁha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand. The western portion, consisting of the Saugor and Damoh districts, was also soon occupied by the Chandēllas.[5] A stone inscription[6] dated V. 1344 (1287 A.C.), found at Hindoria, 11 miles from Damoh, states that the local chief Vāghadēva owed allegiance to Bhōjavarmadēva of Kālañjara. Another stone inscription, found at Bamhanī[7] in the same district and dated V. 1364 (1308 A.C.), mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammīravarman of Kālañjara, who had in the meantime succeeded Bhōjavarman. No inscriptions of the Chandēllas have, however, been discovered in the Jabalpur District in which Tripurī, the Kalachuri capital, was situated.[8] If the Kalachuris retained their hold on this district, they must have owned the suzerainty of the Chandēllas.

The recently discovered Purushōttampurī plates[9] of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Saka 1232 (1310 A.C.), state that Rāmachandra had defeated in a moment the king of the great and extensive Ḍāhala country. The inscription does not name the king, nor does it state to which royal family he belonged. Perhaps the Chandēlla king Hammīravarman who had a large part of Ḍāhala under his sway was the king defeated by Rāmachandra.

In the meanwhile, Muslim power was slowly penetrating Baghelkhand. Nāsirud-din Mahmud (1246-66 A.C.) appointed Malik Julachī Governor of the Chēdi country. The latter's son Hisām-ud-dīn, placed Jallāla Khōjā in charge of the country now comprised in the Damoh District. An inscription of the latter, dated V. 1385 (1328 A.C.), has been discovered at Baṭihāgarh, 21 miles north-west of Damoh.[10] The discovery of this inscription in the vicinity of Damoh indicates how precarious was the hold of the Chandēlla rulers on Ḍāhala. After 1310 A.C. we have no records of the Chandēllas or the Kalachuris from the Chēdi or Ḍāhala country.

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[1] *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 62.

[2] Appendix, No. 4.

[3] No. 69, l. 3.

[4] No. 70. l. 12. The Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4), however, mention Vidyādēva as the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasiṁha.

[5] A stone inscription found at Rāhatgarh (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh), dated V. 1312 (1256 A.C.) mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarman II of Dhārā. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84. This shows that the Paramāras had penetrated earlier into the Saugor District.

[6] *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 56.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

[8] The Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription dated Ś. 1183 (1261 A.C.) states that the Śaiva *Āchārya* Viśvēsvaraśambhu was the *dikshā-guru* of the Kalachuri kings. He was second in spiritual descent from Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasiṁha. If the statement of the Malkāpuram inscription is correct, the Kalachuris may have been holding Tripurī and the surrounding territory till 1240 A.C. at least. A fragmentary inscription incised in characters of about the 12th century A. C. found at Tewar mentions Bhīmapāla. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85. But this name is not noticed in any genealogies of the period.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 211.

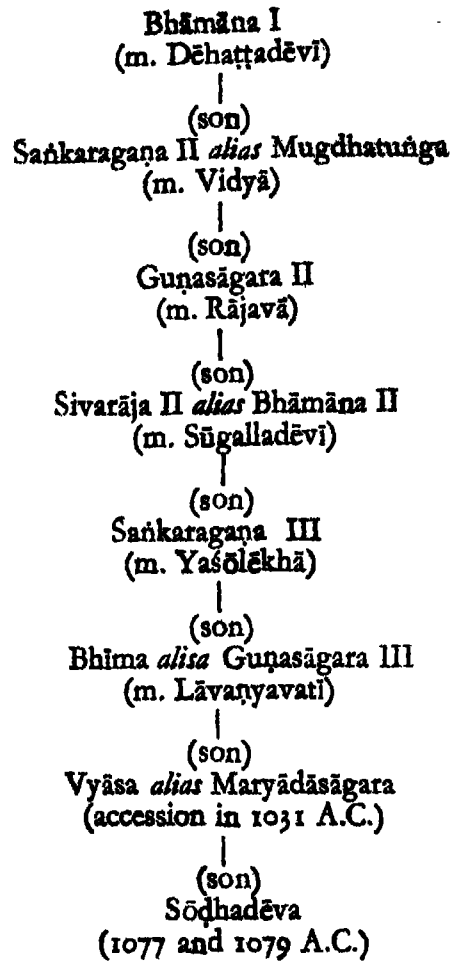
[10] *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

THE KALACHURIS OF SARAYUPARA

A branch of the Kalachuri family which established itself in the Sarayūpāra country is known from two records. One of them is a stone inscription found in the Buddhist ruins at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara) where Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa, while the other is a copper-plate grant discovered at Kahla, a few miles to the north of the Ghōgrā (ancient Sarayū) in the Dhuriāpār *pargaṇā* of the Gorakhpur District. The copper-plate grant contains three dates, *viz.*, 1031, 1077 and 1079 A.C., the details of which work out quite regularly. The stone inscription is, unfortunately, very sadly mutilated in the lower portion. If it contained any date, it is now lost for ever; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the 10th century A.C. The two places Kasiā and Kahla where these records were discovered are only about 40 miles distant from each other. *Prima facie*, therefore, the two Kalachuri ruling families mentioned in them should be related to each other, if not identical; but no points of contact have yet been noticed.[1] To facilitate comparison, the genealogies mentioned in the two records are given below—

[1] D. R. Sahni remarked in his edition of the Kasiā inscription in the *Ep., Ind.*, "This is the only record so far known of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs." Following him, H. C. Ray calls this branch 'Kasiā Kalachuris' to distinguish it from the other branch which he names 'Kahla Kalachuris'. See *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, 742.

[2] Verse 26 of the Kasiā inscription which mentions this lady is almost completely obliterated. So

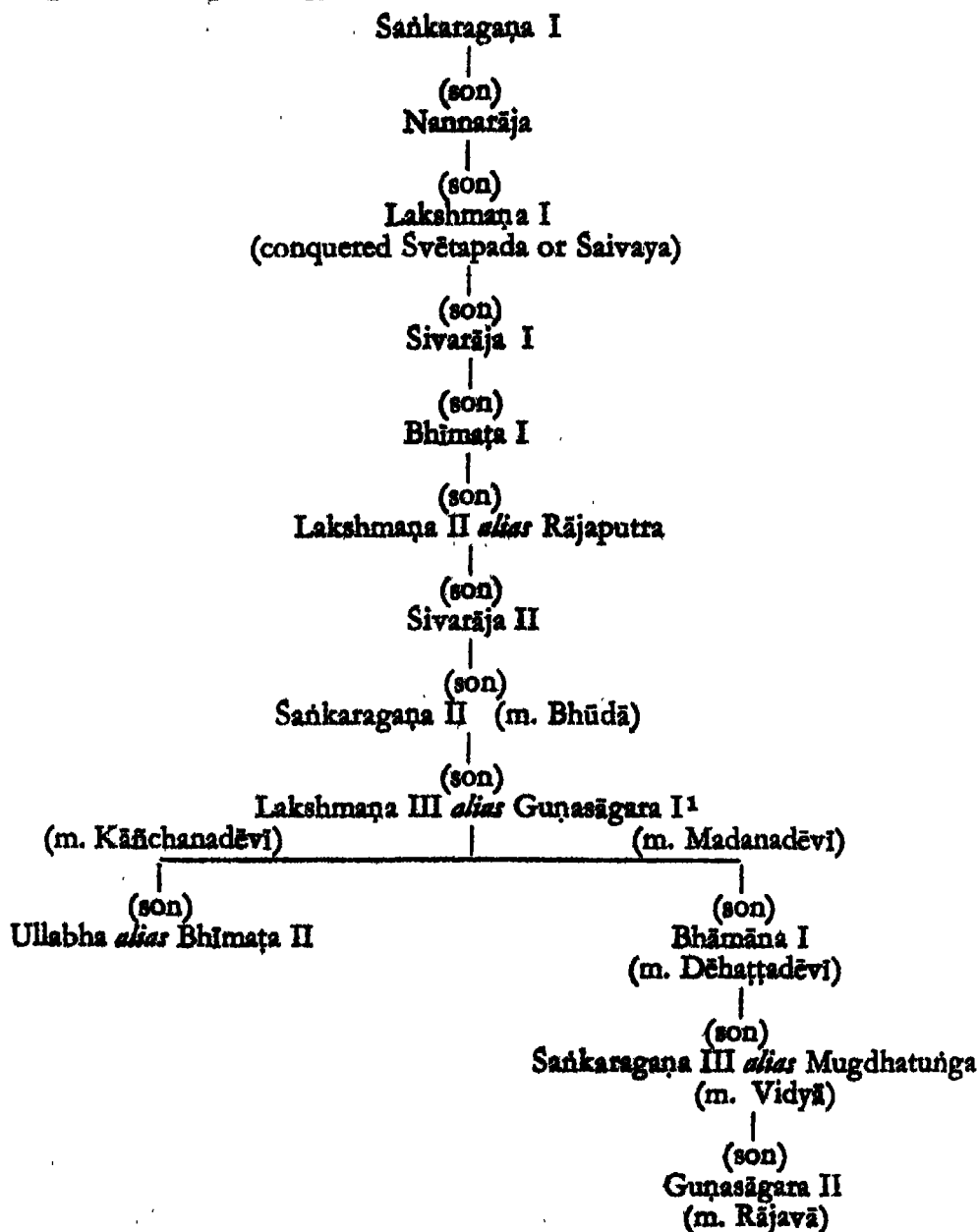
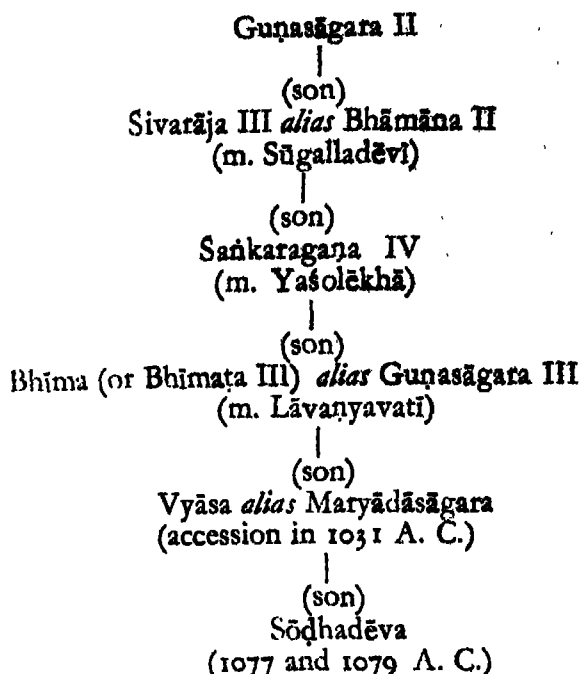
Bhāmāna I
(m. Dēhaṭṭadēvī)
|
(son)
Saṅkaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatuṅga
(m. Vidyā)
|
(son)
Guṇasāgara II
(m. Rājavā)
|
(son)
Sivarāja II *alias* Bhāmāna II
(m. Sūgalladēvī)
|
(son)
Saṅkaragaṇa III
(m. Yaśōlēkhā)
|
(son)
Bhīma *alisa* Guṇasāgara III
(m. Lāvaṇyavatī)
|
(son)
Vyāsa *alias* Maryādāsāgara
(accession in 1031 A.C.)
|
(son)
Sōḍhadēva
(1077 and 1079 A.C.)

A careful examination of the two genealogical lists reveals some connecting links. The Kahla plates state that the ornament of the Kalachuris who had conquered Kālañjara and Ayōmukha[1] gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in his turn, conquered the country of Svētapada. The Kasiā stone inscription makes similar statements about the third king, Lakshmaṇarāja I, of its list. Verse 17 of the inscription which is sadly mutilated refers to two uterine brothers, of whom one, probably Lakshmaṇarāja I mentioned in the preceding verse, out of love made over a fortress (Kālañjara ?), evidently to his brother, and afterwards conquered the mountainous country of Śaivaya, the home land of the famous legendary king Śibi. The similarity in the two descriptions is certainly striking. It suggests that the two Lakshmaṇarājas were identical. This Lakshmaṇarāja's brother, who is unfortunately not named in either record, was probably Vāmarāja as suggested before.

The genealogical lists show agreement in some other places also. Thus Rājaputra and his son Sivarāja I, mentioned in the Kahlā plates, are plainly identical with Lakshmaṇarāja II and his son Sivarāja II, described in the Kasiā inscription; for, the latter inscription says that Lakshmaṇarāja II was, on account of his merits, known by the other name of *Rājaputra*.[2] This Śivarāja's son is called Saṅkaragaṇa in the Kahlā plates; but his name

her relationship to Lakshmaṇa III mentioned in the preceding verse is uncertain. But a comparison with the corresponding portion of the Kahla grant leaves no room for doubt that she was his wife.

[1] Prof. Kielhorn's statement that the Kalachuri king subdued the Krathas is based on a mislection, for which see below, p. 383, n. 2.

[2] H. C. Ray's conjecture that '*Rājaputra* Lakshmaṇa probably did not reign' does not appear to be correct; for, according to the Kahla plates, the title was given to Lakshmaṇa on account of his merits.

is lost in Kasiā inscription. The latter does not, therefore, give any clue to identification. Sivarāja's grandson is named Lakshmaṇa in the Kasiā inscription and Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇāsāgara I) in the Kahla plates. The latter is apparently a *biruda*. This conjecture receives support from the fact that the wives of both were named Kāñchanā. Bhīmaṭa II, the son of Lakshmaṇa III, mentioned in the Kasiā inscription, may not, therefore, be different from Ullabha, the son of Guṇāmbhōdhi, named in the Kahla plates. The names of Bhīmaṭa's successors are lost owing to the mutilation of the Kasiā inscription; but the agreements noticed above leave no room for doubt that the two royal families were identical. From the information derived from the two records, we can, therefore, form the following combined genealogy—

[1] The Kahla plates give the *biruda* as Guṇāmbhōdhi which is a synonym of Guṇasāgara (an ocean of excellences). As Guṇasāgara is repeated in the later stages of the genealogy, I have called this king Guṇasāgara I.

Lakshmaṇa I, the founder of this Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, was the thirteenth ancestor of Vyāsa. As the latter came to the throne in 1031 A.C., we may place the accession of Lakshmaṇarāja I in *circa* 700 A.C., taking 25 years as the average duration of each generation. Similarly, Lakshmaṇarāja III *alias* Guṇasāgara I, the seventh ancestor of Vyāsa, may have begun to reign in *circa* 850 A.C. This date is supported by the description in the Kahla plates that he defeated a Gauḍa king and obtained some territory from Bhōjadēva. This Bhōja is no other than the Pratīhāra king Bhōja I, whose known dates range from 836 to 882 A.C. We know that he was engaged in a prolonged war with the contemporary Pāla king Dēvapāla (*circa* 810-850 A.C.). The dates conjecturally assigned to the members of this branch may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct.[1]

We have reviewed before the political conditions in North India which led to the establishment of this branch so far to the north.[2] After consolidating his position in the hill-fort of Kālañjara, Vāmarāja overran Ayōmukha, (modern Partāpgarh and Rai Barelli Districts of U. P.) which he afterwards made over to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I. Using Ayōmukha as his base, Lakshmaṇarāja invaded the country to the north of the Sarayū, the home land of the legendary king Sibi, famous for his liberality.[3] There he ultimately established himself. The dynasty he founded reigned over the Sarayūpāra country for at least fifteen generations.

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[1] According to the dates proposed above, Lakshmaṇa II *alias* Rājaputra was reigning in the period *circa* 775-800 A.C. Kielhorn also was of the opinion that Rājaputra cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A. C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

[2] See above, pp. lxiii ff.

[3] The name of the country conquered by Lakshmaṇarāja is given as Śvētapada by the Kahla plates and as Śaivaya by the Kasiā inscription. The latter record again states that it was the home land of Śibi, the son of Uśīnara. From the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, adhyāya 130, v. 20) Śibi appears to have been ruling in the Panjab. The Buddhist Jātakas mention Ariṭṭhapura and Jetuttara as the capitals of the Śibi country. Elsewhere, the capital of Śibi is said to be Śivipura. As Dr. Vogel has shown, modern Shōrkōṭ in the Panjab marks the site of ancient Śivipura. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 16. *Śaivaya* may be derived from *Śvētapada* through the intermediate stages of *Sedvaā* and *Sevaya*. The context shows that the province of Śvētapada was included in Sarayūpāra, and there may have been a tradition, wrong of course, associating it with the ancient king Śibi, 'the paragon of charity and self-sacrifice.'

The Kahla plates begin the royal genealogy with this Lakshmaṇarāja I; but the Kasiā inscription carries it two generations backward and names Saṅkaragaṇa and Nannarāja as the grandfather and father respectively of Lakshmaṇarāja I. We have already stated the reasons for our view that these two kings were ruling not in Sarayūpāra, but in their home province of Anūpa.

We have no knowledge of the political events in the reign of Śivarāja I and Bhīmaṭa I, who succeeded Lakshmaṇarāja I, one after the other. The description of them, given by the Kasiā inscription, is quite conventional.[1] Bhīmaṭa I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇa II, who, on account of his merits, was known by the second name of *Rājaputra*. About this prince the Kahla plates say that he took captive Vāhali, the Lord of horses, gave no respite to the king of the East and by his achievements lowered the fame of ancient princes like Arjuna.[2] Vāhali is not otherwise known. He was probably a feudatory of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, who were noted for their fine cavalry. The king of the East against whom Lakshmaṇa fought must have been a king of the Pāla dynasty, perhaps Dharmapāla, who was his contemporary.

About Śivarāja II, who succeeded Lakshmaṇa II, we have nothing but conventional praise in both the records. His son Śaṅkaragaṇa II is mentioned in the Kahla plates. His name is lost in the Kasiā inscription, which, however, supplies the information that his wife was Bhūdā. This Śaṅkaragaṇa is probably identical with the homonymous prince who received protection from Kōkalla I of Tripurī.[3] Perhaps his country was threatened at the time by his eastern neighbour, the Pāla king Dēvapāla. Śaṅkaragaṇa wisely allied himself with the powerful kings of the time, Bhōja I of Kanauj and Kōkalla I of Tripurī, to stem the tide of the Pāla invasion. He sent his son Lakshmaṇa III *alias* Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇasāgara I) to fight in the Pratīhāra Emperor's campaigns against Dēvapāla. If the description in the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Lakshmaṇa took away the fortune of the Gauḍa king and received as reward some territory from Bhōjadēva who can be none other than Bhōja I of Kanauj.

From his wives Kāñchanā and Madanadēvī, Lakshmaṇa III had the sons, Ullabha and Bhāmāna I respectively. The former, who was apparently elder, abdicated the throne in favour of Bhāmāna I. Bhāmāna came into conflict with the contemporary king of Dhārā and inflicted a crushing defeat on his forces. The Paramāra adversary is not named, but he may have been Muñja (*circa* 974-995 A. C.). Perhaps the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva II had asked for his help when his territory was invaded by the Paramāra king,[4] and it was now the turn of the Sarayūpāra family to go to the rescue of the main house.

From his queen Dēhaṭṭadēvī, Bhāmāna had a son named Śaṅkaragaṇa III, who succeeded him. He had the *biruda* Mugdhatuṅga. From his wife Vidyā, Śaṅkaragaṇa had a son named Guṇasāgara II. The latter's son from his queen Rājavā was Śivarāja III, also called Bhāmāna II. His son from Sūgalladēvī was Śaṅkaragaṇa IV. The latter's son from Yaśōlēkhā was Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III). We have nothing but conventional praise in the case of all these kings.

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[1] *Kīrti* which occurs in v. 16 was taken by Sahai as a proper name. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 137, n. 4. Ray has suggested that he might be the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 750); but the identification is impossible as Kīrtivarman flourished long after. *Kīrti* in that verse is *not* a proper name. It has the ordinary sense of 'fame' or 'glory'.

[2] *Kīrtis* in v. 7 of the Kahla plates is taken by some to be the name of a historical personage; but the intended sense seems to be that by his valour Rājaputra eclipsed the fame of the illustrious kings of yore like Arjuna.

[3] See above, p. lxxv ff.

[4] Above, p. lxxxvii.

It seems that there was some trouble during the reign of Bhīma which caused him the loss of his throne. The nature of the trouble is, however, not known.[1] Perhaps, there was an invasion of the country by some enemy. When the enemy retired or was ousted from the country, Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, got himself crowned at the capital of Gōkulaghaṭṭa on the 31st May 1031 A.C.

Kielhorn identified Guṇasāgara, the father of Vyāsa, with Guṇasāgara II, who was the great-grandfather of Vyāsa's predecessor Bhīma.[2] Vyāsa would thus have come to the throne after his grand-nephew. This seems improbable. Besides, Vyāsa apparently began to reign when young; for, his successor Sōḍhadēva was ruling at least till 1079 A.C., which date is 48 years later than that of Vyāsa's accession. It seems better, therefore, to suppose that Guṇasāgara was a *biruda* of Bhīma, the predecessor of Vyāsa.[3] This conjecture receives support from the description in the plates that Vyāsa was established on his *father's* throne.

Vyāsa *alias* Maryādāsāgara was succeeded by Sōḍhadēva who issued the Kahla plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṅkrānti in 1077 A.C. In these plates both he and his father are mentioned with full imperial titles, *viz.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. The period of their rule falls in the heyday of Kalachuri imperialism when the mighty emperors Gāṅgēyadēva and Karṇa had extended their dominion to the Banaras District, south of the Sarayū. The assumption of imperial titles by these rulers of Sarayūpāra plainly indicates that they did not owe allegiance even to Gāṅgēya and Karṇa. The use of the Vikrama instead of the Kalachuri Saṁvat in dating the Kahla grant points to the same direction. The relations of the two Kalachuri families may, however, have continued to be friendly and they may have gone to each other's rescue in times of difficulties.

Sōḍhadēva is the last known prince of this Sarayūpāra branch. Soon after the issue of his Kahla plates, he seems to have lost the support of the Tripurī Kalachuris; for, Yaśaḥkarṇa was then ousted from the Banaras District by the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva. The Chandrāvatī plates dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.), which are the earliest record of the Gāhaḍavālas discovered in the Banaras District, plainly indicate that Yaśaḥkarṇa had lost Banaras to Chandradēva before that date.[4] The Gāhaḍavālas may have next pressed further to the north and supplanted the Kalachuris in the Sarayūpāra country. Perhaps the Rāshṭrakūṭas ruling on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī played[5] their part in the extermination of their neighbours. Yaśaḥkarṇa's raid against Champāraṇya, which was plainly directed against these Rāshṭrakūṭas and in the course of which he devastated their country, may have been prompted by a feeling of vengeance. Yaśaḥkarṇa did not, however, succeed in restoring the Sarayūpāra country to his kinsmen. This Kalachuri family thus disappeared from history in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

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[1] The Kahla plates ascribe the loss of the throne to the misfortune of Bhīma. If there was an invasion of the country, it may have been by *Mahārājādhirāja* Gāṅgēyadēva, a Rāshṭrakūṭa king ruling over the neighbouring country of Tīrabhukti on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī. A MS. of the Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library mentions the date, V. 1076 (1019 A.C.), of this king's reign. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva, see *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), pp. 291 ff. and above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 86.

[3] Another similar case is that of *Maryādāsāgara* which from l. 33 of the Kahla plates appears to be a *biruda* of Vyāsa, though this is not stated explicitly in the plates.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.

[5] I have shown elsewhere that a Rāshṭrakūṭa family was ruling over Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut) in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.C. *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), p. 291.

THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

In ancient times Dakshiṇa Kōsala (South Kōsala) comprised modern Chattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the State of Orissa up to the boundary of the Katak District.[1] In the Purāṇas this country is mentioned with Traipura (the tract round Tripurī near Jabalpur), Kaliṅga (part of the State of Orissa) and Mēkala (the region near the source of the Narmadā).[2] These countries are further said to be situated on the back, *i.e.*, the table-land of the Vindhya mountain. To distinguish this Kōsala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayōdhyā in the State of Uttar Pradesh, it was called Dakshiṇa Kōsala or South Kōsala. The feminine form of the name, *viz.*, Kōsalā, is occasionally met with in literature and inscriptions.[3] The ancient capital of this country was Kuśāvatī, founded by Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This city, the Purāṇas tell us, was situated on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, but its exact location has not yet been determined.

Our knowledge of the history of Chattisgarh before the advent of the Kalachuris is very meagre. In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., the country was ruled by Bhīmasēna II whose copper-plate grant dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-2 A.C.) has been discovered at Āraṅg.[4] He or his successor was ousted by a king of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last known king of this family, was overthrown by Indrabala of the Sōmavaṁśa. The Sōmavaṁśīs ruled in Chhattisgarh for some generations. Mahāśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the last known king of this dynasty, flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A.C. He had a long reign of more than 57 years and was on the throne when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Dakshiṇa Kōsala.[5]

About this time, Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty invaded Kōsala after conquering the three Mahārāshṭras. The Aihōḷē inscription of his reign, dated 634 A.C., states that the people of Kōsala, like those of Kaliṅga, were overawed by the invading forces.[6] The ruling king evidently submitted to the mighty emperor, who allowed him to govern his kingdom as his vassal.

Some time after Pulakesin II's invasion, the Sōmavaṁśīs were ousted from the Raipur District by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings, who held the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining parts of the Vishakhapatam District of the Madras State. A stone inscription of this dynasty, still existing at Rājim in the Raipur District, mentions three kings, *viz.*, Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga. The last of these erected the temple of Rājīvalōchana at Rājim for the religious merit of his son who had died. The inscription can be referred to about 700 A.C. on the evidence of palæography.[7]

We do not know how long the rule of the Sōmavaṁśīs and the Nalas lasted in Chhattisgarh. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple of Śiva at Pāli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. This inscription, which was deciphered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar fifty years ago, has not received from

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[1] The Sōmavaṁśī kings whose copper-plates record grants of land in the former Patna State and Sambalpur District call themselves 'lords of Kōsala'.

[2] *Vāyupurāṇa*, adhyāya 45, v. 133.

[3] *MBH.*, (Cr. Ed.), Āraṇyakaparvan, adhyāya 83, v. 10; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 and plate. I have shown that the correct reading of the date is G. 182, corresponding to 501-2 A.C. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

scholars the attention it deserves.[1] As the names Malladēva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāṇa kings, Dr. Bhandarkar made at the time the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramāditya might be one of the Bāṇa kings.[2] He could not, however, definitely identify him; for, no such Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva, was then known. From the Gudimallam plates[3] discovered later, Dr. Hultzsch has shown that there were three Vikramādityas in the Bāṇa dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayamēru, was the son of Malladēva. He is identical with the Bāṇa Vidyādhara mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.)[4] to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.),[5] Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.[6]

The Bāṇa kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District. The province over which they ruled is called Pērumbāṇappāḍi in later Tamil inscriptions.[7] As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east.[8] It is, however, surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country. From there they seem to have penetrated further to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, from where they ousted the Sōmavaṁśis, who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinītapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II—Pallavamalla (*circa* 710-775 A.C.)[9]. The Udayēndiram plates[10] state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief called Purushavyāghra, who, desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the *Aśvamēdha*, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Vishṇurāja, which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyāghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar District.[11] Vishṇurāja, whose country he had invaded, has been identified with Vishṇuvardhana III (709-746 A.C.). The Bāṇa chiefs, who were feudatories of the Pallavas, seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilaspur District with Pāli as their capital. We have no record of the early Bāṇa kings who founded this kingdom. Nandivarman is the earliest king known from the Udayēndiram plates.[12] As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from *circa* 870 A.C. to 895 A.C. Nandivarman may, therefore, have flourished about 800 A.C. Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bāṇa kingdom in

[1] I drew attention to its importance in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākōsala' published in *P. I. H. C.* (1939), pp. 319 ff.

[2] *P. R. A. S., W. C.* (1903-4), p. 52.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

[5] See No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899.

[6] Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (872 A.C.) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year Vijaya (873-74 A.C.) as being in the second year of Bāṇa Vidyādhara. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 328. He has, however, not given the exact reference of this record. T. V. Mahalingam places Vikramāditya I in the period 850-895 A.C.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 230.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 238.

[9] See *H. P. K.*, p. 119. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the reign-period as 717—779 A.C.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 274 ff.

[11] Compare the name Vyāghrarāja of the ruler of Mahākāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7. This Mahākāntāra probably corresponds to the Bastar District.

[12] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

Chhattisgarh. His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva at Pāli in the Bilaspur District.

In many records[1] of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, it is stated that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the neighbourhood. In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kaliṅgarāja, the first known king of the Ratanpur branch. Kaliṅgarāja's son was Kamalarāja, who was a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva, whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. The wording[2] of the passage describing the relationship of Kaliṅgaraja to Kōkalla shows that the former was separated from the latter by some generations. This Kōkalla, therefore, is the first king of that name who ruled from *circa* 850 A.C. to 890 A.C. This conclusion receives confirmation from a statement in some inscriptions of the Tripurī branch. As we have already seen, the Bilhāri stone inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga, the son and successor of Kōkalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and took (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.[3] The Banaras plates of Karṇa say that Prasiddhadhavala (who is none other than Mugdhatuṅga) took possession of Pāli, thinking that in his family there would be born men, eminent on account of greatness in this world.[4] This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. The country of Pāli which was conquered from the king of Kōsala was probably the territory round Ratanpur; for, the village of Pāli which contains the aforementioned exquisitely carved temple of Śiva with an inscription of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I lies only 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur.[5] The king of Kōsala from whom the country of Pāli was wrested is not named in the aforementioned Kalachuri inscription, but the foregoing discussion must have made it plain that he was probably a Bāṇa king. As Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala flourished from *circa* 890 A.C. to 910 A.C., his Bāṇa adversary may have been Vikramāditya I (*circa* 870-895 A.C.).

After conquering the country round Ratanpur, Mugdhatuṅga placed it in charge of one of his younger brothers. There is a gap of nearly a century in the history of this Kalachuri branch, for which no records have come to light. We do not, therefore, know even the name of this founder of the Kalachuri branch of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. But from a statement in the Ratanpur stone inscription[6] it seems that the Kalachuri capital in that age was Tummāṇa, which has been identified with Tumāṇ, a small village in the former

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[1] No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8, *etc.*

[2] Almost all the early inscriptions say that Kaliṅgarāja was born *in the family* of a younger son of Kōkalla, thus indicating that a long period of time separated him from Kōkalla. (See, *e.g.*, No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8 *etc.*) Only two records, the Shēorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82), and Kharōd stone inscription of Ratnadēva III (No. 100), make Kaliṅgarāja a son of Kōkalla himself. Mr. A. Ghosh ingeniously suggests that *Vaṅkō-Tummāṇa-bhūbhujaḥ* in l. 9 of No. 82 is a mistake for *vaṁśē Tummāṇa-bhūbhujaḥ*. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 261, n. 2.

[3] No. 45, l. 10.

[4] No. 48, l. 13.

[5] It is supposed by some that this temple was erected by Jājalladēva I; for, there are five inscriptions of the king in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Two of these inscriptions are incised on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the temple and another on a pilaster to support a broken beam. The inscriptions are identical in wording and purport to register some *kīrti* (meritorious work) of Jājalladēva. Their positions clearly indicate that they were meant to record the repairs, not the construction, of the temple by Jājalladēva I. As a period of more than two centuries had passed since the time of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of Jājalladēva I.

[6] Verse 7 of No. 77 says that Kaliṅgarāja chose Tummāṇa as his capital because it had been made the seat of their government by his forefathers.

Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District. The Kalachuris seem to have reigned there for two or three generations (from *circa* 895 A.C. to 950 A.C.), but were ultimately ousted by some enemy, perhaps a Somavaṁśī king ruling over the eastern parts of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. The Kalachuri prince, when ousted from Chhattisgarh, apparently returned to his ancestral country of Ḍāhala. From the Bilhāri stone inscription we learn that Lakshmaṇarāja II (*circa* 945-970 A.C.) defeated the rulers of Kōsala and Oḍra. Lakshmaṇarāja's campaign may have been undertaken to punish the king of Kōsala and his ally, the king of Oḍra, for having ousted the scions of his family from Kōsala. His victory was not, however, a decisive one and does not seem to have led to the re-establishment of Kalachuri power in Chhattisgarh.

It was probably in the reign of Kōkalla II that the Kalachuris renewed their attempt to conquer Dakshiṇa Kōsala The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I states that in order to augment his unimpeded prowess and treasure, Kaliṅgarāja, descended from a younger son of Kōkalla I, left his ancestral country (evidently Ḍāhala)[1] and conquered the country of Dakshiṇa Kōsala by the prowess of his arms.[2] As Kaliṅgarāja's son Kamalarāja was a junior contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva (*circa* 1015—1040 A.C.), Kaliṅgarāja's conquest of Dakshiṇa Kōsala may be dated in *circa* 1000 A.C.

Kaliṅgarāja selected the old Kalachuri capital Tummāṇa as the seat of his government. As the Ratanpur inscription says, while staying there, he destroyed his enemies and increased his splendour. During his reign there was an invasion of the country by Sindhurāja, a well-known Paramāra king of Dhārā (*circa* 995-1015 A.C.). Some years later, he led a second expedition in connection with a love affair which forms the theme of the beautiful Sanskrit *kāvya Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of his court-poet Padmagupta *alias* Parimala.[3] The story of the *kāvya* briefly told is as follows :—

"Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, sees and falls in love with Śaśiprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapāla. After her meeting with the king, Śaśiprabhā is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhōgavatī in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably and tells him how he should win Śaśiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father had laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the golden lotus flowers, which grow in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuśa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally, Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vaṅku on his way to Ratnavatī. Then the king, accompanied by his minister Yaśōbhaṭa, also called Ramāṅgada, starts for Ratnavatī. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vaṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Śaśikhaṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍakētu, king of the Vidyādharas, who had been transformed

[1] Owing to a wrong *pada-chchhēda* in vv. 4 and 6 of No. 77, it was supposed by Kielhorn and other scholars who followed him that Kaliṅgarāja hailed from the country of Tritasaurya. But no such country is known. See *Kane Festschrift*, pp. 290 ff.

[2] The country under the rule of the Kalachuris is called Dakshiṇa Kōsala in some records and Tummāṇa-dēśa in others. See No. 77, v. 6; No. 93, v. 8; No. 100, v. 5, *etc.* Tummāṇa was, of course, included in Dakshiṇa Kōsala, but sometimes the latter denoted the eastern part of it under the rule of the Sōmavaṁśīs. See, *e.g.*, No. 77, v. 23.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the historical data of this *kāvya*, see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Saśikhaṇḍa brings his troops to help the king in his expedition. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāṅgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. A snake youth named Ratnachūḍa is made the Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhōgavatī. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhā and marries her. Śaṅkhapāla makes the king the present of a crystal Śivaliṅga made by Tvashṭṛi. The king returns to Ujjayinī and then to Dhārā where he establishes the crystal Śivaliṅga."

The foregoing brief analysis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* will show that the poem was intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa in which he was aided by a Vidyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. This campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century A.C.; for, he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kachchha, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kōsala as well as a Hūṇa prince.[1] The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa lay to the south of the river. Vajrāṅkuśa was not a prince of the demons, but a chief of the aborigines, perhaps Goṇḍs, whose capital Ratnavatī must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā; for, we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūtis* or 100 krōśas, *i.e.*, about 200 miles from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. Like Rājaśekhara, Padmagupta seems to have slightly altered the names of the historical characters and places that figure in his poem. Vajrāṅkuśa, the demon king, is, therefore, probably identical with Vajjūka[2] (also called Vajuvarman in one record[3]), the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. He was a powerful chief, as his matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris is mentioned in several Kalachuri records. He flourished in the same period as Sindhurāja; for, his daughter Nonallā was married to Ratnarāja, the son of Kamalarāja who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva.[4]

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrāṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa. The name of the sage appears to be connected with that of the god Vaṅkēśvara whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa.[5] Knowing as we do that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who instal them or erect temples in their honour, we can easily conjecture that Vaṅkēśvara may have been installed by some one named Vaṅku and that he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.

Vajrāṅkuśa's capital was Ratnavatī, which it is tempting to identify with the Kalachuri capital Ratnapura, but the identification is open to the objection that Ratnapura was founded by Ratnadēva I[6] and hence it could not have been in existence in this period. According

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[1] *NSCH.*, canto X, vv. 14-20.

[2] No. 77, l. 13.

[3] No. 76, l. 17.

[4] The identification may be open to the objection that if Vajjūka was killed in battle as stated in the *NSCH.*, canto XVII, v. 69, he could not have given his daughter to Ratnadēva I who flourished two generations later. Perhaps Vajrāṅkuśa is meant to represent the grandfather of Vajjūka, who may have borne the same name. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

[5] Vaṅkēśvara was the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. They believed that they owed their kingdom to the grace of the god. See l. 23 of No. 76. Chakravarti has shown that *Vaṅka* is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Vakra*, a name of Śiva. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, Additions etc., p. viii.

[6] See v. 11 of No. 77.

to a tradition recorded by Mr. Beglar,[1] the ancient name of Ratnapura was Maṇipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king.[2] As our poet has slightly changed the names of places, Ratnavatī in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* may represent ancient Maṇipura, which came to be known as Ratnapura when Ratnadēva made it his capital. If Sindhurāja crossed the Narmadā near Māndhātā,[3] Ratanpur would be about 200 miles from the place as described in Padmagupta's poem.

In his battle with Vajrāṅkuśa, Sindhurāja's ally was the Vidyādhara prince Śikhaṇḍakētu. He probably represents the Śilāhāra king Arikēsarin *alias* Kēśidēva, the ruler of North Konkan; for, the Śilāhāras traced their descent from Jīmūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.[4] The similarity of the names Kēśidēva and Śikhaṇḍakētu confirms the identification.

Finally, the Nāga king Śaṅkhapāla, whose daughter was loved and ultimately married by Sindhurāja, was probably a ruler of Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar District. The princes of Chakrakōṭya call themselves Nāgavaṁśīs and lords of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns. This dynasty produced some powerful rulers towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. Their capital Chakrakūṭa or Chakrakōṭya often figures in inscriptions and literature.[5] This shows the strategic importance of that territory.[6] These Nāga princes were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The existence of a Nāga chieftain, ruling in the Bastar District in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., who was hostile to Vajrāṅkuśa or Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, is not, therefore, unlikely.

The historical basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* thus seems to be that the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōṭya sought the powerful Paramāra king Sindhurāja's aid against Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, with whom the Kalachuri prince Kaliṅgarāja was probably allied. Sindhurāja seems to have welcomed this opportunity to strengthen the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom against a possible Chōla invasion; for, owing to the debacle of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī after the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Chōlas, their rivals for supremacy in the south, was increasing. As we shall see later, Rājendrachōla I's general did indeed attack Kōsala a few years later during his victorious march to the north. It was probably to check the Chōla power that Sindhurāja, with a commendable foresight, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Chakrakōṭya. He marched against Vajjūka, whom he slew in battle. Afterwards he placed a Nāga prince in charge of Vajjūka's territory and married the daughter of the Nāga king of Chakrakōṭya.

The Kalachuri king Kaliṅgarāja, who was probably allied with Vajjūka, must have also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja. But he seems to have soon rehabilitated himself by driving out Sindhurāja's protégé from the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. We have, however, no further knowledge of any political events of his reign. The description of him in the records of his successors is purely conventional.

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja about 1020 A.C. He also ruled from the old capital Tummāṇa, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of Tripurī. During his reign, Gāṅgēyadēva of Tripurī undertook an expedition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja,

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[1] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, p. 216.

[2] (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Ādiparvan, adhyāya 215, v. 13; Āśvamēdhikaparvan, adhyāya 79, v. 3.

[3] It may be noted that some records of the Paramāras were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Chēdi, which Sindhurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

[4] See, *e.g.*, the Bhāndup plates of Chhittarājadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 250. ff.

[5] See, *e.g.*, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, canto IV, v. 30.

[6] It is worthy of note that the attack on Kōsala followed the victory at Sakkarakōṭṭam (Chakrakōṭya).

whom he called on to join in the campaign. The latter fought for his overlord wholeheartedly. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I state that like the Mandara mountain of yore, the brave Kamalarāja churned the milk-ocean which was the king of Utkala, and gave Lakshmī (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva.[1] The description suggests that the vanquished king of Utkala had to pay a heavy tribute to Gāṅgēya. Some records of Gāṅgēya's son Karṇa also refer to this campaign. They say that Gāṅgēya defeated the king of Utkala and made his own arm the pillar of victory on the (eastern) sea-shore.

During this campaign, Gāṅgēyadēva and Kamalarāja must have come into conflict with the contemporary ruler of Eastern Kōsala, who was probably Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. The latter claims in one of his grants[2] that he defeated the Chaidyas and devastated their country of Ḍāhala.[3] This may have been a reprisal raid on Ḍāhala during the absence of Gāṅgēya in the campaign against the king of Orissa.

The king of Utkala, in securing whose defeat Kamalarāja played a prominent part, was probably a king of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Śubhākara II, ruling over Tōsala on the eastern seaboard of Orissa.[4] When Kamalarāja returned home after this victorious campaign, he was followed by Sāhilla,[5] a military adventurer who sought his fortune in Chhattisgarh. Sāhilla conquered Vivarabhūmi, evidently for his lord Kamalarāja. As we shall see later, Sāhilla's descendants settled down in Chhattisgarh and helped the Kalachuris of Tummāṇa to extend the limits of their kingdom.

It was probably during the reign of Kamalarāja that the mighty Chōla Emperor Rājēndra I (1012-1044 A.C.) sent an expedition to the north under his *Daṇḍanātha* (General) in 1022 A.C. The Tirumalai *praśasti*,[6] which was composed in the twelfth year of Rājēndra's reign, states that Rājēndra's general first seized Sakkarakōṭṭam which is plainly identical with Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar State. Thereafter, he captured or destroyed some other countries and places like Madurai-maṇḍalam and Namanaik-kōṇam and defeated and took Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, prisoner. This victory led to the capture of 'the Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa) which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled.' The *praśasti* does not name the ruler of Kōsala. He may have been either Kamalarāja ruling over the western part, or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti who held the eastern part of Kōsala. As Rājēndra's general next proceeded against Daṇḍabhukti (parts of Midnapore and Balasore Districts), it would appear that the king he defeated was the ruler of Eastern Kōsala. In any case, this Chōla invasion did not produce any lasting effect; for, we have no evidence of the Chōla occupation of any part of Kōsala in this period. Perhaps, the vanquished king of Kōsala, whoever

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[1] See No. 76, ll. 12-13.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. I, pp. 4 f.

[3] The age of the Sōmavaṁśīs of Kōsala is still undetermined as their records are singularly lacking in historical details and bear only regnal dates. The contemporaneity of Gāṅgēya and Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti suggested here would, if accepted, serve as a landmark in the history of the Sōmavaṁśīs.

[4] Soon after this, the Karas seem to have been overthrown by the Sōmavaṁśī Uddyōtakēsarin, who transferred his capital to the eastern coast and gave the kingdom of Kōsala to Abhimanyu.

[5] The Rājim inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 (1145 A.C.) states that this Sāhilla was a spotless ornament of the family of the illustrious Rājamāla. I have suggested that this Rājamāla is identical with Rājamalladēva who had given valuable support in re-establishing the power of the Karas after the death of the ruling prince who was probably Śubhākara's father Lalitabhara. If this identification is accepted, Sāhilla would be his son or possibly his grandson. This squares with the description of him given in the Rājim inscription as well as the period here assigned to him.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff. See also *J. O. R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 207 ff.

he was, was obliged to pay tribute to the Chōla Emperor for some years, as claimed in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription[1] of Rājādhirāja, dated 1046 A.C.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja I in *circa* 1045 A.C. He married Nōnallā, the daughter of Vajjūka or Vajuvarman, the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. This *maṇḍala* seems to have comprised the territory round Kōmo-Chauki, about 24 miles west of Tummāṇa, the then Kalachuri capital. This marriage is mentioned in most of the subsequent Kalachuri records much in the same way as the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvī is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. It seems to have considerably strengthened Ratnadēva's position in Chhattisgarh.[2] Judging by the conquests made by subsequent kings, the Kalachuri kingdom in Chhattisgarh was very much circumscribed during the reigns of Kaliṅgarāja and Kamalarāja. Ratnadēva made some conquests and annexed some territory to his dominion. The three sons of the aforementioned Sāhilla—Bhāyila, Dēsala and Svāmin—fought his battles and conquered the countries of Bhaṭṭavila and Viharā for him. These countries have not, however, been identified.

Ratnadēva beautified the capital Tummāṇa with gardens, mansions and temples. He erected a temple in honour of Vaṅkēśa, the tutelary deity, and another dedicated to the god Ratnēśvara whom he seems to have installed and named after himself. Ratnadēva founded a new city called Ratnapura, to which he shifted his seat of government. The Srēshṭhin Yaśa is said to have been its Mayor.[3] This city was enlarged and beautified by his successors from time to time, and continued to be the capital of the royal family until its overthrow by the Marathas in the eighteenth century A.C.

Ratnadēva I may have closed his reign in *circa* 1065 A.C.[4] The earlier of the two grants of his son and successor Pṛithvīdēva I is dated K. 821 (1069 A.C.)

Pṛithvīdēva I is the earliest ruler of the Ratanpur branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh. In his Raipur and Amōdā plates he calls himself *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and claims to have obtained the right to *pañchamahāśabda*.[5] Both these indicate his feudatory rank. Like his predecessors, he seems, therefore, to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī. In his grants he uses the Kalachuri era, which he calls the era of the Lord of Chēdi.[6] This also indicates his subordinate position. He seems to have considerably extended his small principality; for, he claimed to be the lord of the

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 57. This inscription states that the king of Kausalar (*i.e.* Kōsala) among many others unremittingly paid tribute to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja.

[2] It may be noted that the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I states that Ratnadēva I married Nōnallā 'together with royal fortune.' No. 77, v. 13.

[3] He continued to hold the same position during the succeeding reign of Pṛithvīdēva I also. See No. 76, v. 16.

[4] Mr. Amalanand Ghosh has suggested the identification of Ratnadēva I with Siṅgan, (the king) of the warlike Kōsalai, who was cut to pieces by the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra in the battle of Kuḍālasaṅgama in *circa* 1066 A.C. He finds corroboration of this event in the passage *Ratnarājē yudhi ripu-jayini svar-gatē* in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, v. 15), which he takes to mean 'When Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle.' *B.V.*, p. 265. The proposed identification is very doubtful. *Siṅgan* is evidently a corruption of *Siṁha*. (Cf. Siṅgaṇan mentioned in the same inscription, who is identical with Jayasiṁha.) Siṅgan may have belonged to the Sōmavaṁśī family. Some members of this family bore names ending in *kēsarin* which is a synonym of *siṁha*. Besides, the construction of the above passage proposed by Mr. Ghosh is impossible, because in Sanskrit *yudh* (a fight) is feminine in gender.

[5] No. 75, l. 6; No. 76, ll. 23 and 25.

[6] No. 76, l. 41. The era seems to have been then newly introduced into Chhattisgarh and, therefore, had to be specified in this manner.

entire Kōsala country.[1] It is, however, highly doubtful if his sway extended to the Sambalpur District and the former Sonpur and Paṭnā States which were previously under the rule of the Sōmavaṁśīs; for, no inscriptions of him or even of his successors have been discovered in that part of the country. As we have already seen, this territory was included in Kōsala. The aforementioned title is, therefore, an empty boast. This does not, however, mean that he made no conquests. According to the Rājim inscription, Jayadēva, the son of Svāmin and grandson of the aforementioned military adventurer Sāhilla, conquered Daṇḍōra. His younger brother Dēvasiṁha acquired the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. Jayadēva was a contemporary of Pṛithvīdēva I, for whom, we may suppose, these countries were conquered. Of them, the former has been identified with the District of Sarguja, north-east of the Bilaspur District, which was once called Bāis Daṇḍōr (Daṇḍōr 22), as it contained twenty-two Zamindāris. The Kōmō *maṇḍala*, though situated close to the Kalachuri capital, seems to have maintained its independence since the time of Vajjūka. The latter's successors were either too weak or too overbearing to be allowed to remain independent. They were, therefore, subdued, and their *maṇḍala* was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom.

Pṛithvīdēva I married Rājallā. She bore him a son named Jājalladēva I, who afterwards succeeded him. He had a younger brother named Sarvadēva, who obtained the territory round Sōṇṭhiva (Sōnṭhi in the Bilaspur District) as his patrimony (*dāyād-āṁśa*).[2] Vigrahatāja, one of his ministers, and Yaśa, who continued to hold the post of the Mayor of Ratnapura, are named in his Amōdā plates.[3] Another minister Sōḍhadēva is mentioned in a later stone inscription.[4] Pṛithvīdēva was a devotee of Śiva. At Tummāṇa he dedicated a temple to the god under the name *Pṛithvīdēvēśvara* and also provided the old temple of Vaṅkēśvara with a *chatushkikā* or a hall resting on four pillars. On the occasion of its dedication, he made a land-grant dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.). At Ratnapura he constructed a large 'ocean-like' lake. He reigned from *circa* 1065 A.C. to 1090 A.C.

Jājalladēva I, who succeeded Pṛithvīdēva I, was one of the great kings of this family. Soon after his accession, he embarked on an ambitious scheme of conquest. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra and Talahāri. Vairāgara is modern Vairāgarh in the Chāndā District. Lañjikā and Bhāṇāra correspond to Lanji and Bhandara in the Balaghat and Bhandara Districts respectively. Talahāri comprised probably the southern part of the Bilaspur District and the northern part of the Raipur District. The subjugation of these places shows that the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the previous reigns was very much circumscribed. Jājalladēva carried his arms even as far as Daṇḍakapura (Midnapur District) in South Bengal, Andhra and Kimiḍi in the Ganjam District. Dakshiṇa Kōsala, which also he is said to have conquered, seems to refer to the eastern portion of it comprising the Sambalpur District and the former States of Patna and Sonpur. The rulers of all these countries and also of Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, which still remain unidentified, were made to pay him an annual tribute. His general Jagapāla, descended from the above-named Sāhilla, vanquished Māyūrikas[5] (perhaps rulers of the Bhañja dynasty) and Sāmantas (ancestors of the Sāontas in Bilaspur District). These conquests brought him

[1] In his Amōdā grant he is also called 'the sole lord of twenty-one thousand villages.' The number of villages in Kōsala is variously given. The Kuruspāl inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 30) mentions that the Nāga king Sōmēśvara of Bastar conquered six lacs of villages in Kōsala.

[2] No. 98, v. 15.

[3] No. 76, l. 34. Vigrahatāja is named also in the Raipur plates of the same king. No. 75, l. 13.

[4] No. 90, ll. 11-12.

[5] A Māyūrika family is mentioned in the Bayānā (former Bharatpur State) inscription of Chitralēkhā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff.). It was ruling in the north and does not seem to have been connected with the Māyūrikas defeated by Jagapāla.

into conflict with Sōmēśvara, the Nāgavaṁśī king of Chakrakōṭya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He had defeated the rulers of Uḍra (Orissa) and Vēṅgī, and had carried fire and sword into Lāñjī and Ratnapura.[1] He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shaṇṇavati (96 villages) of Kōsala and assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara.*[2] The Kuruspāl inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses namely the towns, Lāñjī and Ratnapura.

Jājalladēva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladēva set them free. His Ratanpur inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of another such prince on this earth?"[3] This event must have occurred some time before 1110 A.C., which is the approximate year of Sōmēśvara's death.[4]

Jājalladēva's fame spread to distant lands. The contemporary king of Chēdi, who was Yaśaḥkarṇa, the erstwhile suzerain of the Tummāṇa branch, had to court his friendship. He probably sought his aid in his campaign against an Andhra king, which, as we have seen, occurred early in his reign.[5] In the Ratanpur inscription Jājalla boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jajābhuktika with presents of wealth 'because he was valiant'. The ruler of Kānyakubja was probably the ambitious Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra, who, even while a *yuvarāja*, had wielded considerable authority. He came to the throne about 1110 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Jājalla. The other ruler who sought Jājalla's alliance was plainly a king of the Chandēlla dynasty. Three Chandēlla princes Kīrtivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla.[6] Of these, Sallakshaṇavarman was probably Jājalla's ally. This contact with the Chandēllas is reflected in the Kalachuri coinage as shown below.

These rulers of distant Northern countries sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south. Earlier conquerors from the north like Samudragupta and Īśānavarman had to pass through Dakshiṇa Kōsala in the course of their southern *digvijaya.* Similarly, Rājēndra Chōla I's general had to conquer Kōsala before he penetrated into Bengal. The object of this alliance with Jājalla was probably to check the advance of the Chōla Emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.C.). By his occupation of the Chōla throne, Kulōttuṅga had already united the kingdoms of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas. He entertained aggressive designs of North-Indian conquests, in pursuance of which he had subjugated Vairāgarh and Chakrakōṭṭa.[7] In some records he is said to have measured swords even with the Paramāra king of Malwa. The aforementioned northern powers must have regarded Jājalla as a bulwark against a possible Chōla invasion of North India.

We have seen above that Jājalla defeated the king of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. The latter is probably identical with Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, modern Sonpur, the chief

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 29.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 30. *Shaṇṇavati* as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. See also *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.

[3] No. 77, v. 22.

[4] Somēśvara was living at the time of the Barsur inscription dated 1108 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 314; Vol. IX, p. 162) and had died when the Nārāyaṇpāl inscription was put up in 1111 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.) So he seems to have died in *circa* 1110 A.C.

[5] See above, p. cii.

[6] V. A. Smith has given the following approximate dates for these three kings—Kīrtivarman, 1060-1100 A.C., Sallakshaṇavarman 1100-1110 A. C. and Jayavarman 1110-1117 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, part ii, pp. 132-34.

town of the former Sonpur State.[1] This king is not known from other records, but he probably belonged to the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty, and might be the son and successor of Abhimanyu who founded a feudatory state in that part of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, when Uddyōtakēsarin conquered Utkala and removed his capital to the eastern seaboard.[2] Jājalladēva seems to have followed up this victory and also deposed the king of Utkala. But his cause was espoused by his neighbour, the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who reinstated him. The earliest record which mentions the reinstatement of the Utkala king is the Korni plates of Anantavarman, dated Śaka 1034 (1113 A.C.).[3] This record does not mention the name of the enemy who had deposed the king of Utkala, but the foregoing discussion must have made it clear that he was probably Jājalladēva I.

Jājalla seems to have repudiated the political subjection of his house to the Kalachuris of Tripurī and declared his independence. To announce his independent rank, he struck gold and copper coins in his own name. His gold coins are partially modelled on the issues of Gāṅgēya. They have the king's name in bold Nāgarī letters in three lines on the obverse as on Gāṅgēya's coins. The reverse, however, shows the figure of a lion attacking an elephant,[4] instead of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. His copper coins are imitated from those of the Chandēlla Sallakshaṇavarman, with whom he was allied. They have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing left on the reverse. Both these types were continued by his successors.

Jājalla founded a city in his own name, called Jājallapura, which is probably identical with modern Jānjgir (Jājallanagara). He constructed there a temple and a monastery, which he endowed with the gift of some villages. He also excavated there a large tank and raised a mango grove. He repaired the ancient temple of Siva at Pāli by erecting cross-walls and giving supports to a broken beam.[5] These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions.

Jājalla married Lāchchhalladēvī,[6] from whom he had a son named Ratnadēva II, who succeeded him. His religious preceptor was Rudraśiva. It is interesting to note that the latter was conversant with the work of Diṅnāga, a famous Buddhist logician who flourished in the fifth century A.C. Vigraharāja, who held the position of a *mantrin* in the previous reign, became his *Sāndhivigrahika*. Another minister of the Gauḍa race, who was descended from the Kāyastha minister of the illustrious Karṇa of Tripurī, was mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of his reign, but his name is now lost. A third minister, who distinguished himself in all his wars, was Purushōttama, the son of Sōḍhadēva who had served Pṛithvīdēva I in the same capacity.[7] The writer of his Ratanpur inscription was Kīrtidhara, the owner of the village Jaṇḍēra.[8] He and his descendants were the official scribes of the Ratanpur royal family.[9] They have written their records on copper-plates and stone-slabs in beautiful letters.

Ratnadēva II seems to have succeeded his father in *circa* 1120 A.C.; for, the earliest inscription of his reign is dated K. 878 (1127 A.C.). He followed his father's policy and

[1] No. 100, l. 6. The gold coins of Jājalladēva I and his successors have been found in the Sonpur State. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 240.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.

[4] It symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king, 'the lord of elephants.'

[5] Jājalladēva himself did not erect the temple of Pāli, as was previously supposed. See below, p. 418.

[6] See No. 84, v. 8.

[7] No. 90, v. 23.

[8] No. 77, v. 34 and No. 83, v. 35.

[9] See below, p. 458, n. 3.

struck gold and copper coins in his own name, indicating his independence. The Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī could brook this impertinence no longer. He sent a large and powerful army against him, but Ratnadēva routed it completely. In the Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), he is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king. The Chēdi king, though not named in the record, was plainly Gayākarṇa, who ruled from *circa* 1123 A.C. to 1153 A.C., and was thus a contemporary of Ratnadēva II.

Another memorable event of Ratnadēva's reign which, though not referred to in his own inscriptions, is often mentioned in the records of his successors and their feudatories is the invasion of his country by Chōḍagaṅga.[1] The latter was evidently the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, who had a long reign of 70 years (1078-1147 A.C.). This aggressive Gaṅga king reinstated the deposed king of Utkala and raided the northern country up to the bank of the Gaṅgā. He is said to have laid under tribute all countries between the Gaṅgā and the Gōdāvarī.[2] In the course of his whirlwind campaign he seems to have attacked the Kalachuri kingdom in Kōsala. The Peṇḍrābandh plates mention Gōkarṇa as his ally in this campaign.[3] The latter was a feudatory of Chōḍagaṅga as stated in his inscription at Guḍiwāḍā in the Bimblipatam *tāluka* of the Vishakhapatam District.[4] Ratnadēva inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders and obtained a large booty of gold, horses and elephants.[5] A Ratanpur stone inscription describes Ratnadēva II as 'Rāhu in seizing and swallowing the large lunar orb of the mighty warriors of Chōḍagaṅga'.[6] The Mallār inscription dated K. 919 speaks of Ratnadēva as 'a fierce cloud which extinguished the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the valour of the king Chōḍagaṅga'.[7] The battle was a very fierce one and was fought in the Talahāri-maṇḍala, not very far from Shēotinārāyaṇ.[8] Jagapāla, a descendant of the aforementioned Sāhilla, distinguished himself in it by his bravery and became known as Jagatsiṁha (the Lion of the World).[9] Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva, also seems to have fought in it.[10] Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, 'the lord of elephants', suffered an ignominious defeat and had to return home discomfited. Somehow this glorious achievement of Ratnadēva is not mentioned in any of his copper-plate grants, but it may have occurred in *circa* 1130 A.C.

This victory enhanced the power and prestige of Ratnadēva II and encouraged him to undertake distant campaigns. One of them, directed against the king of Gauḍa, is mentioned in several inscriptions of Vallabharāja. As stated before, this Vallabharāja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. He belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His forefathers had loyally served the royal family as feudatories or ministers. Vallabharāja was treated by Lāchchhalladēvī, the mother of Ratnadēva II, as her adopted son. He was a contemporary of both Ratnadēva II and his son and successor Pṛithvīdēva II. The earliest record in which the campaign in Gauḍa is mentioned belongs to the reign of Ratnadēva II, which

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[1] No. 93, v. 5.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

[3] No. 101, v. 9.

[4] My attention to this record was drawn by Mr. N. L. Rao.

[5] Note यश्चोडगङ्गनृपतिं कलिङ्गदेशाधिपं गजाधीशम् ।
समिति घटेश्वरजन[कं] कत(न)कायवनजोजितक्ष्मके ॥ No. 100, v. 8.

[6] No. 93, v. 5.

[7] No. 97, v. 4.

[8] Note यश्चोडगङ्गमिभनाथमिहैव जिग्ये । No. 98, v. 7.

[9] No. 88, v. 14.

[10] No. 84, v. 18.

fought towards the end of it, in *circa* 1132. Vallabharāja fought very
sence of his lord and captured a large number of elephants in the enemy's
Gauḍa defeated by Ratnadēva is not named. He was probably one of
s of Rāmapāla, perhaps Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty, who has been
riod *circa* 1130-1150 A.C.[1] Another minister who won laurels in this
uḍa king was Purushōttama, whom Ratnadēva II made his *Sarvādhikārin*.
e threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti and punished Daṇḍapura, which
s capital. He also conquered Khijjiṅga and killed Haravōhu, who was
[2] Khijjiṅga is probably identical with the homonymous capital of the
Haravōhu is not known from any other source.
as a patron of religion and learning. He made some gifts to pious and
s. His court attracted learned men from far off lands.[3] One of his
the Sarkho plates, is worthy of note; for, it was made to an astronomer
ction of an eclipse.[4] There was a considerable building activity during
bharāja, the aforementioned feudatory of the Vaiśya lineage, excavated a
palace of pleasure in the centre of it, and erected a temple of Rēvanta at
built another temple of Śiva at the same place and gave half the religious
m it to his liege lord Ratnadēva II.[5] The latter seems to have endowed
some land-grant.
ntioned Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II, made several
h are recorded in his stone inscription dated K. 900. He raised several
ṭhas (monasteries) and *maṇḍapas* (temples), and excavated a deep tank at
also built a five-shrined temple of Śiva at Kōni, about 10 miles south by

ad two sons. The elder of them, Pṛithvīdēva II, succeeded him, while
siṁha is known only from the fragmentary Raipur Museum inscription
Ratnadēva was ruling at least till K. 885 (1134 A.C.). The earliest date of
is K. 890 (1138 A.C.).[7] Ratnadēva II may, therefore, have closed his
A.C.
early part of his reign, Pṛithvīdēva II subjugated the petty princes ruling
his kingdom and annexed their territories. In the Rājim inscription, his
s said to have won several victories. He took the strong forts of Sara-
n Sarangarh) and Machakā-Sihavā, south of Dhamtari in the Raipur Dis-
e conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga,
nd Kākayara.[8] Bhramaravadra may be identical with Bhramarakōṭya

Vol. I, p. 385. This invasion is probably referred to in the *Rāmacharita*, Canto IV, v.
tions that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī (which flowed near the capital
vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side.'
a University), Vol. I, p. 170. The invader who is not named in the *kāvya* was
II.

Gaṅgādhara, a learned Brāhmaṇa, migrated to Tummāṇa from Madhyadēśa and
f Kōsambī from Ratnadēva II. No. 97, v. 15.

2-33.
. Ratnadēva II did not continue to reign till 1144 A.C. as A. Ghosh supposes from
ara's name in v. 8 of the Kharod inscription. *B. V.*, p. 270. Jaṭēśvara is mentioned
ith the description of Chōḍagaṅga.
5-17.

maṇḍala in the Bastar District, Kākayara is modern Kāṅkēr in the same district. The extension of Kalachuri rule in this part is indicated by the use of the Kalachuri era in later records from Kāṅkēr.[1] The other places were probably situated in the Raipur District. These conquests seem to have brought a large part of modern Chhattisgarh under the direct rule of Pṛithvīdēva II.

After reducing his recalcitrant feudatories and making his home front secure, Pṛithvīdēva planned to take revenge on his Gaṅga adversary for having invaded the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of his father. He first marched against Chakrakūṭa (which comprised the central part of the Bastar District) and devastated it. This is said to have so terrified the Gaṅga ruler of the adjoining country, probably Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, that he realised that the only way to save his life was to cross the ocean.[2] Soon thereafter, Anantavarman died and was succeeded by his son Jaṭēśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava. Pṛithvīdēva then raided the Gaṅga territory, defeated Jaṭēśvara and took him captive. If the account in the Kharōd inscription[3] could be believed, the Gaṅga king had to pass some days in the Kalachuri prison before he was released. Gaṅga records are naturally silent about this defeat of Jaṭēśvara, but the account is corroborated by another contemporary Kalachuri record. The Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.), now in a sadly mutilated condition, describes the fierce battle in which Brahmadēva, the ruler of the Talahāri *maṇḍala* and a feudatory of Pṛithvīdēva II, fought valiantly with Jaṭēśvara. Verse 17 of the inscription says that Brahmadēva became famous by imprisoning a mighty foe.[4] The reference is plainly to the capture of the Gaṅga king. The engagement seems to have occurred in *circa* 1150 A.C., soon after the accession of Jaṭēśvara. After this no Gaṅga king dared invade the Kalachuri territory.

Like his father and grandfather, Pṛithvīdēva II also struck gold and copper coins in his name. Some of his tiny silver coins are also known. He gave a liberal patronage to men of learning. As many as seven inscriptions of his reign record his grants of land to Brāhmaṇas.[5] A Ratanpur stone inscription of his time states that his rule followed the path of good policy and caused the people joy unattended by contact with troubles.[6] Several religious and charitable works were constructed in his reign. The aforementioned Vaiśya feudatory, Vallabharāja, excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur, which still exists under the name of Khāruṅg. He dug two other tanks, one of which he named after his earlier lord Ratnadēva II, and constructed a temple of Siva.[7] Another feudatory Brahmadēva, who has been mentioned above in another connection, erected several temples and excavated tanks at different places in the kingdom. He also raised a mango-grove and maintained a charitable feeding house at Kumarākōṭa.[8] Pṛithvīdēva's military commander Jagapāla repaired the temple of Rāmachandra at Rājim and endowed it with the gift of a village.[9] He also founded the city of Jagapālapura. Even private individuals constructed temples. The Kāyastha Dēvagaṇa, for instance, erected a temple of Siva at Sāmbā as recorded in his Ratanpur inscription.

Brahmadēva was Pṛithvīdēva's trusted minister. He was previously ruling over the

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[1] See the dates of No. 116 and 117.
[2] No. 89, v. 11.
[3] No. 100, v. 9. This statement in the inscription has not been noticed before.
[4] No. 96, v. 17.
[5] Nos. 86, 89-92, 94 and 123.
[6] No. 93, v. 7.
[7] No. 93, ll. 24 ff.
[8] No. 96, vv. 23 ff.
[9] No. 88, ll. 14 ff.

Talahāri *maṇḍala*. Pṛithvīdēva II specially invited him to his capital, and entrusting the affairs of the state to him, obtained great peace of mind. The last known date of Pṛithvīdēva's reign is K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.). The next known date K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.) belongs to the reign of his son and successor Jājalladēva II. Pṛithvīdēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1165 A.C.

Soon after his accession, Jājalladēva II came into conflict with Jayasiṁha, the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī. The cause of this conflict is not known. Perhaps Jayasiṁha thought that it would be easy to subdue the new king before he consolidated his power and that he would thus be able to re-establish the supremacy of his house in Chhattisgarh. He personally led the expedition. Jājalladēva was determined to vindicate his right to independence. He was ably assisted by his feudatories and especially by the members of the collateral branch established at Sōnṭhiva. A fierce battle was fought. Ulhaṇadēva, a scion of the royal family, fought bravely and decimated Chēdi forces. Seeing this, Jayasiṁha, the Chēdi king, himself advanced to the forefront, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.[1] In the fight that ensued, Ulhaṇadēva lost his life, but the inscription does not state whether Jayasiṁha won a victory. Records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī are wholly silent about this campaign. Neither Jājalladēva nor his successors give any indication of their subordinate rank in their subsequent records. So the battle may not have ended unfavourably for Jājalladēva II. He treated Āmaṇadēva, the orphan son of Ulhaṇadēva, with special affection, as his father had died on the battlefield, fighting bravely for his lord, and as his mother had immolated herself as *Satī*.

Some time after this, Jājalladēva was caught by an alligator of the variety locally known as Thirū.[2] He was fortunately able to extricate himself, and by way of thanksgiving gave the village Bundērā to two Brāhmaṇas, the astrologer Rāghava and the family-priest Nāmadēva, in the year K. 919 (1167 A.C.).

As in previous reigns, there was a considerable building activity during the time of Jājalladēva II. Sōmarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa, built a temple of Śiva at Mallāla. Several members of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri family, established at Sōnṭhiva, constructed religious and charitable works in their territory. At Pathariā, Rājadēva, the grandson of Sarvadēva, built a temple of Śiva, raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhaṇadēva, who, as stated above, died later fighting with the Emperor Jayasiṁha of Tripurī, built the temple of Chandrachūḍa. This temple still exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ. Ulhaṇadēva's son Āmaṇadēva II donated the village Chiñchēlī to provide materials for the worship of the god Chandrachūḍa installed by his father.

All the three inscriptions of Jājalla's reign are dated K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.).[3] It appears that there was some trouble towards the close of his reign. The Kharod inscription states that when Jājalladēva attained, through accursed fate, union with Brahman (*i.e.*, died), the world became enveloped in darkness on all sides, the people being distressed through the loss of their discernment on account of the Kali Age. The cause of the trouble is not known. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy, in consequence of which there were confusion and disorder throughout the land. In this time of trouble Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalla II, came hastily from the Eastern country and established peace, order and good government in the kingdom. As the Kharōd inscription says, under Jagaddēva's rule thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed and enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain caves.[4]

[1] No. 98, vv. 27 ff.
[2] For other interpretations due to misreading of v. 19 of No. 99, see below, p. 529 and n. 2.
[3] Nos. 97-99.
[4] No. 100, v. 14.

It has been suggested that Jagaddēva had been superseded by his younger brother Jājalla II and was ruling over some eastern districts during the latter's life time. But in that case the Kharōd inscription of his son Ratnadēva III's reign would not have bestowed high praise on the usurper.[1] The wording of the verses 13 and 14 of that inscription rather suggests that Jagaddēva had voluntarily relinquished his claim to the throne in order to fight with the Eastern Gaṅgas and that he had to return home hastily when the country was rent by disorder as a result of some foreign invasion.

Jagaddēva seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years (K. 920-930 or 1168-1178 A.C.). He had a queen named Sōmalladēvī, who bore him a son named Ratnadēva III.

Ratnadēva III came to the throne about 1178 A.C. The Kharōd stone inscription dated K. 933 (1181-82 A.C.), which is the only record of his reign, states that he was distinguished for a handsome form, learning and charity. During his reign too there was some trouble. As the Kharōd inscription states, the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force became weak, the people were scattered and the country was infested by a famine and reduced to a pitiable state. In this emergency Ratnadēva made the learned Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara his Prime Minister. The latter, by his policy, vanquished the enemies of his lord everywhere, and freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.[2] It would appear, therefore, that the trouble had been caused by some unnamed enemy.

Gaṅgādhara, the aforementioned minister of Ratnadēva III, erected religious and charitable works at several places in the kingdom. He repaired the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Lakshmaṇēśvara at Kharōd. This temple had been erected by the Sōmavaṁśī king Īśānadēva more than six centuries before.[3] Its *maṇḍapa* may have fallen into disrepair owing to the passage of time. Gaṅgādhara constructed temples at several other places in honour of Vishṇu, Śiva, Ēkavīrā, Durgā and Gaṇapati. Some of them, such as the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura, are still standing. He excavated tanks, raised a garden, and established a charitable feeding house at Nārāyaṇapura.[4]

Ratnadēva III was succeeded by his son Pratāpamalla in *circa* K. 950 (1198-99 A.C.). He is known from his two land-grants dated K. 965 and K. 969, and some copper coins which have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of a lion and a dagger on the reverse. From the description in the Peṇḍrābandh plates that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that he came to the throne while quite young. In other respects, the description of him given by the plates is quite conventional.

We have no records of the successors of Pratāpamalla until we come to the time of Vāharēndra towards the close of the fifteenth century A.C. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats inflicted on the kings of Kōsala, but they rarely mention the names of the reigning kings. Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* states in its *Rājapraśasti* that the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa took away troops of rutting elephants belonging to the king Jajjalla.[5] The latter was probably a king of Ratanpur. As he was a contemporary of Siṁhaṇa (*circa* 1210-1247 A.C.), he seems to have succeeded Pratāpamalla. He suffered another defeat at the hands of Vishṇu, the minister of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-

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[1] See No. 100, v. 11. It must, however, be noted that the Peṇḍrābandh plates of Ratnadēva III's son Pratāpamalla omit Jājalladēva II's name in the genealogical portion; but that may be because he was a collateral.

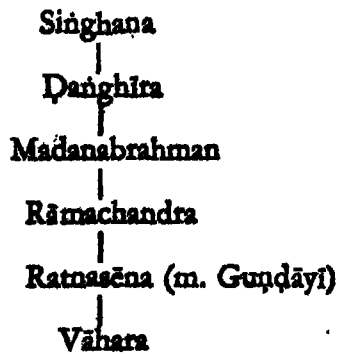
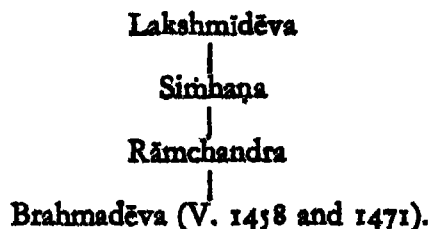
[2] No. 100, v. 27.

[3] Īśānadēva was the uncle of Tīvaradēva and flourished probably towards the close of the sixth cen. A.C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff. and Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

[4] No. 101, vv. 30 ff.

[5] See the extract from the *Rājapraśasti* I in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. H. D.*, p. 195. Recently some coins of Siṁhaṇa have been found in the Raigarh District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff.

bhīma III.[1] The Purshōttampurī plates of the Yādava Rāmchandra intimate a victory of Siṁhaṇa's grandson Kṛishṇa over the contemporary king of Kōsala. The latter is not named, but he may have been a successor of the aforementioned Jajjalla.

The next notice of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur that we get is from the stone inscriptions of the king Vāhara. The Kosgain inscription[2] of this king mentions the following pedigree.

The inscription mentions no political events of the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. For Vāhara, we have two dates, *viz*., V. 1552 (1494-95 A.C.), furnished by the Ratanpur inscription,[3] and V. 1570 (1513 A.C.), occurring in the Kosgain inscription.[4] He may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 1480 A.C. to 1515 A.C. Taking twenty-five years as the average duration of a reign, the accession of Siṅghaṇa, who flourished five generations before, may be dated in *circa* 1355 A.C. This Siṅghaṇa is probably identical with Siṅgha or Siṁhaṇa mentioned in the Raipur[5] and Khalāri[6] stone inscriptions, who also seems to have reigned in the same period; for, his grandson Brahmadēva was ruling at Raipur and Khalāri in V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) and V. 1471[7] (1415 A.C.). These inscriptions give the following pedigree—

It seems plain, therefore, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.C., the Ratanpur family of the Kalachuris split into two branches. The elder branch continued to rule at Ratanpur, while the younger one founded a separate principality with Raipur[8] as its capital. Combining the two pedigrees, we get the following genealogy[9]—

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[1] See the Chāṭēśvara inscription. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 317-27.

[2] No. 105, ll.6-7.

[3] No. 103, l.11.

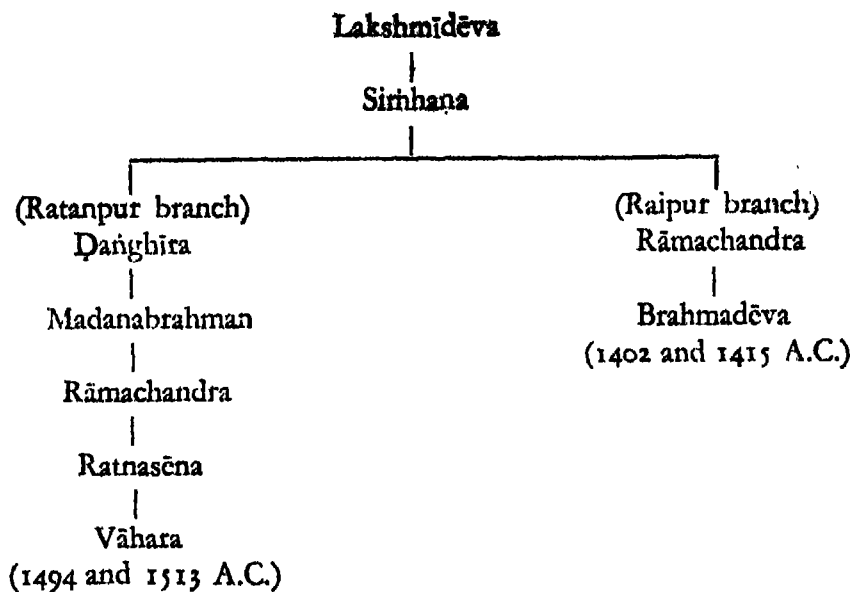
[4] No. 106, l.14.

[5] No. 107, l. 13.

[6] No. 108, l.5.

[7] The inscription contains in l.15 the date V. 1470, but it is a mistake for V. 1471. See below, p. 576.

[8] Rāyapura (the royal city) may have been founded by Rāmachandra. In the time of his son Brahmadēva, Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāri) seems to have become a second capital of the royal family. See No. 108, l.8.

[9] According to local tradition, Kēśava was the founder of the Raipur line and flourished in 1420 A. C. *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 52.

As stated before, the inscriptions give no historical information about the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. Vāhara's reign, however, was marked by skirmishes with the Pathans. The Kosgain inscriptions show that he had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to the stronghold of Kōsaṅga (modern Kosgain) probably owing to the forays of the Pathan adventurers.[1] From there he used to raid Pathan outposts. The Kosgain inscription states that when he attacked the Pathans, they, leaving their stations, used to flee to the Sōṇa. Mādhava, Vāhara's brave minister, is credited with a victory over the Pathans, whom he despoiled of gold and other metals, elephants, horses, cows and buffaloes. The Muslim chroniclers do not mention any incursions of the Afghans, who are evidently meant by the Pathans, into Chhattisgarh, which, being land-locked, must have been comparatively secure from their depredations. From the *Tārikh-i-Dāūdī* of Abdulla, we learn that Sikandar Lodi invaded the territory of the Rājā of Bhata,[2] devastated the country and stormed the fort of Bāndhu (Bāndhōgarh in the Rewah State), 'the strongest castle of the district', which he, however, failed to reduce. Bāndhōgarh is about 125 miles north by west of Kosgain. Sikandar's invasion seems to have occurred about 1496 A.C., two years after the date of the Ratanpur inscription of Vāhara's reign. During this expedition or some time later, some Afghan adventurers from Jaunpur may have attempted to raid the Kalachuri territory, but they were turned back by Vāhara.

We have no inscriptions of the successors of Vāhara. Local tradition mentions twelve successors[3] of Bāhar Sahāi (evidently identical with Vāharēndra of the inscriptions) who ruled at Ratanpur until the country was conquered by Bhāskar Pant, the Brāhmaṇa General of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1740 A.C. The reigns of these princes were uneventful and inglorious. One of them Kalyāṇ Sahāi, the successor of Bāhar Sahāi, is said to

[1] Verse 13 of No. 105 states that Vāhara had stored various kinds of food-grains, wealth, fuel and fodder in the fortress evidently to make it sufficiently strong to stand a siege by the enemy.

[2] *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 462. According to General Briggs, he was Śālivāhan, the Rājā of Pannā. *Loc. cit.*, n. 2. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, states that he was the Rājā of Phaphamau.

[3] In his *A. S. I* R. Vol. XVII, pp. 77 ff., Cunningham gives a list of these kings with approximate dates. He places Bāhar Sahāi in 1519 A.C., which is not wide of the mark. But the dynastic lists are, on the whole, unreliable; for, according to them, the five immediate ancestors of Bāhar Sahāi were Kamala Dēva, Śankara Sahāi, Mahaṇa Sahāi, Dādu Sahāi and Purushōttama Sahāi, but these names do not agree with those given by Vāhara's Kosgain inscription (No. 105).

have proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the great Akbar.[1] He was absent for about eight years and returned to Ratanpur, being invested by the Emperor with the full rights of Rājā and confirmed in the possession of his territory. The Muslim chronicles, however, do not mention this event.

The Raipur branch has left two inscriptions[2] dated 1402 and 1415 A.C., both of which belong to the reign of Brahmadēva. The only historical event recorded in them is the defeat which Rāmadēva (or Rāmachandra), the father of Brahmadēva, inflicted on Bhōṇiṅgadēva, who belonged to the Phaṇivaṁśa or Nāga dynasty.[3] Two Nāga families were ruling in Chhattisgarh during this period, one in the former Kawardhā State and the other in the former Bastar State. The last dated record of the Bastar family is of Hariśchandra, who was ruling in 1324 A.C.[4] The Kawardhā family also continued to rule till the fourteenth century, as its last dated inscription is of 1349 A.C.[5] In the absence of subsequent records, it is difficult to say to which family Bhōṇiṅgadēva, defeated by Rāmachandra, belonged. Perhaps he was ruling over the former Bastar State; for, the Nāgavaṁśī chiefs of the Kawardhā state are known to have been feudatories of the Kalachuris, whose era they used in earlier times. Some of them were also matrimonially connected with the latter.[6]

The conditions in Chhattisgarh at the time of its annexation by the Marathas are very well described in the following extract.[7]—"The Haihayas merely stood at the head of a number of petty Rajās and official chiefs, each of whom was, to a large extent, independent, and among whom the whole country was divided. It was an essentially weak system, adapted only to an earlier stage of social development, and it would have fallen long ago, had any well organised foreign invasion ever been attempted. When the Marathas came, they marched through the whole country without any opposition, and demanded and obtained the allegiance of all the surrounding states." Thus ended the rule of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh after lasting for more than seven centuries from *circa* 1000 A.C. to 1740 A.C.

ADMINISTRATION

The records edited here belong to two main periods—the earlier one extending from about 250 A.C. to about 750 A.C., and the later from about 850 A.C. to about 1500 A.C. The earlier inscriptions mainly come from Western India comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, and the later ones from Northern India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative system, religion, and social and economic life in these two periods naturally show wide differences.

In the earlier period, the largest administrative unit was the *dēśa*, corresponding to the province of modern times. The kingdom of the Traikūṭaka Vyāghrasēna, for instance, comprised several *dēśas* or provinces, only one of which, *viz.*, Aparānta (North Konkan),

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[1] According to Cunningham, he went to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with the Rājā of Maṇḍlā and returned in Saṁvat 1628 or 1571 A.C.

[2] Nos. 107 and 108. A copper-plate inscription of Amarasiṁhadēva, who is said to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, was discovered at Āraṅg. But it gives no pedigree, contains no date and has no historical importance.

[3] No. 108, l. 6.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 39 ff.

[5] *I. C. P. B.*, (second ed.), p. 176.

[6] The Māṇḍava Mahāl inscription from the former Kawardhā State states that Rāmachandra of the Phaṇivaṁśa married Ambikādēvī of the Haihaya lineage. *Ibid.* p. 174.

[7] *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 48.

finds a specific mention in his grant.[1] The names of the other *dēśas* comprised in the Traikūṭaka kingdom, *viz.*, Mahārāshṭra, Ṛishīka (Khandesh) and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) do not occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas. The next lower administrative unit was the *vishaya* corresponding to the modern district. This term was current over a very wide area, *viz.*, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. Gujarat was, for instance, divided into a number of *vishayas* such as the Saṅgamakhēṭaka,[2] Antarnarmadā,[3] Nāndīpura,[4] Antarmaṇḍalī,[5] Akrūrēśvara,[6] Bāhirikā,[7] Kārmaṇēya,[8] Trēyaṇṇa[9] and Kāśākula.[10] Some of the *vishayas* seem to have changed their names in course of time. Thus, when Broach attained a greater importance as the capital of the Gurjaras, the name of the Antarnarmadā *vishaya* was changed to the Bharukachchha *vishaya*.[11] From Konkan we have the *vishayas* Trikūṭa, Pallūḍhamba, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, Mahāgirihāra[12] etc. North Maharashtra had such *vishayas* as Nāsikya[13] and Bhōgavardhana.[14] Sometimes *vishaya* was used as a synonym for *dēśa*. The Kaṇhēri plate, for instance, mentions the Sindhu *vishaya* in the sense of the province of Sindh.[15] Similarly, the Purī-Koṅkaṇa *vishaya*, mentioned in the Anjanēri plates,[16] signified the province of Konkan. Our records do not state the extent of these *vishayas* except in the case of Purī-Koṅkaṇa, which is said to have comprised 14000 villages. Purī-Koṅkaṇa, however, was a *dēśa* rather than a *vishaya*. Other *vishayas* must have been much smaller in size. This is also indicated by the number of *vishayas* into which Gujarat and North Konkan were divided.

A *vishaya* was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called *āhāras* in Central India[17] and Gujarat, and *bhōgas* in Maharashtra. Thus we find that the Nagēndra *āhāra* comprised the territory round modern Ēraṇ.[18] Several more *āhāras* are mentioned in the records from Gujarat, *e.g.*, Iksharakī[19], Lōhikaksha[20], Trēyaṇṇa[21], Kaṇhavala[22] and Kārmaṇēya.[23] In the south the Nāsikya *vishaya* of Maharashtra probably comprised the Vaṭanagara

[1] No. 9, l. 2.
[2] No. 19, l. 9; No. 20, l. 9.
[3] No. 11, l. 4.
[4] No. 22, l. 17.
[5] No. 8, ll. 2–3.
[6] No. 16, l. 33; No. 17, l. 33.
[7] No. 27, l. 16.
[8] No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.
[9] No. 26, l. 20.
[10] No. 34, l. 9.
[11] No. 23, l. 11.
[12] Nı. 31, l. 27.
[13] No. 28, l. 14.
[14] No. 12, l. 18.
[15] No. 10, l. 2.
[16] No. 31, l. 23.
[17] That an *āhāra* was a sub-division of a *vishaya* is evident from the explicit statement in the Navsāri plates of Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya (No. 27, l. 16) that the Kaṇhavala *āhāra* was included in the Bāhirikā *vishaya*. Contrast, however, the statement *Trēyaṇṇ-āhār-āntarggata-vishayē* in line 20 of No. 26, which seems to convey just the opposite. Perhaps the intended statement there was *Trēyaṇṇ-āhāra-vishay-āntarggata-*. Cf. No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.
[18] No. 119, l. 4.
[19] No. 9, l. 8.
[20] No. 24, l. 35.
[21] No. 26, l. 20.
[22] No. 27, l. 16.
[23] No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.

bhōga[1]; for, Vaṭanagara, modern Vadner, is not far from Nasik. The terms *āhāra* and *bhōga* are sometimes noticed outside the aforementioned limits also. We find, for instance, that Gōrajjā *bhōga* was a subdivision of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* in Gujarat,[2] while Mahāgirihāra in Konkaṇ was probably so called because Mahāgiri was the headquarters of that *āhāra*.[3] Some *āhāras* had the same name as the *vishayas* in which they were included, and so the two technical terms are often found combined; see, *e.g.*, Kārmanēy-āhāra-vishaya[4] and Trēyaṇṇ-āhāra-vishaya.[5] Some sub-divisions of *vishayas* may have been known as *rāshṭras*. Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* among persons to whom the royal order about a grant was to be communicated.[6] Some *rāshṭras* may have been large enough to be known as *vishayas*. Gōpa-rāshṭra, for instance, is mentioned as one of the *vishayas* of Purī-Kōṅkaṇa.[7] An *āhāra* contained smaller territorial units called *pathakas*. Very few *pathakas* have, however, found a mention in our records. Kōrillā *pathaka*[8] and Lohikaksha *pathaka*[9] lay in Gujarat, while Nagarikā *pathaka*[10] was in Khandesh. Bāhirikā,[11] which is mentioned in the Ēraṇ inscription as a subdivision of Nagēndra *āhāra*, was probably a *pathaka*. *Bhōgas* and *pathakas* contained several towns[12] (*nagaras* or *puras*) and villages (*grāmas*). Capital cities were called *rājadhānī* and were distinguished by prefixing *śrī* or *vijaya* to their names.[13] Other towns were called *nagaras*, *puras* or *adhishṭhānas*.[14] The village was, of course, the smallest territorial unit. The names of villages generally ended in *khēṭa*, *padra*, *padraka* or *palli*, as, for example, Pippalakhēṭa,[15] Sirīshapadraka[16] and Suvarṇārapallī.[17] Villages granted to Brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāras*; see Śraddhikāgrahāra[18] mentioned in the Navasāri plates. Some of the larger villages had hamlets attached to them; see, *e.g.*, Śrīparṇakā[19] included in Taṇḍulapadraka, and the three *pallikās*[20] attached to Samagiripaṭṭana.

In the later period some of these technical terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others. *Dēśa* continued to signify the largest territorial unit, *viz.*, a country or a province.[21] *Vishaya*, which in the earlier period was the common term denoting a district, is rarely noticed in this period.[22] Its place was taken by *maṇḍala* in the south and *pattalā*

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[1] No. 14, l. 19. Vaṭanagara was also the name of a *vishaya* which was included in the Nāsika *dēśa*. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

[2] No. 15, l. 19.

[3] No. 31, l. 27.

[4] No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.

[5] No. 26, l. 20.

[6] No. 12, l. 17.

[7] No. 31, l. 26.

[8] No. 21, l. 22. This is probably identical with Kōrēlla-chaturaśīti mentioned in No. 121, l. 16.

[9] No. 24, l. 35.

[10] No. 2, l. 3.

[11] No. 119, l. 4.

[12] Towns which had predominantly a merchant population were called *vaṇiṅ-nagaras*.

[13] Cf. *Vijay-Āniruddhapurāt* in No. 9, l. 1.

[14] No. 119, l. 4.

[15] No. 25, l. 20.

[16] No. 16, l. 33 and No. 17, l. 33.

[17] No. 19, l. 10.

[18] No. 21, l. 19.

[19] No. 15, l. 8.

[20] No. 32, l. 30.

[21] See Vaḍahara *dēśa* mentioned in No. 88, l. 1.

[22] Some instances of *vishaya* are Guṇakala *vishaya* mentioned in the Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 36) and Anarghavallī *vishaya* in the Shēorinārāyaṇ plates (No. 82, l. 19). In some stray records other terms like *bhūmi* and *uddēśa* are noticed; see No. 48, l. 37 and No. 56, ll. 27-28. These did not, however, become common.

in the north. The records from Chhattisgarh mention several *maṇḍalas* such as Kōmō-maṇḍala[1], Apara-maṇḍala,[2] Madhya-maṇḍala,[3] Sāmanta-maṇḍala,[4] Anarghavallī-maṇḍala[5] (called also Anargha-maṇḍala), Talahāri-maṇḍala[6] *etc*. Sometimes *maṇḍala* was used in the sense of *dēśa*. Notice Mālava-maṇḍala[7] in the sense of Mālava-dēśa in the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Narasiṁha, and Chēdi-maṇḍala in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II.[8] A more common term denoting a district was *pattalā*, which was current over a wide country. We have, for instance, Kauśāmba-pattalā[9] from Uttar Pradesh, Devagrāma-pattalā,[10] Khaṇḍagahā-pattalā,[11] Kūyīsambapālisa-pattalā,[12] Dhanavāhi-pattalā[13] and Rēvā-pattalā[14] from Vindhya Pradesh, and Saṃbalā-pattalā[15], Nava-pattalā[16] and Jāulī-pattalā[17] from the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Subdivisions of a *pattalā* are rarely mentioned. In the records edited here, we have only two instances of Mālādvādaśaka[18] and Kōrēlla-chaturaśīti,[19] which were evidently groups of villages of which Mālā and Kōrēlla were the principal ones. A *pattalā* may, therefore, have been divided into smaller territorial units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they rarely find a mention in the inscriptions of this period. Names of towns ended in *nagara* or *pura* and those of villages in *grāma* or *pāṭaka*. See, *e.g.*, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura,[20] Hastigrāma, Nikhatīgrāma, Thiulapāṭaka and Vaṇiā-pāṭaka.[21] Some towns were named after the kings or queens who settled them. See, *e.g.*, Ratnapura founded by Ratnadēva I, Jājallapura by Jājalladēva I and Gōsalapura by Gōsala-dēvī. All these are still known by their ancient names which, in some cases, are slightly changed.

The form of government was monarchical throughout the long period represented by the records edited here. At the head of the administrative machinery was the king whose authority was supreme. He appointed viceroys, governors, ministers, and important civil and military officers, and transferred them from one province to another according as he considered it desirable. The Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, for instance, appointed his younger brother Jayasiṁha to govern Gujarat and the Nasik District[22] and placed the Hariśchandrīya prince Svāmichandra in charge of the whole Purī-Koṅkaṇa.[23] The king usually

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[1] No. 77, l. 13.
[2] No. 76, l. 29.
[3] No. 91, l. 25.
[4] No. 92, l. 22.
[5] No. 83, l. 25.
[6] No. 96, l. 6.
[7] No. 60, l. 18.
[8] No. 93, l. 8.
[9] No. 50, l. 37.
[10] No. 56, l. 18.
[11] No. 65, l. 11.
[12] No. 68, l. 7.
[13] No. 72, l. 10.
[14] No. 70, l. 13.
[15] Below, p. 649.
[16] No. 64, l. 26.
[17] No. 60, l. 24.
[18] No. 42, l. 31.
[19] No. 121, l. 16.
[20] No. 45, l. 32.
[21] No. 74, l. 37.
[22] No. 27, l. 9.
[23] No. 31, l. 6.

conferred titles and other distinctions such as *pañchamahāśabda* for meritorious service.[1] He was also the Commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important campaigns. Some early grants were issued from the victorious camps of kings evidently in the course of military campaigns. The king was also the Supreme Judge, and, according to the Smṛitis, it was one of his principal duties to dispense justice either personally or through judges appointed for the purpose. His consent was necessary for the transfer of any immovable property in the State. The three early inscriptions from Khandesh,[2] for instance, record the royal assent to certain gifts of land made by private individuals.

The king's authority was thus, in theory, unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. The education of the princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning, and respect to elders and learned people were constantly kept before their eyes and inculcated upon their minds. The princes who were brought up in such traditions did not generally belie the expectations of their educators. The earlier records of the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras give a glowing description of the *ābhigāmika-guṇas* (attractive qualities) and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Surat plates state, for instance, that the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna shared his wealth with learned people, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, and that his enviable fortune was allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth.[3] The Kalachuri records state that the illustrious king Kṛishṇarāja wielded his weapon for the protection of the distressed, fought to humble the arrogance of his enemies, acquired learning to attain humility, and wealth to spend it in charity, made gifts to acquire religious merit and accumulated religious merit to attain salvation.[4] The Gurjara grants say that Dadda III was an adept in performing his duty, as he had acquired discrimination by studying the sacred treatise of the great sage Manu.[5] Even foreigners were impressed by the high ideals preached by the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*. The Śaka king Śrīdharavarman is described in both the records of his reign as *dharmavijayin*, *i.e.*, a righteous conqueror.[6] This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandizement. There may be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set before the rulers, which many of them must have striven to reach. In later inscriptions, however, we do not find the same emphasis laid on the virtues of self-restraint, learning and humility. The later *praśastis* abound in glowing descriptions of a king's bravery and liberality as well as his construction of religious and charitable works, but they rarely refer to his discipline, duties and responsibilities.

The king could not also oppress the people by means of harsh and unjust laws; for his legislative powers were extremely limited. He was enjoined to govern the people and to administer justice strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smṛitis. He had no power to enact fresh laws and to issue orders except in matters not covered by these works. In ancient times when religion had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the dictates of the age-old sacred Dharmaśāstras. On the other hand, many took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of the institutions of the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life).[7]

[1] See above, p. lxv.
[2] Nos. 2-4.
[3] No. 9, l. 7.
[4] No. 12, ll. 8-9.
[5] No. 21, l. 8.
[6] No. 5, l. 2 and No. 119, l. 2.
[7] No. 21, ll. 8-9.

Besides, the counsellors (*mantrins*) whom the king was enjoined to consult, the Purōhita who, by his prayers and religious rites, propitiated gods and secured their help in warding off all calamities and attaining success,[1] and the *Rājaguru* who was greatly venerated must have wielded considerable influence in controlling the arbitrary actions of the king. There were, again, rich and powerful *Śrēṇis* (guilds) and *Gaṇas* (corporations) which maintained their own militia.[2] The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty. The existence of these powerful self-governing institutions must also have exercised a wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot.

Royal power must also have been considerably checked by the existence of powerful feudatories. The latter enjoyed considerable privileges. They could make grants of land in their own name without referring to the paramount power or even mentioning its name in their records.[3] The Gurjaras of Central Gujarat called themselves *Sāmantas* and undoubtedly owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, to whom they must have paid an annual tribute; but in other respects they exercised independent authority and could wage war or make peace on their own initiative. The Sēndrakas, the Gujarat Chālukyas and the Harischandrīyas originally obtained their principalities by the favour of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmi, but in their land-grants they generally make no mention of the contemporary Chālukya Emperor. In later times, however, as the power of the central authority increased, the feudatories became weak. Most of them were required to be in attendance in the Imperial court. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* states that as many as 136 kings were in attendance in the court of Karṇa.[4] It is significant that we have hardly any grants made by these numerous feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The only instances known so far are those made by the princes of Karkarēḍī,[5] but they belong to the age when the power of the imperial family was declining.

Kingship was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He is called *Yuvarāja* in earlier records, and *Mahārājaputra* or *Mahākumāra* in later ones. He helped the king in the administration of the kingdom and succeeded him after his death. Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, for instance, was governing South Gujarat on behalf of his father. He could make grants of land in his own name and was also authorised to use his own seal for the charters he issued.[6] Sometimes a king himself in his old age crowned his son and himself retired from government. Karṇa, the illustrious Kalachuri king, is said to have himself performed the coronation of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa.[7] Junior princes were often appointed to govern outlying provinces. The Gurjara king Dadda II appointed his brother Raṇagraha to govern a province. The latter could, however, make a grant of land only with the consent of the reigning king.[8] Kōkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him, while the younger ones were appointed rulers of the neighbouring *maṇḍalas*.[9]

Later records generally mention the *Mahārājñī* or crowned queen among the persons to whom the royal order about a grant of land was to be communicated. It is not known whether she took any part in the deliberation of state affairs. She had, in any case, no independent authority. The Kārītalāi inscription, while recording a gift of Rāhaḍā, the

[1] Cf. *Ṛigvēda*, IV, 50, 7-9; *NVA.*, p. 160.
[2] Nos. 1 and 120.
[3] They had their own Department of Peace and War. See No. 16, ll. 50-51.
[4] *P. C. H.*, p. 50.
[5] Nos. 65 and 68.
[6] See the seal of No. 27.
[7] No. 56, l. 15.
[8] No. 18, l. 10.
[9] No. 76, ll. 8-9. This is also laid down in *SNS.*, adhyāya 1, vv. 346-48.

Mahādēvī (queen) of Lakshmaṇarāja II, expressly states that it had been made by her with the consent of the king.[1] Similarly, the Kumbhī plates state clearly that the village Chōralāyī was granted by the queen-mother Gōsaladēvī with the consent of her son, the reigning king Vijayasiṁha.[2] Still, some queens must have exercised a considerable political and religious influence. Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, greatly influenced the religious policy of her husband and invited to the Chēdi country several ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan from her home country. She herself built a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara, which she endowed with the gift of several villages.[3] The dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī also caused a temple of Śiva, a monastery and a lecture-hall to be constructed at Bhēāṛ-Ghāṭ and herself granted two villages for their maintenance.[4] Both these gifts must have been made with the tacit approval of the ruling king. Gōsaladēvī also must have exercised a considerable influence during the reign of her son Vijayasiṁha. She is mentioned prominently with her son and grandson in the Bhērā-Ghāṭ temple inscription.[5]

The king was assisted by counsellors (*mantrins*), ministers (*amātyas*) and heads of departments (*adhyakshas*). The *Sukranītisāra* emphasises the importance of the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers by saying that they are the arms, eyes and ears of the king.[6] The *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Sōmadēva, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., recommends the appointment of three, five or seven counsellors.[7] We have, however, no definite information about the existence of a *mantri-parishad* either in the earlier or in the later age. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates[8] mention chief counsellors (*mantri-mukyas*), but whether they formed a *mantri-parishad*, it is difficult to say. Earlier records mention very few ministers and high State functionaries. Later records, no doubt, enumerate a number of them, but they do not state whether any of them were regularly consulted by the reigning king in the important affairs of the State. Again, divergent views were held by the authors of the Smṛitis and the Arthaśāstras about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight ministers.[9] Sukra mentions a council of eight or ten ministers.[10] Sōmadēva tells us that the departments entrusted to the ministers (*amātyas*) were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army.[11] If there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachuris, it may have consisted of the following who are generally mentioned in their records:—*Mahāmantrin*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahādharmādhikaraṇika* (or *Mahāpurōhita* as stated in some records), *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāpramatṛi*. The ministers wielded a considerable power. In cases of emergency they carried on the administration of the State and placed their nominee from among the princes on the royal throne.[12] The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state, for instance, that the Chief Counsellors placed Kōkalla II on the throne of his father Yuvarājadēva II evidently in an emergency caused probably by the latter's sudden death.[13]

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[1] No. 42, l. 29.
[2] See p. 650.
[3] No. 45, l. 18.
[4] No. 60, ll. 23-4.
[5] No. 69, l. 1.
[6] *SNS.*, adhyāya II, v. 12.
[7] *NVA.*, X, 71.
[8] No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.
[9] *MSM.*, adhyāya VII, v. 54.
[10] *SNS.*, adhyāya II, vv. 69 ff.
[11] *NVA.*, XVIII, 6.
[12] See e.g. No. 48, ll. 54-56; No. 56. ll. 25-26.
[13] No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

The chief among these ministers was called *Mahāmantrin* (Chief Counsellor). He was the right-hand man of the king and wielded a great power. We have no information about the *Mahāmantrins* of the early kings such as the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas; for, no grants made by them have yet come to light. For the later period, however, we have some inscriptions recording their construction of religious and charitable works, from which we can glean some information about their abilities and achievements. The Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva I had an able Counsellor named Bhākamiśra, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.[1] He was very learned and pious. His son Sōmēśvara, who served Lakshmaṇarāja II, is highly eulogised in the Kārītalāi inscription. We are told that once when the palanquin of the *Mahāmantrin* was about to fall owing to the exhaustion of the bearer, the king Lakshmaṇarāja himself put his shoulder to it.[2] This plainly indicates in what high esteem the king held him. The *Mahāmātya* who was next in rank was also a very influential minister.[3] He was probably in charge of the administration of the State. From the Rewa inscription we know of a highly cultured and valiant Kāyastha family which served the Kalachuris of Tripurī for several generations. Its founder was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, who was the *Amātya* of Yuvarājadēva I.[4] The *Mahādhyaksha*, who is mentioned in some records, was the General Superintendent of Administration.[5] Sometimes a *Sarvādhikārin* was appointed and invested with supreme powers of direction and administration.[6] The *Mahāpratīhāra* was also an important officer.[7] He was in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.[8]

The *Rājaguru*, though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Kalachuri kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.[9]

The earliest records included here, *viz.*, the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh, do not mention any royal officers specifically. They refer to them in general terms as *Āyuktakas*.[10] The Kalachhala plate, however, mentions *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Dāṇḍika* and *Daṇḍapāśika*, besides those in charge of elephants, horses and men, as well as *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*.[11] The mention of the first two officers is noteworthy; for, till now they were known to occur first in the records of the Gupta age. The Kānākhērā inscription mentions *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*,[12] and the Ēraṇ inscription *Ārakshika* and *Sēnāpati*.[13] These three records, which are of the pre-Gupta or early Gupta age, show that the Sanskrit technical terms signifying a hierarchy of officers in the different departments of the State had already been evolved before the rise of the Guptas. Later inscriptions such as the Bāgh cave plate of Subandhu, the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna and the Sunao Kala plates of Saṅgamasiṁha mention several more functionaries. From these and other records we can form a general idea of the administration of the different departments of the State.

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[1] No. 42, l. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, l. 16.
[3] No. 51, ll. 22 ff.
[4] Nos. 38-41.
[5] No. 48, l. 36.
[6] No. 90, l. 18.
[7] No. 48, l. 35.
[8] Cf. No. 11, l. 24.
[9] No. 64, v. 40.
[10] See, *e.g.*, No. 2, l. 2.
[11] No. 118, l. 3.
[12] No. 5, l. 2.
[13] No. 119, l. 6.

General Administration—Early records mention several officers of different grades. The *Rājasthānīya*, who heads the list in the Sunao Kala plates, was probably the highest officer.[1] As the term signifies a Viceroy, he may have been in charge of a province. Under him were the *Uparikas*, who administered smaller territorial units like the modern Commissioners' Divisions. The *Vishayapatis* corresponded to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and were in charge of *vishayas* (districts). *Kumārāmātya* was a general term denoting officers of different grades. Some of these terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others in course of time. *Uparika* and *Kumārāmātya* do not occur in the later records of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. *Rājasthānīya* continued for a longer time, as it occurs in the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti.[2] The new terms which generally replaced *Rājasthānīya* and *Uparika* were *Rājan* and *Sāmanta*.[3] They administered larger territorial units like the modern province or the Commissioner's Division. The *Vishayapatis* continued to be in charge of the districts. Under them were the *Bhōgika-pālakas*, who probably supervised the work of the *Bhōgikas*.[4] The latter were in charge of smaller territorial divisions like the *bhōgas*, *pathakas* and *grāmas*. The Navsāri plates mention a *grāmabhōgika*.[5] Other records mention the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* and the *Grāmakūṭa*, who were evidently the heads of a *rāshṭra* and a village respectively.[6] The *Sthānalaka*, who finds a mention in one record,[7] was probably a local officer. Similarly, the *Drāṅgika* was the Mayor of a town.[8] Subordinate officers were referred to as *āyuktakas* and *viniyuktakas*.[9] Later they came to be known as *ādhikārikas*.[10]

Revenue Department—The head of this department was probably the *Mahāpramātṛi* who is mentioned in the later Kalachuri records.[11] He surveyed all land and fixed its assessment. The *Mahākshapaṭalika* was the head of the Records Department.[12] The officer who collected the land revenue was called *Dityōdgrāhaka*.[13] Villages and lands granted to the Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of temples were exempt from *ditya* or land-tax.[14] The officer who collected other taxes was known as *Vishayādānika*.[15]

There were different sources of state revenue. *Udraṅga* and *uparikara* are generally mentioned in early inscriptions. They probably correspond to *kḷipta* and *upkḷipta* mentioned in the Vākāṭaka grants, and to *bhāga* and *bhōga* of later records.[16] *Udraṅga* may have been a land-tax. As for *uparikara* which seems to signify an additional tax, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. Besides these, salt and iron mines, forests, pasture-lands, mango and *mahuā* trees, threshing floors, fines imposed for offences, *etc.* were the other sources of revenue.[17] Rates were levied

[1] No. 11, l. 2.

[2] No. 26, l. 16.

[3] No. 12, l. 16. The Bagumrā plates, however, have both *Rājan* and *Rājasthānīya*.

[4] No. 13, l. 4; No. 18, l. 9.

[5] No. 30, l. 36.

[6] No. 26, ll. 17-18; No. 28, l. 13.

[7] No. 7, l. 2.

[8] No. 11, l. 2. *Draṅga* occurs as the name of a territorial division in the Maitraka grants. According to some, the *Drāṅgika* was an octroi officer. *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 279.

[9] No. 7, l. 2.

[10] No. 12, l. 17.

[11] No. 48, l. 36.

[12] *Ibid.*, l. 35.

[13] No. 7, l. 2.

[14] No. 8, l. 6.

[15] No. 74, l. 35. Here the term occurs as *Vishayadānika*.

[16] No. 48, l. 43.

[17] No. 48, l. 37; No. 42, l. 34.

for the salary of the *Paṭṭakila* and the apprehension of criminals (*dussādhyas*).[1] Octroi and excise duties were another good source of income.[2] They were collected by the officers called *Saulkikas*.[3] The *Ghaṭṭapati* and *Tarapati*, mentioned in the Kahla plates, looked after the ghāts and ferries, and collected a small cess levied for their use.[4]

There were various other taxes. The Anjanēri plates of Bhōgaśakti mention the tax levied on shops in market-places.[5] Another tax called *kōvīra*, imposed on written documents (*karaṇas*), may have been a fee for registration. Each cart of a caravan had to pay a certain octroi duty while entering and leaving a village or a town.[6] There was also a sales tax levied in money or kind on the articles sold in the market-places. The Bilhāri inscription mentions that for every elephant sold in the market in a particular town, a tax of four *pauras*, and for every horse, that of two *pauras* were required to be paid. A small tax was also levied on the sale of other commodities, such as salt, oil, betel-nuts, black pepper, ginger, bundles of grass, vegetables and egg-plants.[7] Some of these taxes were paid in kind. In some cases these taxes were assigned to temples for their maintenance. Otherwise, they were collected for the State.

Judicial Department—There are very few references to Judicial Officers in inscriptions. Perhaps *Dāṇḍika* who is mentioned in the Kalachhala plate[8] separately from *Daṇḍapāśika* was a Magistrate. *Daṇḍanāyaka*, however, was probably a military officer.[9]

Religious Department—This department is not mentioned in any early record edited here. Later, it seems to have attained a greater importance. Its head, the *Mahadharmādhikaraṇika* or *Mahāpurōhita*, is invariably mentioned among the officers to whom the royal order about a land-grant was to be communicated.[10] In one record he is called *Dharmakarmādhikārin*, *i.e.*, the Officer in charge of religious works.[11] The *Mahādānika* mentioned in the Kahla plates[12] probably belonged to this very department and arranged for the *mahādānas* (great gifts) when the king desired to make them. The scribe who recorded the royal order about a grant was called *Dharmalēkhin*.[13] He was also known as *Daśamūlin*.[14]

Military and Police Departments—The army was traditionally divided into four members—chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.[15] Each of these must have been under a head, but it is significant that the Kalachhala plate, which is the earliest record referring to them, mentions only the heads of the elephant-force, cavalry and infantry (*hasty-aśva-jana-vyāpṛita*).[16] Chariots had perhaps lost their importance. The elephant force was an important constituent of the army. The strength of the latter was generally

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[1] No. 63, l. 29.
[2] No. 21, l. 27. See also p. 89, n. 2.
[3] No. 74, l. 34.
[4] *Ibid.*, l. 35.
[5] No. 31, l. 35.
[6] *Ibid.*, l. 36.
[7] No. 45, l. 31.
[8] No. 118, l. 3.
[9] The Gunji rock inscription mentions the titles *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* borne by the same person. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 51. *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in No. 5, l. 2 was clearly a military title.
[10] No. 48, l. 35; No. 56, l. 25.
[11] No. 100, l. 28.
[12] No. 74, l. 34.
[13] No. 56, l. 44. He is called *Ādiśanaibandhika* in No. 74, l. 57.
[14] No. 63, l. 40.
[15] Notice the reference to the four-membered army in No. 56, l. 8.
[16] No. 118, l. 3.

measured by the number of elephants in it. The elephant-drivers also had a considerable importance and had their own *gaṇa* or corporation.[1] The head of the elephant force was called *Mahāpīlupati* in early times. Later, he came to be known as *Mahāpramattavāra*. He occupied an influential position in early times and was sometimes appointed even the head of a territorial division. Nirihullaka, for instance, who was *Mahāpīlupati*, is described as *Bhōgikapālaka* and had a military officer under him.[2] Later Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *Mahāśvasādhanika*,[3] who was the head of the cavalry, which as a mobile force may have attained a great importance in the later age. It is noteworthy that the Rewa stone inscription mentions a *Ghōṭaka-vigraha* or Battle of Horses, fought and won by Vappulla, a general of the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa.[4]

Balādhikṛita[5] and *Sēnāpati*[6] were the general terms denoting a military officer. Later, *Sādhanika* was used in the same sense. *Gaulmikas* were officers in charge of a troop of soldiers or a battalion of the army. The Commander-in-chief is called *Mahābalādhikṛita*[7] in earlier records and *Mahāsēnāpati*[8] in later ones. It is curious that the Commander-in-chief of the whole army is generally not mentioned among the officers named in later Kalachuri grants.[9] On the other hand, we find that the *Mahāpramattavāra* and the *Mahāśvasādhanika*, who were the chief commanders of the elephant force and cavalry, are mentioned specifically. The reason may be that the kings themselves were the Commanders-in-chief of their armies. Military officers are generally mentioned as *Dūtakas* in early land-grants.

The *Daṇḍapāśika*[10] was a Police Officer. The Superintendent of the Police was called *Ārakshika*.[11] He was generally a military officer. Thus, Satyanāga who erected the *yashṭi* at Ērikiṇa was both *Senāpati* and *Ārakshika*. The Police Officers who were specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals were called *Chōrōddharaṇikas*.[12] The *Dushṭasādhaka* mentioned in the Kahla plates[13] was probably a Police Officer of the same type. The *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, who are frequently mentioned in early land-grants, were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the country and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were, therefore, forbidden to enter *agrahāra* villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.[14]

Foreign Department—In ancient times this was called *Sandhi-vigraha-ādhikaraṇa* (the Department of Peace and War). Its head *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* figures in several early grants as the writer of copper-plate charters.[15] In fact, it was laid down that such charters should be written only by this officer and none else, in accordance with the instructions received from the king.[16] The reason was that of all the departments of the State, the Department

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[1] No. 120, l. 4.
[2] No. 13, l. 4.
[3] No. 48, l. 36; No. 50, l. 37; No. 56, ll. 25-26.
[4] No. 53, l. 10.
[5] No. 21, l. 42.
[6] No. 119, l. 6.
[7] No. 26, l. 58.
[8] No. 74, l. 34.
[9] The Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 34), however, mention the *Mahāsēnāpati* among such officers.
[10] No. 118, l. 3; No. 120, l. 5.
[11] No. 21, l. 2; No. 119, l. 6.
[12] No. 24, l. 19; No. 56, l. 16.
[13] No. 74, l. 35.
[14] No. 9, l. 10.
[15] No. 9, ll. 17-18.
[16] See Mitākshara on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, adhyāya I, v. 320; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159.

of Peace and War was most likely to have an accurate information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors which were generally described in the initial part of such charters.

Other Officers—Several other officers are mentioned in later inscriptions. The *Bhāṇḍāgārika* was the Treasurer. The *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika* corresponded to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer.[1] The *Mahāsāmanta* was the head of the feudatory princes. The *Mahākaraṇika* was the head of the Secretariat.[2] The *Vāsāaka* or *Vāsāpuaka* arranged for the residence of strangers and officers on tour.[3] *Mahākōṭṭapāla* was the head of the guardians of forts.[4] The exact significance of some technical terms denoting officers such as *Khaṇḍavāla, Balādbira* and *Mākutika*[5] is not known.

The records do not show that any of these officers' posts were held on the principle of heredity. For instance, Kēśava, the *Mahābalādhikṛita* of Jayabhaṭa III, was the son of a mere *Bhōgika*.[6] He must have risen to his high post by merit. If in sōme families the same post was held for more than one generation, it must also have been due to merit. Thus Sahabhaṭa, the writer of the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III, who held the post of *Balādhikṛita*, was the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhaṭa.[7] Similarly, Sōmēśvara, the capable Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II of Tripurī, was the son of Bhākamiśra who had served the royal family in the previous generation in the same capacity.[8] There are some other instances of the same type in the history of the Ratanpur branch also. We have no reason to suppose that any of these posts were monopolised by these families on the principle of heredity. In some minor offices, the posts may have been held hereditarily. The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the Secretariat at Ratanpur was, for instance, held by a Kāyastha family of the village Jaṇḍēra for several generations.[9]

In towns and villages, the administration seems to have been carried on by royal officers with the assistance of the committees called *pañchakulas*. The *Sukranītisāra* states that the officers appointed by the king in every town and village should be six, *viz*., the head of the town or the village, the collector of land revenue, the collector of taxes, the magistrate, the scribe (or accountant) and the Pratihāra who was probably the head of the town or village police.[10] Some of these officers are mentioned in our records. The mayor of a town is called *Drāṅgika*[11] in early records and *Purapradhāna*[12] in later ones. The head of a village was *Grāmakūṭa* or *Grāmabhōgika*.[13] The *Śaulkika* who collected taxes and the *Daṇḍapāśika* who inflicted punishment are also named in some records.[14] The other officers were generally mentioned as *āyuktakas* in early records. The *pañchakulas* were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments.[15] The Dhurēti plates mention a *pañchakula-dharmādhikaraṇa*

[1] No. 48, l. 36.

[2] No. 48, l. 35. He is called *Lēkhanādhyaksha* in No. 113, l. 1.

[3] No. 30, l. 36.

[4] No. 70, l. 12.

[5] No. 74, l. 35. The *Mākutika* was perhaps a village officer. See below, p. 596, n. 1.

[6] No. 21, l. 42.

[7] No. 22, l. 38.

[8] No. 42, ll. 3 ff.

[9] Below, p. 458, n. 3.

[10] *SNS*., adhyāya II, vv. 120-21; 170-75. Nīlakaṇṭha, in his commentary on *MBH*., Sabhāparvan, adhyāya V, v. 80, mentions five village officers somewhat differently.

[11] No. 11, l. 2.

[12] No. 76, l. 34.

[13] No. 30, l. 36.

[14] No. 74, l. 34; No. 120, l. 3.

[15] In *NVA*., XVIII, 49, Sōmadēva mentions the following members of the *karaṇa* or *pañchakula* of what appears to be the Revenue Department:—One member receives the offered amount, the second records it in the register, the third seals it, the fourth deposits it in the Treasury, while the fifth exercises general supervision.

which was probably the Judicial Department managed by a *pañchakula*.[1] The description shows that the merchant community had a preponderating representation on it. Other departments also must have had similar *pañchakulas* elected for their administration. The Anjanēri plates state that when the king Bhōgaśakti assigned certain taxes *etc.* for the maintenance of the temple of Bhōgēśvara in the town of Jayapura, he laid down that the festival of the god should be celebrated by five or even ten merchants in accordance with the custom of the town.[2] The wording of the passage shows that five was the usual number of the members of such committees, on account of which they were usually known as *pañchakulas*. In special circumstances, however, a larger number up to ten was elected. The *pañchakulas* decided also civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. Some rules for their guidance were laid down by the central government.[3] In other cases, the Anjanēri plates state, whatever eight or sixteen *Mahallakas* would declare after due deliberation would be the right standard of punishment.[4] This shows that sometimes the committees consisted of as many as sixteen members. Generally appeals were allowed on the decisions of the *pañchakulas*, except in the case of *agrahāra* villages which were donated with full powers of adjudication.[5]

The members of the *pañchakulas* were called *Mahattaras* (Prakrit, *Mahallakas*). There were evidently elected, but we have no information about the mode of election or the manner of voting. Their head or President was probably called *Mahattama*. The Smṛitis lay down special qualifications for the post of the *Mahattama*. A *Mahattama* should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born. *Mahattamas* were also called *Pāñchakulikas*, heads of *pañchakulas*. The chief of them, called *Mahāpāñchakulika*, is mentioned in the Kahla plates.[6] He evidently resided in the capital, but what department he exactly represented we do not know.

Another officer who was common to both the town and the village was *Gamāgamika*.[7] He is mentioned in the grants of Subandhu and the Sēndrakas. His function evidently was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village. It is interesting to note that the *Śukranītisāra* also mentions a similar officer. He was specially in charge of the *pānthaśālā* or *sarai* of the village. He made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to, and after taking away his arms if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the *sarai* at night. In the morning the traveller's arms were returned to him and he was escorted to the limit of the village.[8]

RELIGION

We shall next proceed to consider the state of religion in the periods represented by our records. In the beginning of the earlier period, Buddhism was in the ascendant in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, and claimed many votaries—especially among the lower classes as also among the foreigners who were attracted by its catholic spirit. It is significant that the first record of the period included here, which belongs to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, registers certain endowments made by a woman of the Śaka race

[1] No. 72, l. 9.
[2] No. 32, l. 44.
[3] No. 32, ll. 34 ff.
[4] No. 32, l. 37.
[5] No. 32, l. 41.
[6] No. 74, l. 34.
[7] No. 7, l. 3; No. 23, l. 19; No. 26, l. 16.
[8] *SNS.*, adhyāya I, vv. 270-7.

to provide medicines for the sick among the Community of the Buddhist monks living in the *vihāra* on the Triraśmi hill near Nasik. Later, during the time of the Traikūṭakas we find an inhabitant of distant Sindh coming to Kṛishṇagiri in North Konkan and erecting a *stūpa* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha.[1] At Bāgh in the former Barwāni State, a private individual named Dattaṭaka caused a cave to be excavated and decorated with beautiful paintings for use by the followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The ruler of the country, though himself a follower of the Vēdic religion, made a liberal grant for the worship of the Buddha image, the repairs of the *vihāra* and provision of food, clothing, medicines *etc.* for the Buddhist monks living there.[2] Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.C., states that there were about 100 monasteries in Maharashtra with more than 5000 monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna living in them. In the country of Bharukachchha (*i.e.*, Central Gujarat) he found more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks, all adherents of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.[3] Later, Buddhism seems to have gradually declined in strength for want of royal patronage.

On the other hand, Hinduism which had been lying dormant for some centuries began to assert itself with the rise of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka dynasties in North and South India respectively. This revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of the *Srauta* sacrifices which had been in abeyance for a long time. In North India Samudragupta is credited with the revival of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.[4] In South India the Ikshvāku king Śāntamūla I and the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna I performed several Vēdic sacrifices such as *Agnishṭōma, Vājapēya* and *Aśvamēdha*.[5] Unfortunately we have no official records of the Ābhīras wherein we could have expected positive information about their religious activities. Perhaps on account of their low social status, they were not keen on the performance of the Vēdic sacrifices. The Traikūṭakas, who followed them, showed a greater regard for the Vēdic religion. Dahrasēna performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice to proclaim his independent status.[6] It is noteworthy that this is the first known mention of the performance of this sacrifice by a king of Northern Maharashtra after a lapse of nearly seven centuries. The Vedic sacrifices were, however, costly and could, therefore, be performed by rich persons only. The Smṛitis also lay down that great Vedic sacrifices such as the *Sōmayāga* should be performed by such householders only as have in stock food-grains sufficient for the maintenance of their dependants for at least three years.[7] Even among kings, few emulated the example of Samudragupta and Pravarasēna I. The tendency to perform great Vēdic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A.C., we have hardly any record mentioning them.

Though the *Srauta* sacrifices were rarely performed, the *gṛihya* rites such as the *pañcha-mahāyajñas* continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families. The State also encouraged them. Most of the grants[8] of the Early Kalachuris, the Sēndrakas, the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *dēvayajña* (offerings to gods),

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[1] No. 10.

[2] No. 7. For the age of the Bāgh caves, see my article in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

[3] *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 43.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

[6] No. 8, l. 2.

[7] *MS.*, adhyāya XI, v. 7.

[8] The earlier records of the *Mahārājas* of Valkha registered only the royal consent to certain gifts made by private persons. The Barwāni plate of Subandhu and the Pārḍī and Surat plates of the Traikūṭakas do not mention any specific purpose for the royal grant.

pitṛiyajña (offerings to manes), *bhūtayajña* (offerings to creatures), *manushyayajña* (reception to guests) and *brahmayajña* (study of one's Vēdic texts). It was believed that the regular performance of such rites by pious Brāhmaṇas conduced to the well-being of the State.[1]

We find that the Purāṇic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) preached in the *Bhagavadgītā* appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of the sacrifice. Again, the teaching of that sacred work that all worship, whatever may be its object, ultimately reaches the same Supreme Being, led to religious eclecticism. Of the several gods of the Hindu pantheon, Vishṇu, Siva, Kārttikēya and Āditya attained a great importance in this period. The Traikūṭakas were Vaishṇavas. They describe themselves as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara* (servants of the feet of Bhagavat) in their grants[2] and as *paramavaishṇava* (fervent devotees of Vishṇu) on their coins. Again, the Hariśchandrīya king Bhōgaśakti believed that there was no pre-eminent god except Vāsudēva (Vishṇu), who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. He built a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Bhōgēśvara in the merchant-town of Jayapura, and granted some villages and assigned certain taxes for the worship of the deity, the repairs of the temple and the maintenance of a charitable feeding house attached to it. The *Yātrā* festival of the god was to continue for a full fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. The management of the temple was entrusted to a committee of five or ten members elected by the merchants of the town. In return for this, the merchants living there enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions.[3]

Siva was also an equally popular god—perhaps more so with the aborigines and foreigners who embraced Hinduism. The cult of this god received even a greater royal patronage than that of Vishṇu. In the absence of the official records of the Ābhīras we have no definite information about their religious inclinations, but judging by their names Sivadatta and Īśvarasēna, they seem to have been devotees of Siva. The same appears to be true of their feudatories ruling in Khandesh and Central Gujarat; for, their names Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa and Īśvararāta unmistakably point to their predilection for the Saiva faith. The Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris also were adherents of Saivism. All the three Early Kalachuri kings, Kṛishṇarāja, Saṅkaragaṇa and Buddharaja, are described in the Kalachuri grants as *paramamāhēśvara*, *i.e.*, fervent devotees of Mahēśvara (Siva). That they belonged to the Pāśupata sect of Saivism is shown by the description of Kṛishṇarāja as devoted to Paśupati from his very birth.[4] Anantamahāyī, the queen of Buddharāja, is specifically mentioned as a follower of the Pāśupata sect.[5] The *Dūtaka* of the Ābhōṇa plates bore the name *Pāśupata* itself.[6] All this is a clear indication of the influence the Pāśupatas exercised in the court of the Early Kalachuris.

The Early Kalachuris must have erected splendid temples for the worship of their *ishṭa-dēvatā*, but none have been discovered so far. The magnificent temple of Siva, however, carved out of a living rock, now known as Elephanta near the island of Bombay, probably belongs to their age. There has been a considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta caves. Burgess placed them about 800 A.C.,[7] while Hiranand Sastri thought that the sculptures therein were, in all probability, wrought in the Gupta

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[1] Inscriptions of this period generally mention *bali* (offerings to creatures), *charu* (offerings to manes), *vaiśvadēva* (offerings to gods) and *atithi* (reception of guests). See, *e.g.*, No. 21, l. 21.

[2] No. 8, ll. 1-2; No. 9, l. 1.

[3] No. 31, ll. 48 ff.

[4] No. 12, l. 4.

[5] No. 14, ll. 52-55.

[6] No. 12, l. 34.

[7] *C. T. I.*, p. 467. Fergusson placed them slightly earlier in *circa* 750 A.C.

period of Indian history.[1] Gupte, on the other hand, who finds certain resemblances between the sculptures at Elephanta and those at Bādāmi, would place them in the first half of the seventh century A.C.[2] The last view seems to be nearest to the truth. Now, the only great royal family ruling in Maharashtra and Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. which could have financed such a magnificent work of art was that of the Kalachuris. The Mauryas, who held North Konkan in that period, were only a feudatory family which could hardly have commanded the resources necessary for such a great work. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāśupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the Western Court of the caves.[3] We have seen above that the Kalachuri Emperors were followers of the Pāśupata sect, which exercised a considerable influence in their court. It would seem, therefore, that the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century A.C. when the Kalachuri power was at its peak.

Saivism must have received further support from the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas, who succeeded the Kalachuris in Gujarat and Maharashtra; for, they also were votaries of that cult. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti made a grant of some *nivartanas* of land in favour of the god Alaṅghyēśvara whose temple was situated at Pippalakhēṭa, modern Pimpalner in the West Khandesh District.[4] This Alaṅghyēśvara appears to be a name of Siva. The object of worship in this temple was probably his phallic emblem.[5] The Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha as well as his two sons, Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, were also worshippers of Siva. In the Nasik plates Jayasiṁha is described as meditating on the feet of a holy sage whose name ended in *śiva*[6] and who therefore probably belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāśupata, sect.

Of the two sons of Siva, Kārttikēya and Gaṇēśa, the former seems to have risen into prominence earlier. He is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali[8] and is adored in the beginning of the great Nāṇāghāṭ cave inscription.[9] He was, it seems, a favourite god of the foreigners like the Sakas and the Kushāṇas who embraced Hinduism. The Saka king Srīdharavarman was his devotee. In the Kānākhērā inscription, this god is called Mahāsēna and Mahākumāra and is described as the Commander-in-chief of the heavenly army. The Early Chālukyas believed that they owed their continuous prosperity to his grace. Gaṇapati, though sculptured in the panel of the Mātṛikas (Divine Mothers) in the Elephanta caves,[10] does not appear to have been separately worshipped in this period. Needless to say that there is no obeisance to him in the beginning of the inscriptions of this age.

The Sun also was a popular god in this period. Many of the Early Gurjara kings were his worshippers. They are described as devoted to the feet of the Sun.

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[1] Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 11.

[2] Y. R. Gupte, *A Guide to Elephanta* (Marathi), p. 1.

[3] Hirananda Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, pp. 33 ff.

[4] No. 25, l. 24.

[5] Similarly, in the temple of Āśramadēva to which a grant was made by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 23, l. 10), the object of worship was probably the Śiva-liṅga.

[6] No. 28, l. 11.

[7] *MBH.*, Ādiparvan, adhyāya 60, vv. 22-23.

[8] *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.

[9] I have shown elsewhere that *Kumāravara* in the first line of that inscription refers to Kārttikēya. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46, n. 4.

[10] Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 50.

Their copper-plate grants have an emblem of solar worship, perhaps an *agnikuṇḍa*, on their seals. Some of their grants were made on the occasion of a saṅkrānti, *i.e.*, the sun's crossing a sign of the zodiac.[1] The later kings of this dynasty from Dadda III onwards were worshippers of Mahēśvara, but they continued the old emblem of the dynasty and made grants on the *tithis* sacred to the Sun. Dadda III, for instance, made a grant on Magha śu. di. 7, known as the *Rathasaptamī*.[2]

There must have been several temples of the Sun built by the Gurjara princes and others in the country of Lāṭa, but none are mentioned in Gurjara grants. We know, however, of a temple of the Sun under the name of Jayāditya from a reference in a later grant of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭas.[3] It was situated at Kōṭipura in the territorial division of Kāpikā (modern Kāvī) and was probably erected by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa II.

An analysis of the grants of this period would shed an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the thirty-one grants[4] of this period, two were made to Buddhist *vihāras*[5] and three to Hindu temples.[6] The remaining twenty-six grants were made to Brāhmaṇas, most of them being intended for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. As for the auspicious occasions on which grants were made, we find that no particular *tithis* were observed in the grants to Buddhist *vihāras*. Those to Hindu temples and Brāhmaṇas were generally made on some sacred *tithi* or *parvan*. Of the twentyfive grants, in which a *tithi* is mentioned, we find that three were made at the time of a solar eclipse[7] and one on that of a lunar eclipse.[8] The *pūrṇimā* was generally regarded as an auspicious *tithi*; for eleven grants were made on a *pūrṇimā*. The *Kārttikī pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day of Kārttika was regarded as specially holy, probably because Siva killed Tripurāsura on that *tithi*. Donations on this *tithi* are specially enjoined when it is joined with the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā. Of the eleven grants made on *pūrṇimās*, as many as five were on the *Kārttikī pūrṇimā*.[9] In two grants it is called *Mahākārttikī*.[10] Some grants were recorded on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of a month, probably after the completion of the *Ēkādaśī-vrata*.[11] Grants were rarely made on an *amāvāsyā* unless it was the day of a solar eclipse. Only three such occur in the records of this period.[12] The holy *tithi Rathasaptamī*, sacred to the Sun, has already been mentioned. Finally, three grants are known to have been made on the occasion of saṅkrāntis, namely Mēsha, Karkaṭaka and Tulā.[13]

This analysis will show that though the Vedic religion had not lost its hold on the people of the age, the Pauranic Hinduism, which laid a stress on the construction of the temples of gods as a specially meritorious act, was gradually gaining ground. Buddhism, on the other hand, was losing the popular support.

We shall next turn to the later period and first take up the countries of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. In the fragmentary Kāritalāi stone inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

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[1] See Nos. 22 and 23. [2] No. 121, l. 28. [3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 f.

[4] No. 33 and 34 are excluded as the grants are spurious.

[5] Nos. 1 and 7.

[6] Nos. 23, 25 and 31.

[7] Nos. 15, 25 and 120.

[8] No. 21.

[9] Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17 and 30.

[10] The *pūrṇimā* gets this name when the moon is in Rōhiṇī or when the moon and Jupiter are in Kṛittikā.

[11] Nos. 8, 14 and 27.

[12] Nos. 15, 18 and 24. The grant on Āśvina *amāvāsyā* is in propitiation of Lakshmī.

[13] Nos. 28, 25 and 22 respectively.

Vishṇu and Rudra, are reverenced[1] and praised, a fact which indicates the eclectic spirit of the age. Temples dedicated to Brahmā are, however, very rare and none have yet been discovered in any part of the Kalachuri dominion;[2] but that the cult of Vishṇu was widely prevalent and had influential followers in the Chēdi country is shown by several inscriptions of the 10th and later centuries. At Bāndhōgarh and the adjoining village of Gōpālpur, Gollāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājadēva I, caused to be carved out of the rocks huge images of several incarnations of Vishṇu such as the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, Paraśurāma and Haladhara (*i.e.*, Balarāma), besides one of Śēshaśāyin (Vishṇu reclining on the serpent Śēsha).[3] It is noteworthy that as in some early panels, Balarāma, not Kṛishṇa, is included among the incarnations of Vishṇu.[4] Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, who performed several Vēdic sacrifices, erected a lofty and magnificent temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu under the name of Sōmasvāmin at Kāritalāi in the Jabalpur District.[5] The remains of this temple are still extant at the place. The contemporary Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja II was himself a devotee of Śiva; but he granted a village for the maintenance of the eight Brāhmaṇas whom he settled there for the worship of the god. His queen Rāhaḍā and son Śaṅkaragaṇa III also made grants in favour of the god.[6] This prince is described as *paramavaishṇava*. Contrary to the general tendency of the Kalachuris, he was a devotee of Vishṇu and erected a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa at Bargaon in the Jabalpur District.[7] At Makundpur in the Rewa District of Vindhya Pradesh, there was another temple dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Jalaśayana (the god who reposes on water) by a private individual, *viz*., the *Śrēshṭhin* Dāmōdara.[8]

Though the cult of Vishṇu was thus prevalent in the Chēdi country and received a considerable patronage from the royal family, it was far outshone by that of Śiva, the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris. Vāmarāja, the founder of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, was a devout worshipper of Śiva. No inscription of his reign has been discovered so far, but in some records of his successors[9] he receives the epithet *paramamāhēśvara* indicative of his devotion to Śiva. He first established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, which from very early times has been sacred to Śiva. Later, the family divided itself into two branches, one establishing itself in the country of Sarayūpāra and the other in that of Chēdi.[10] Both of them were devoted to Śiva. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra had Nandin, the *vāhana* of Śiva, as their emblem on the seals of their copper-plate charters. Though the Kalachuris of Tripurī adopted the Gaja-Lakshmī as their distinctive emblem, they did not omit Nandin from the seals of their charters.

Śaivism became the paramount cult throughout the extensive dominion of the

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[1] No. 37, ll. 1-4.

[2] Subsidiary images of Brahmā are, however, noticed in several temples of that period. See *H. T. M.*, pp. 52, 63 *etc.*

[3] Nos. 38-41.

[4] R. D. Banerji, *Eastern and Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 103. I have noticed the same in the *prabhāvali* of an image of Vishṇu found at Pavnār in the Wardha District. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Balarāma represents both himself and his younger brother Kṛishṇa.

[5] No. 42, l. 17.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll. 29-30.

[7] No. 43, l. 3.

[8] No. 47, l. 2. For other temples of Vishṇu at Amarakaṇṭak and Vaishṇava sculptures at Sōhāgpur, see *H. T. M.*, pp. 57 and 99 ff. There was a temple of Vishṇu erected by a private person at Karaṇbēl, for which, see below, p. 653.

[9] No. 56, l. 22.

[10] See above, pp. lxix ff.

Kalachuris from the 8th to the 12th century A.C. It received a great fillip during the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, who, under the influence of his queen Nōhalā, invited several *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan to the Chēdi country and built magnificent temples of Siva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrēhē, Bilhāri, Bhērā-Ghāṭ and other places. As these *Āchāryas* exercised a profound influence on the political and religious history of the period, it would not be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this clan.

The earliest inscription of the Mattamayūra clan, which was discovered at Ranōd in the former Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that the genealogy is spiritual, *i.e.*, not from father to son, but from *guru* to disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsin—(the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)
|
Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati—(the Lord of Śaṅkhamaṭhikā)
|
Tērambipāla—(the Protector of Tērambi)
|
Āmardakatīrthanātha—(the Lord of Āmardaka)
|
Purandara
|
Kavachaśiva
|
Sadāśiva
|
Hṛidayaśiva
|
Vyōmaśiva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Purandara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upēndrapura where the sage was practising penance, and with a great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated in the Śaiva faith, and established another *maṭha* at Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd). The last *Āchārya* mentioned in the genealogy, *viz.*, Vyōmaśiva, enlarged and repaired the *maṭha*, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.

Another inscription of this line, discovered somewhere in the former Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudraśiva for Āmardakatīrthanātha.[1] It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four *Āchāryas* in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth *Āchārya* is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Pataṅgaśambhu as the disciple of Vyōmaśambhu.[2]

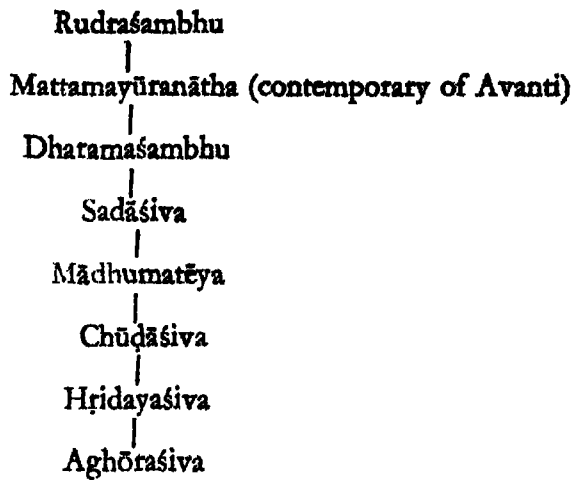
The Ranōd inscription is undated; but on palæographic grounds, Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.[3] The

[1] I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, who first supplied to me an account of this inscription. Dr. D. R. Patil, the present Director of Archæology in Madhya Bharat, has also obliged me by sending me an impression of it.

[2] The members of this clan who belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāśupata, sect bore names ending in *śiva* or *śambhu*. The names of the Pāśupatas generally ended in *rāśi*.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

tenour of the description shows that the first four *Āchāryas* of this clan were living at different places such as Kadambaguhā, Śaṅkhamaṭhikā, Tērambi and Āmardaktīrtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman, and that Purandara was the first *Āchārya* who came to Mattamayūra,[1] the prince's town, and founded a *maṭha* there, from which this clan derived its name *Mattamayūravaṁśa*. Upēndrapura, where Purandara practised penance, has not been identified. Banerji has called our attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the head-quarters of a *maṇḍala* in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (1110 A.C.).[2] This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *pratijāgaraṇaka* (*parganā*) of Mandāraka in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura. None of these places have yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikhērā, which lies only about a mile to the east, may be the ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the *Āchāryas* of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may, in any case, be certain that the earlier Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Śaṅkhamaṭhikā, Tērambi and Āmardaka, from which they derived their appellations, must therefore be sought for in Malwa.[3] Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwāhā, six miles to the south of Ranōd, and Tērambi with Tērahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Śaiva *maṭhas* and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranōd inscription. Perhaps some places in the kingdom of Avantivarman were named after the older seats of the clan in Western Malwa.[4]

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājadēva II (*circa* 980-990 A.C.) gives the following genealogy of the Mattamayūravaṁśa :—

[1] The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as living in Rōhītaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See *MBH.*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were, of course, not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

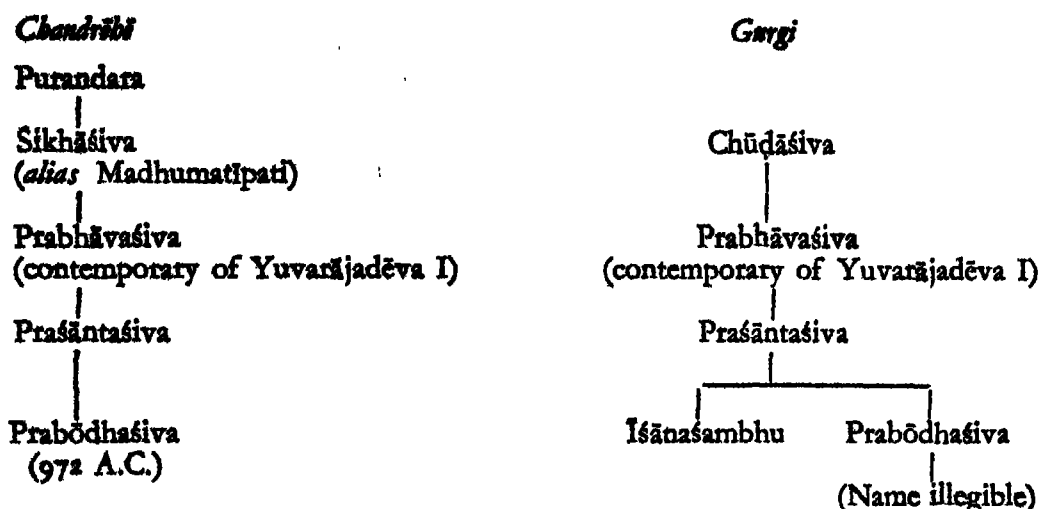
[3] This is also supported by the following extract from the *Pañjikā* of Brahmaśambhu, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. S. N. Sen:—

श्रीमदामर्दकाधीशमायातमवनीतले । तच्छिष्याणां बहुत्वेऽपि कृतमालयकस्थितिम् ॥

[4] This is suggested by the name Uttara-Tērambagṛiha mentioned as the original place of habitation of the *Āchārya* Gaganaśiva in the Ranipur Jharial inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 240 ff. This place seems to be distinguished from the original Tērambi by prefixing *uttara* to its name. It may be identical with modern Tērahi in the former Gwalior State.

The inscription tells us that Rudraśambhu belonged to the line of the *Siddhas* living at Kadambaguhā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avanti. This description shows that the first two *Āchāryas* of this line were identical with Amardakatīrthanātha[1] and Purandara mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which names Rudraśiva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhāri inscription further tells us that Hṛidayaśiva was a contemporary of a king of Chēdi (probably Lakshmaṇarāja II mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country.[2] He may, therefore, be referred to *circa* 950 A.C. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara *alias* Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hṛidayaśiva, in *circa* 825 A.C.

Two other inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrēhē[3] and Gurgi[4] in Vindhya Pradesh, give the following genealogy of the Saiva *Āchāryas* who subsequently came to and settled down in the Chēdi country:

The genealogy in the Chandrēhē inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgi inscription is carried one generation further; but otherwise the two genealogies are identical. The Chandrēhē inscription is dated K. 724 (972 A.C.). It tells us that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and induced him to sanctify it with his feet. Prabhāvaśiva, who flourished two generations before Prabōdhaśiva (972 A.C.), must have lived in *circa* 925 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I (*circa* 915-945 A.C.).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhāri and Chandrēhē inscriptions, we find that Chūḍāśiva of the former must be identical with Sikhāśiva of the latter; for, (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hṛidayaśiva and Prabhāvaśiva lived in the same period, the latter being a senior contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Chēdi king, *viz.*, Yuvarājadēva I. The immediate ancestors of Chūḍāśiva and Sikhāśiva, *viz.*, Mādhumatēya and Purandara, must, therefore, be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name *Mādhumatēya* because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple is called Madhumatīpati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrēhē inscription. Madhumatī,

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[1] Amardaka is mentioned as the original habitation of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of the Sōpurīya clan. *Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266.

[2] No. 45, l. 22.

[3] No. 44.

[4] No. 46.

where these *Acharyas* flourished, was probably situated on the Madhuvēṇī[1] (Mohwar of the maps), and may be identical with the modern village Mahuā which lies only a mile to the south of Tērahi. This Purandara *alias* Mādhumatēya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the *maṭha* of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avantivarman; for, the latter flourished four generations before Chūḍāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.[2]

Another line of Saiva *Acharyas* is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription. While describing the grants of Nōhalā,[3] the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, the inscription gives the following genealogy :—

Pavanaśiva
(Mādhumatēya or lord of Madhumatī)
|
Sabdaśiva
|
Iśvaraśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

The known *Achāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan may, therefore, be stated in the form of the following table :—

[1] The river Madhuvēṇī is mentioned in an inscription at Tērahi dated V. 960 (903 A.C.). *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. Mahuā has the remains of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Mahādēva. They are assigned to the seventh century A.C. on the palæographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. The river Madhumatī is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX.

[2] Banerji identified the two. This has vitiated the genealogy given by him in *H.T.M.*, p. 112. The first Purandara was called Mattamayūranātha, while the second was Mādhumatēya.

[3] Nōhalā donated some villages to Iśvaraśiva as *vidyā-dhana*.

Pāvanaśiva, Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva[1] were contemporaries of Purandara, Chūḍāśiva and Prabhāvaśiva, but whether Pavanaśiva was a disciple of Sadāśiva or of some other *Āchārya* of Madhumatī is not known. Another Śaiva *Āchārya*, named Gaganaśiva, who originally hailed from Uttara-Tērambagṛiha and built a temple of Siva at Ranipur Jharial in the former Patna State in Orissa, is known from an inscription recently edited by Dr. Chhabra. He probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan, but his exact relation to the other *Āchāryas* of the clan is not known.

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tērahi, Ranōd and Mahuā, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwāhā, about 15 miles south of Ranōd, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.C. "Such a large group of temples," says Mr. Garde, "is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwāhā thus deserves to be styled the Khajurāhō or Bhuvanēśvara of Gwalior." Such buildings could not have been erected without a continuous royal patronage. Kadwāhā may, therefore, have been the capital of Avantivarman and his successors.[2]

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra. From the evidence of the Chēdi inscriptions mentioning the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in *circa* 825 A.C. This is, therefore, the approximate time of Avantivarman. As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing the Ranōd inscription, suggested that he might be related to the Chaulukya princes Siṁhavarman, Sadhanva and Avanivarman, the ancestors of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for, it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva I, that the Śaiva *Āchāryas* first obtained a footing in the Chēdi country. She, her husband Yuvarājadēva I and their son Lakshmaṇarāja II invited Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line to the Chēdi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is, therefore, quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the territory round Mattamayūra.[3] This suggestion is further supported by the reference to a Śulkī (*i.e.*, Chaulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsā District mentions a line of Śulkī kings.[4] The progenitor of this line was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born of a drop of water which fell from the *añjali* of the Creator. Hence, the royal family descended from him came to be known as *Śulkī*. This tradition differs from that described in the Bilhāri inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The ancestors of Nōhalā belonged to the Chaulukya family, which was so called because its progenitor was born from the *chuluka* (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.[5] Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name *Śulkī* or *Chaulukya*, but they leave no room for doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this

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[1] This Īśvaraśiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kadwāhā. *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1939), p. 18.

[2] The old name of the place seems to have survived in the name *Marayatas* of an old tank on the south of the village, the temples near which are 'the largest and the most important.' See *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 96.

[3] An analogous instance is that of the Kalachuri queen Alhaṇadēvī, who, hailing from Mewad, placed the Pāśupata ascetic Rudraśāśi of Lāṭa in charge of a temple of Śiva and made grants of some villages for its maintenance. No. 60, ll. 24-25.

[4] *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

[5] No. 45, l. 14.

line such as Narasiṁha and Kēsarin and describes their wars with the Kalachuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the rulers of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), Kachchhavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasiṁha was a feudatory of Kṛishṇarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Kṛishṇapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla Dhaṅga. The latter flourished from 950 A.C. to 1005 A.C. These kings, therefore, undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Siṁhavarman. The known kings of this line may, therefore, be stated as follows[1] :—

Avantivarman (825 A.C.)
|
Siṁhavarman (850 A.C.)
|
Sadhanva (875 A.C.)
|
Avanivarman (900 A.C.)
|
Narasiṁha (950 A.C.)
|
Kēsarin (975 A.C.)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,[2] the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards may have been related to these kings. That the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Saivism is well known.

The *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Śaivism, supplied Śaiva pontiffs from time to time to the monasteries in the Chēdi country. As stated above, Yuvarājadēva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nōhalā invited another Śaiva *Āchārya* named Īśvaraśiva and donated several villages to him. Her son Lakshmaṇarāja II called Hṛidayaśiva from the *maṭha* of Madhumatī and made over to him the *maṭhas* of Vaidyanātha and Nauhalēśvara. Hṛidayaśiva placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the latter *maṭha*.

Kalachuri inscriptions mention some other Śaiva *Āchāryas* who acted as *Rājagurus*. They also probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 (1174 A.C.) mentions the following Śaiva *Āchāryas* :—

Vimalaśiva
|
Vāstuśiva
|
Purushaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkarṇa)
|
Śaktiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa)
|
Kīrtiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Narasiṁha)
|
Vimalaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Jayasiṁha)

Two sons of the last *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva became *saṁnyasins*. The elder was Śāntaśiva, who became the *Rājaguru* of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla, when the latter annexed the Chēdi country. The younger son was Nādaśiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla, dated K. 963 (1212 A.C.).[3]

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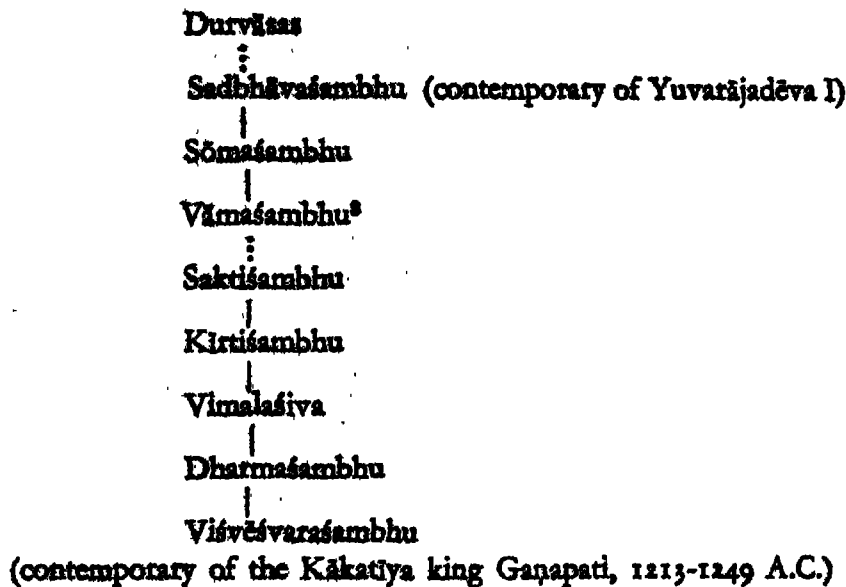
[1] The dates given against the royal names here are approximate.
[2] See my article 'Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja' in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (May 1945), pp. 90 ff.
[3] No. 72, l. 18.

A branch of the Mattamayūra clan was founded at Bhērā-Ghāṭ, about 10 miles from Tripurī. A hypethral temple was erected on a hillock on the bank of the Narmadā, where sixty-four *yōginīs* with Gaṇapati were installed. Most of the *yōginīs* are of the time of Yuvarājadēva I, but some are of a much earlier age.[1] The place seems to have been considered holy from very early times. The hypethral temple became known as *Gōlakī* or the Round Temple from its shape. The *maṭha* or monastery established by its side became well known as *Gōlakī maṭha*. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription[2] says that the *Gōlakī maṭha* was situated in the Ḍāhala *maṇḍala* between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā. As stated before, Ḍāhala was the home province of the Kalachuris with Tripurī as its capital. This *maṭha* sent its *Āchāryas* to distant places for the propagation of its faith. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had risen to the position of the chief abbot of this *maṭha*, made an *agrahāra* called *Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī* in the Andhra country as stated in the Malkāpuram pillar inscription. This inscription gives the following spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu :—

Durvāsas
⋮
Sadbhāvaśambhu (contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)
|
Sōmaśambhu
|
Vāmaśambhu[3]
⋮
Saktiśambhu
|
Kīrtiśambhu
|
Vimalaśiva
|
Dharmaśambhu
|
Viśvēśvaraśambhu
(contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, 1213-1249 A.C.)

It will be noticed that the three *Āchāryas* from Saktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jabalpur inscription as the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings Gayākarṇa, Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kērala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśvēśvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakshiṇa Rāḍha in Gauḍa. This shows plainly that the *Gōlakī maṭha* attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had attained the position of the head of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, afterwards repaired to the Andhra country, where he received great honours at the Kākatīya court. He initiated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati into the Śaiva faith and received munificent gifts of land and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* were established at several other places in Cudappa, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts in the Madras State.

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[1] *H.T.M.*, p. 78.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.

[3] Some scholars identify this Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadēva, mentioned in the grants of Karṇa and others with full imperial titles. The identification does not appear to be correct. From the description in the Malkāpuram inscription, Vāmaśambhu does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Śaktiśambhu, but flourished several generations earlier. Cf. तस्मिन् मठे तस्य गुरोर्बभूवुः शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परःसहस्राः । [illegible] ॥ [illegible] श्रीमान् [illegible] ॥ *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 156.

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkarōṇī. This place has not been identified, but was situated somewhere in Central India. Brahmaśambhu, the author of the *Pañjikā*, belonged to this branch.[1] Some *Āchāryas* of this branch settled down in Konkan. A copper-plate inscription of Raṭṭarāja of the Silāhāra dynasty, dated in S. 930 (1008 A. C.) and discovered at Kharepatan, records a grant of land made for the use of the *Āchāryas* of this branch.[2]

Kalachuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these *Āchāryas*. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Saiva *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha.[3] He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalaśiva studied the Vēdas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in different parts of India such as Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa and Gayā. He then received initiation from Kīrtiśiva of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, the *Rājaguru* of Narasiṁha. He was employed by the king Jayasiṁha in various affairs of the State, but never neglected his *nitya* and *naimittika* religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, *maṭhas*, charitable feeding houses (*sattras*), dwellings for the Brāhmaṇas as well as gardens. He built a large temple of Siva under the name of *Kīrtīśvara* in honour of his *guru* Kīrtiśiva. For the maintenance of the temple, the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha donated some villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse in K. 926 (1174 A.C.).

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Saiva *Āchāryas* are given by several Kalachuri inscriptions. These *Āchāryas* received honour and patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. The *Rājagurus* are mentioned among royal officers to whom grants of land and villages, recorded in copper-plate charters, are communicated. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhāvaśambhu of the *Gōlakī maṭha* received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Ḍāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages.[4] Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Chēdi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalachuris liberally patronised the *maṭhas*. Both the Bilhāri[5] and Gurgi[6] inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalachuri kings. The former inscription mentions, besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, and on elephants horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets, which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

Many of these *Āchāryas* were engaged in austerities and, therefore, preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these *Āchāryas* is given in the Chandrēhē inscription.[7]

The *Āchāryas* utilised the wealth of the *maṭhas* and the income of the *agrahāra* villages for the welfare of the people. Kalachuri inscriptions mention *vyākhyāna-śālās* (lecture halls), *sattras* (charitable feeding houses) and gardens with which the *maṭhas* were provided.[8]

[1] I owe this information to Mr. S. N. Sen, Curator of the Nepal Museum, who kindly supplied me with an extract from the MS. of the work in his possession.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

[3] No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

[4] It is noteworthy that the *Āchāryas* of the South-Indian branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* are described as belonging to the *Lakshādhyāyi-santāna* or *Bhikshā-maṭha*. *A.R.S.I.E.* (1923-24), p. 114.

[5] No. 45.

[6] No. 46.

[7] No. 44, ll. 15 ff.

[8] No. 60, ll. 23-24.

They do not, however, give us any information about the management of these *mathas*. For this we must turn to the Malkāpuram inscription, which gives a detailed description of the measures adopted by Viśvēśvaraśambhu for the maintenance and management of the institutions he founded in his *agrahāra* village, *viz.*, a temple, a monastery, a college, a choultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Elaborate rules were laid down for the appointment of an *Āchārya* as the head of the *Maṭha*; his qualifications and the fee to be paid to him for his services were set forth in detail. The whole Saiva community of the village was given the right to appoint a new *Āchārya*, if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour.[1] As Viśvēśvaraśambhu was previously the head of the *Gōlakī Maṭha*, it would not be wrong to infer that similar rules were in force for the management of the *maṭhas* in the Chēdi country.

There were four well-known sects of Saivism, *viz.*, Saiva, Pāśupata, Kāruka (or Kāruṇika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālika. The *Āchāryas* of the Mattamyūra clan belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāśupata sect. According to tradition, Siva first initiated Brahmā, the Creator, into this faith after a sacrifice in Dāruvana.[2] From the latter sprang this line of Saiva *Āchāryas*. In some inscriptions the first *Āchārya* is said to be Durvāsas. His spiritual descendants called themselves *Saiddhāntikas*, *i.e.*, followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is described as the abode of the *Saiddhāntikas*.[3] The *Siddhāntas* were revealed by Mahēśvara. According to this sect, there are three principles, *viz.*, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has four *pādas*, *viz.*, *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, *kriyā* or ceremonies consisting of *dīkshā* (initiation) *etc.*, *yōga* or meditation and *charyā* or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited. *Charyā* and *yōga* are regarded as important as *vidyā*.[4] The *Āchāryas* of Madhumatī are described as having an excellent discipline.[5] Most of the inscriptions of this clan contain descriptions of the yōgic practices of the *Āchāryas*. These led to emancipation (*siddhi*). The *Āchāryas* who attained emancipation were called *Siddhas*. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school, is called the venerable abode of the line of the *Siddhas*.

Though the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Saiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśiva, the *guru* of the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant not only with the *siddhāntas* of his own but also with those of others' schools; he was, besides, well-read in the authoritative works of Diṅnāga and others.[6] In the Gurgi inscription, the Saiva *Āchārya* Praśāntaśiva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adepts in the philosophy of the *Pāñchārthikas* or Pāśupatas.[7]

There were several Pāśupata *Āchāryas* living in the Kalachuri kingdom. One of them, *viz.*, Rudrarāśi who came from Lāṭa, was placed in charge of the temple of Siva under the name of *Vaidyanātha*, and of the *maṭha* and the hall of teaching with gardens *etc.* attached to them, which the Kalachuri dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī had erected at Bhērā-Ghāṭ.[8] Another Pāśupata *Āchārya*, known from the inscriptions, was Bhāvabrahman, who also had

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[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

[3] No. 46, l. 5.

[4] *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

[5] Cf. *Sach-chary-āchārya-varyāḥ* in No. 46, l. 4.

[6] No. 77, l. 27.

[7] No. 46, l. 20.

[8] No. 60, ll. 23-24.

hailed from Lāṭa and erected a temple of Siva at Tripurī[1]. His mode of life was in accordance with the teaching of the Pāśupata system. He lived on scanty food which he obtained by begging, wore only a loin cloth, slept on pure ashes and lived a life of celibacy. He practised *yōga* as taught in the system of *Patañjali*, and cultivated the four *bhāvanās* (sentiments) of *maitrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkshā* (indifference). According to the Pāśupatas, salvation consists not only in the cessation of misery but also in the attainment of supernatural powers. Liberated souls live in an intimate union with Siva.[2]

As stated before, almost all Kalachuri kings were devout worshippers of Siva. Some of them went on a pilgrimage to distant holy places to offer worship to the god. We learn from the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja II marched in state with his whole retinue of feudatory princes and his army of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers all the way from Tripurī to Sōmanāth Paṭṭan, and bathing in the sea there, he worshipped the god Sōmanātha with lotuses of gold. He also offered to the god in worship the effigy of the serpent Kāliya, made of gold inlaid with precious stones, which he had obtained from the king of Orissa. He then himself composed a hymn of praise and concentrated his mind on Siva's glory.[3] His son Yuvarājadēva II also dedicated to Sōmēśvara the wealth he had obtained by conquering the kings of the four quarters.[4] He also composed an excellent hymn in praise of the god.[5]

There was a great building activity during the age of the Kalachuris. The temples and monasteries, built by Yuvarājadēva I, his queen Nōhalā and their son Lakshmaṇarāja II, have already been mentioned. From a huge sculpture of Hara-Gaurī, measuring 12′ 8″ long by 4′ 7″ broad on the mound at Gurgi, Cunningham conjectured that the structure in which it was enshrined must have been about 100 ft. in height.[6] Banerji says that the height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 ft. above the surrounding ground level.[7] From the Gurgi inscription we know that this temple was erected by the sage Praśāntaśiva.[8] By its side there was another temple erected by Yuvarājadēva I, which must have been still more lofty. The illustrious king Karṇa built a twelve- or sixteen-storeyed temple called *Karṇamēru*, which was probably dedicated to Siva. The ruins of this temple can still be seen near Rājghāṭ in Banaras. Another temple, said to have been erected by Karṇa, is at Amarakaṇṭak. It is a magnificent triple-shrined structure with profusely sculptured lofty *śikharas*. Other temples of the age are those of Virāṭēśvara at Sōhāgpur and Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth, both in the former Rewa State. Most of these temples have a circular *garbha-griha*. Temples of this type were a speciality of the Chēdi country and were built for the first time by the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan. Such temples have not been noticed outside the dominion of the Kalachuris.[9]

Several ministers and generals of the Kalachuri kings as well as private individuals living in the Chēdi country followed the example of their rulers and erected temples dedicated to Siva. The descendants of the aforementioned Kāyastha *Amātya* of Yuvarāja-

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[1] No. 58, ll. 8 ff.

[2] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 171. See also No. 58, l. 8.

[3] No. 45, ll. 23-24.

[4] Appendix, No. 3, l. 7.

[5] No. 45, ll. 28-30.

[6] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 152. The great *toraṇa* erected in front of the Rājā's palace in Rewa originally belonged to the temple of Śiva at Gurgi.

[7] *H. T. M.*, p. 43.

[8] No. 46, l. 14.

[9] *H. T. M.*, pp. 48; 53-54 *etc.*

dēva I changed their religious creed and became Śaivas. The last of them, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated K. 800, whose name is unfortunately lost, constructed a temple of an imposing height probably at Gurgi, which he dedicated to Śiva.[1] Vappulla, a brave general of Karṇa, who had distinguished himself in several battles, built a temple of the *pañchāyatana* type, in which the central shrine was surrounded by four small *dēvakulīs*. The image installed in one of them was of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. The names of the images in the other three are unfortunately lost.[2] Besides Vishṇu and Śiva, Gaṇēśa also seems to have been worshipped in this period. He is invoked in the beginning of some records of this period,[3] but no specific mention of a temple erected in his honour occurs in the records of the Chēdi country. The same is true of Kārttikēya.[4] Sculptures of both the gods have, however, been found in abundance at Tripurī and other places. Ambikā was regarded as a guardian deity and her image was installed when a new work like a *ghāṭ* was constructed.[5] Images of the Sun also have been found at Masaun and Bhērā-Ghāṭ, but there is no mention of any temple dedicated to him.[6] A beautiful bronze image of Rēvanta, son of the Sun, was found at Tripurī and is now in the possession of the former Malguzar of the village.

Buddhism and Jainism also were flourishing in the Chēdi country. At Sarnath, Māmakā, the wife of Dharmēśvara, who was a follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written, which she made over to the Order of the Venerable Monks of the Mahābōdhi Mahāvihāra where the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law by his first sermon. At Gopālpur, about 3 miles from Bhērā-Ghāṭ, were discovered five Buddhist images. Four of these were of Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, while the fifth was of his consort Tārā. From the inscription on one of them, it seems that the image was the gift of a woman named Dhēnuvā, who was a gate-keeper of one Satka, son of a lay worshipper named Subhaṭa Kāyastha. She was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. These images appear to be of the Magadha school.[7] The inscription shows that there were some Buddhists living in peace and prosperity near the Kalachuri capital Tripurī.[8] At Tewar itself was found the beautiful image of a Bōdhisattva of the Mahāyāna school, seated in the Vajrāsana posture, with his two hands in the attitude of teaching.[9] The Buddha had come to be included among the ten incarnations of Vishṇu and is figured on the *prabhāvali* of the images of that god.[10]

That Jainism also was flourishing in the Kalachuri dominion is shown by the Bahuribandh inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. It records the construction of a temple of the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* Śāntinātha by one Mahābhōja, son of Sarvadhara.[11] The

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[1] No. 51, l. 28.

[2] No. 53, ll. 24-25.

[3] No. 60, ll. 4-5; No. 65, l. 1.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *H. T. M.*, pp. 86, 92 *etc.*

[5] No. 62, l. 4.

[6] *H.T.M.*, pp. 91 and 93.

[7] No. 52, ll. 10-11.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 73 ff.

[9] *H.T.M.*, pp. 93 ff. According to S. C. Vidyabhushan, Gāṅgēyadēva and Karṇa overthrew Buddhism and brought about the revival of Brahmanism in Mithilā. See his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 350. This view is based on the wrong identification of Gāṅgēyadēva of Tīrabhukti with the homonymous Kalachuri king. See above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[11] No. 59, C, l. 4. Recently another fragmentary Jaina inscription has been discovered at Tripurī. In the extant portion it mentions the Kalachuri king Karṇa.

colossal statue of Sāntinātha is still standing at Bahuribandh. Several other images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been found in the Jabalpur District. There were Jaina temples at Sōhāgpur also. At the palace of the *Ṭhākur* of the place are collected a number of Jaina sculptures, among which there are some Śāsanadēvatās.[1] All this leaves no room for doubt that Jainism also had a considerable following in the Chēdi country.

Many of the grants made in this period were in the form of endowments to temples erected by kings, their ministers and *Rājagurus*. Some grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the attainment of religious merit. There is, however, no specific mention of the object as in the earlier grants, *viz*., that they were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. Some *agrahāra* villages were granted for the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas. These settlements were called the *Brahma-stambas*.[2] Karṇa invited some learned and pious Brāhmaṇas to settle at a newly founded town called *Karṇāvatī*, which, from its description, appears to have been situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Karaṇbēl was another town founded by the same king near Tripurī.

Of the ten grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra or their feudatories, two were made on the occasion of the *śrāddha* of the donor's father,[3] three on the occasion of a saṅkrānti,[4] one on a lunar eclipse,[5] and two on the *tithis* of Kārttika-pūrṇimā and Mārgaśīrsha-kṛishṇa-saptamī.[6] The occasion and purpose of one are not known. One grant was made on the occasion of a *yugādi*.[7] Curious as it may appear, no grant made by the Kalachuris to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in this period has yet been found in the Chēdi and Sarayūpāra countries.

Dakshiṇa Kōsala—The religious condition in Dakshiṇa Kōsala did not materially differ from that in Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. The Kalachuris who ruled there believed that they had obtained their kingdom by the grace of the god Vaṅkēśvara.[8] This was probably a Prakrit name of Śiva. There was an old temple of Vaṅkēśvara at Tummāṇa, the old capital of the Kalachuris. The object of worship was an image, not a *liṅga*; for, the Amōdā plates state that the king Pṛithvīdēva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the *chatushkikā* (hall) of the temple.[9] After the capital was shifted to Ratnapura, several temples were built there by the kings and their ministers. Jājalladēva I founded the town of Jājallapura (modern Janjgir in the Bilaspur District), and built there a temple of Śiva and a monastery for ascetics.[10] He also repaired the old temple of Śiva at Pāli by constructing additional walls and pillars.[11] The temples of Śiva were erected by the princes, their feudatories and ministers as well as private persons at several places such as Mallāla, Sōṇṭhivapura, Varēlāpura, Nārāyaṇapura, Kumarākōṭa, Pathariā, Shēorinārāyaṇ, Vaḍada and Pōrathā.[12]

Śaivism was thus the predominant cult in Dakshiṇa Kōsala, but Vaishṇavism also was prevalent, though it played a subordinate rôle. At Janjgir there is a beautifully sculp-

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[1] *H. T. M.*, p. 100.
[2] No. 43, l. 2; No. 56, l. 13.
[3] No. 48, l. 40; No. 65, l. 14.
[4] No. 56, l. 27; No. 74, l. 39; Appendix, No. 2.
[5] No. 63, l. 26.
[6] No. 50, l. 41; No. 68, l. 13.
[7] See below, p. 649.
[8] No. 75, l. 4.
[9] No. 76, l. 28.
[10] No. 77, l. 26.
[11] Nos. 78-81. See also p. 418.
[12] See No. 97, l. 24; No. 98, l. 21; No. 96, l. 25; No. 96, ll. 28 and 29; No. 98, ll. 22 and 25; No. 100, l. 23.

tured temple of Vishṇu which was unfortunately left incomplete. Above the door-way of the *garbhagriha* are carved the images of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Siva, which testify to the religious syncretism of the age. Vishṇu, to whom the temple was dedicated, appears in the centre. On the pillars and walls of the temple appear beautifully carved images of the several incarnations of Vishṇu as well as of Sūrya, Dēvī and other gods. This is one of the most beautiful temples in Chhattisgarh.[1] Its builder's name is unknown. Another old temple of Vishṇu exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ, perhaps erected by a collateral branch of the royal family. It is a simple structure, possessing no architectural beauty. Jagapāla, who distinguished himself in several battles of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repaired an old temple of Vishṇu, originally built by a Nala king in the 8th century A.C.[2] He renamed the god as Rāmachandra and granted a village for his worship.[3] Another temple dedicated to the god was built by a *Mōchī* or Shoe-maker at Khalvāṭikā in the Raipur District.[4] Several beautifully carved images of Vishṇu have been discovered at Ratanpur and other places.

Besides Śiva and Vishṇu, other gods and goddesses like Pārvatī, Ēkavīrā, Gaṇapati and Rēvanta (son of the Sun) were adored by people, high and low, and had temples dedicated to them at several places such as Ratnapura, Vaḍada, Durga, Pahapaka and Vikarṇapura.[5] Of these the temple of Rēvanta at Vikarṇapura, modern Koṭgaḍh, deserves a special mention. It was built by Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Vaiśya caste, who distinguished himself in the wars of Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdēva II. It was a fine structure, beautifully decorated with sculptures. Its ruins still exist at Kōṭgaḍh. Some of these temples were of the *pañchāyatana* type,[6] and some others had charitable feeding houses attached to them. At some places like Jānjgir and Kharōd, monasteries were constructed for the residence of ascetics.[7] They must have served as centres of learning and religious teaching as in the Chēdi country.

The cult of Dēvī also was prevalent in Dakshiṇa Kōsala. She and other Śaktis like Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī, Aindrī, Chāmuṇḍā and others, who were associated with her in her fight with the demons, were worshipped in several places, and their favour was invoked for success in fighting. Tantricism also had some followers.[8] It was believed that by the practice of the *Śākambharī vidyā*, one could obtain supernatural powers ensuring success in battles.[9]

A festival was celebrated in honour of Durgā in the bright fortnight of Āśvina. It continued for nine days. The Dīpāvali festival in Kārttika was marked by illuminations, gifts of cows and reading of the Purāṇas, as at present.[10] Mahāmāyā and other similar gods and goddesses were worshipped by the lower classes of the society.[11]

Buddhism was flourishing in Dakshiṇa Kōsala before the advent of the Kalachuris. That Buddhist *vihāras* existed at Āraṅg in the Raipur District[12] and Mallār in the Bilaspur District[13] is known from inscriptions. Yuan Chwang tells us that there were over 100

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[1] *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 271.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.
[3] No. 88, l. 14.
[4] No. 108, l. 12.
[5] No. 96, l. 26; No. 100, l. 23; No. 95, l. 26.
[6] No. 90, l. 23.
[7] No. 77, l. 26; No. 100, l. 22.
[8] No. 114, ll. 1 ff.
[9] No. 89, l. 25.
[10] No. 103, l. 10.
[11] Nos. 103 and 104 are on stones built into a wall of the temple of Mahāmāyā.
[12] *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 617 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2.
[13] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists, in Dakshiṇa Kōsala.[1] The reigning king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna made grants to Buddhist *vihāras*, though he himself was a fervent devotee of Śiva. But in later times Buddhism declined here as in other parts of the country. There is not a single reference to any Buddhist *vihāra* or Bhikshu in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. The Buddhist canonical and philosophical works were, however, studied by some people. Rudraśiva, the spiritual teacher of Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant with the works of Diṅnāga and others.[2] Kāśala, who composed the Kōni stone inscription, tells us that he had knowledge of three *ratnas* (*i.e.*, probably Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and that he had mastered the *āgamas* of the Buddha and others.[3] Some learned Brāhmaṇas also, who were required to take part in philosophical debates, must have been well acquainted with the Buddhist systems.

There are also no references to the Jainas in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, but there is no doubt that Jainism had some followers there. Images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been discovered at Āraṅg, Sirpur, Mallār, Dhanpur, Ratanpur and Padampur, these at Mallār being colossal.[4]

It is noteworthy that many of the grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kōsala were on the occasion of a solar or a lunar eclipse. Of the sixteen grants included here, as many as nine were made at the time of eclipses, five being lunar and four solar.[5] Three grants were made on a saṅkrānti,[6] one on the *akshaya tṛitīyā*[7] which is regarded as a very holy day, and one on the *śrāddha-tithi* of the donor's father[8]. In the case of the remaining two, no auspicious occasion has been mentioned.[9]

SOCIETY

Like religion, the social life also changed considerably in course of time. In the earlier period people had a broader outlook on social matters. The caste system had not become quite rigid. Foreign tribes like the Sakas were welcomed to the Hindu fold and were assigned their rightful place in the social structure. Hence they did not try to conceal their racial origin, but proudly stated it in their records. The Śaka king Srīdharavarman, for instance, makes a specific mention of his race in both the records of his reign.[10] The Gurjaras also make no attempt in their earlier grants to trace their pedigree from a mythological or legendary hero, but take pride in stating that they were born in the *Gurjara-vaṁśa*.[11] The Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas became completely absorbed in the Hindu society in course of time and had matrimonial relations with the most notable Kshatriya families. The Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the thirty-six Kshatriya families of the best blood, their foreign origin having been completely forgotten.[12] We find that the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa, who claimed to belong to the lunar race, had

[1] *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 200.
[2] No. 77, l. 27.
[3] No. 90, l. 27.
[4] *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp. 65-66; *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 61.
[5] For lunar eclipses, see Nos. 82, 83, 86, 91 and 102, and for solar ones, see Nos. 89, 90, 117 and 122.
[6] Nos. 75, 92 and 101.
[7] No. 94, ll. 20-21.
[8] No. 123, l. 27.
[9] Nos. 76 and 99.
[10] No. 5, l. 2; No. 119, l. 2.
[11] See, *e.g.*, No. 16, l. 2.
[12] *Pṛithvīrājarāsō*, I, 135. The list with a few minor changes occurs in the *Kumārapālacharita*.

no objection to marrying the princess Āvalladēvī of the Hūṇa lineage.[1] She was probably his chief queen. Her son Yaśaḥkarṇa succeeded his father on the Kalachuri throne. The Ābhīras also rose in social status and, like the Hūṇas, were ranked among the best Kshatriya families.[2]

In the social hierarchy, the Brāhmaṇas occupied an honoured place. They were revered for their pious life and devotion to learning, and received royal patronage in the form of grants of land. In the earlier period, their sub-castes had not been formed and their surnames based on the places of origin had not come into vogue. The only distinctions recognised were those of the Vēdas, *śākhās* and *gōtras.* It would be interesting to see how the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vēdas and *śākhās* were geographically distributed. Unfortunately, we do not find these details mentioned in all grants. The earliest grants included here, *viz.*, those of the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu and the Traikūṭakas, mention the *gōtras*, but not the Vēdas and *śākhās*, of the Brāhmaṇa donees.[3] In later records they are generally mentioned, though some details are found lacking in a few grants. They are again conspicuous by their absence in the grants made after 1150 A.C. In this latter period, we find modern surnames gradually coming into vogue. We find that the Bahvṛichas or Ṛigvēdins are mentioned in very few records.[4] When their *śākhā* is named, it is only Āśvalāyana. The Ṛigvēdins, though few, were fairly wide-spread. We find them named in the grants from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda was predominant everywhere. Several Brāhmaṇas of this *śākhā* received grants of land in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.[5] The other *śākhā*, Kaṇva, of this Vēda is rarely mentioned. There are only four references to it in our records.[6] The Brāhmaṇas of the Black Yajurvēda or the Taittirīyas were rarer still. They had their home in South India and we find them mentioned only in the records of the south. One of them, residing at Kallivana, modern Kalvan in the Nasik District, received a grant of land situated in that district.[7] A few others were residing near Nagpur.[8] We no doubt find a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya *śākhā* receiving the grant of a village in Gujarat,[9] but he originally hailed from Vanavāsī in the Kanara District, Bombay State. He bore a Kanarese name and had evidently gone to Gujarat at the invitation of the Chālukya prince, Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who also originally came from Karṇāṭaka. A few Sāmavēdins are noticed in the grants from Gujarat, Sarayūpāra, and the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions of Madhya Pradesh.[10] When their *śākhā* is mentioned, it is invariably Kauthuma.[11] The Atharvavēdins were extremely rare. They are mentioned only in one record, *viz.*, in the Kairā plates of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga, dated K. 380.[12] They all belonged to the Pippalāda *śākhā* and were residents of Bhērajjikā, modern Borjai in the Broach District. They received a village in common with the

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[1] No. 56, l. 15; No. 57, l. 13.

[2] *Pṛithvīrājarāso*, I, 135.

[3] Nos. 2-4, 6, 8 and 9.

[4] See No. 11, l. 8; No. 16, ll. 35-37; No. 56, l. 30; No. 74, ll. 41 ff.; No. 76, l. 26; No. 121, l. 19.

[5] No. 14, l. 21; No. 19, ll. 16-17; No. 20, l. 15; No. 21, l. 20; No. 24, l. 36; No. 25, l. 22; No. 26, l. 25; No. 74, ll. 41-42; No. 91, l. 21.

[6] No. 15, l. 22; No. 16, l. 37; No. 29, l. 19; No. 120, l. 10.

[7] No. 12, l. 21.

[8] No. 120, ll. 10-11.

[9] No. 30, ll. 37-38.

[10] No. 11, l. 5; No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16; No. 74, l. 44; No. 75, l. 10; No. 82, l. 17; No. 120, l. 11.

[11] No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16.

[12] No. 16, l. 41.

Brāhmaṇas of the other Vēdas, but they seem to have fallen out with them. They were, therefore, omitted in a later grant of the same village, which virtually cancelled the earlier grant. It is well known that the Atharvavēda was looked upon with disfavour in ancient times.

The original places of habitation, from which the Brāhmaṇas had migrated, are generally stated in land-grants. Some of these places were well known in ancient times as the homes of particular *śākhās*. Thus, Kulāñchā in the Bogra District of North Bengal was famous as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*,[1] most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. Similarly, Ṭakārī in Madhyadēśa, which is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gayā District, was known as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*,[2] though some Brāhmaṇas of other *śākhās* also resided there. In some cases we find Brāhmaṇas migrating from far off places in search of royal patronage. Thus, the Kalachuri court in Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaṇas from such distant places as Sōṇabhadra[3] in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhaṭī[4] in Madhya Bharat. Derivatives from place-names such as Māthura and Nāgara, which later became family-names of the Brāhmaṇas, are also noticed in one record.[5] In the earlier period the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished from other castes by the prefix *Brāhmaṇa*,[6] *Bhaṭṭa* or *Bhaṭṭika*[7] and the suffix *svāmin*.[8] Towards the close of the later period other prefixes such as *Paṇḍita*, *Ṭhakkura*, *Rāuta* and *Gaintā* became common.[9] The names generally ended in *śarman*. The modern surnames Miśra[10] and Tripāṭhī[11] occur in very late records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.C.

Many Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Śāstras. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by the prefixes like *Dvivēda* attached to their names,[12] which in the earlier period had not become mere family surnames. Those who had performed a sacrifice were known as *Dīkshita*.[13] In the earlier period, the Brāhmaṇas generally maintained the sacred fire and performed the *gṛihya* rites like the five great sacrifices regularly. It is interesting to read that Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, performed regularly the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* and other sacrifices.[14] Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests (*Purōhitas*). The *Mahāpurōhita*, who was in charge of the Department of Religion, is mentioned with ministers and high State functionaries in the later grants of the Kalachuris.[15] Many members of the priestly caste obtained proficiency in the Mīmāṁsā, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vēdānta and other *darśanas* and even studied heterodox philosophical systems like the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina.[16] Some of them took part in literary competitions and philosophical disputations at the royal courts. Some others became proficient in astronomy and mastered more than one

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[1] See below, p. 268, n. 1.
[2] See below, p. 475, n. 4.
[3] No. 83, l. 16.
[4] No. 97, l. 11.
[5] No. 74, ll. 41 and 44.
[6] No. 11, l. 5.
[7] No. 13, l. 7.
[8] No. 14, l. 22.
[9] No. 99, l. 37; No. 117, l. 5.
[10] No. 108, l. 13.
[11] No. 105, l. 16.
[12] Np. 30, l. 38.
[13] No. 29, l. 20.
[14] No. 42, ll. 10 ff.
[15] No. 56, l. 25.
[16] No. 97, ll. 16-18.

Siddhānta. At the royal court, there was sometimes a competition among astronomers about the prediction of the correct time of an eclipse. The successful astronomer was rewarded with a grant of land.[1] Some Brāhmaṇas left the worldly life and took orders in some religious sect like the Śaiva and the Pāśupata.[2]

From very ancient times the Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to adopt the profession of a Kshatriya if they are unable to earn a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or acceptance of gifts.[3] In our records there are some instances of the Brāhmaṇas occupying influential positions in the State. The castes of royal officers are rarely mentioned in land-grants. So the information is very meagre. Still we find that in two cases the Brāhmaṇas acted as *Dūtakas* of land-grants.[4] The office of the *Dūtaka* was a very high one[5] and was held by State functionaries of the rank of *Mahāpīlupati* and *Mahābalādhikṛita*. Some Brāhmaṇas are known to have filled with distinction the office of the Prime Minister also. Bhākamiśra, Sōmēśvara, Purushōttama and Gaṅgādhara were some of the learned and capable Prime Ministers of the Later Kalachuris.[6] They are highly eulogised in our records. Some of them distinguished themselves on the battlefield also and won important victories for their masters. Others by their diplomacy saved the State in times of economic and political crises and restored peace and prosperity to the country. Some Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as the authors of royal *praśastis*.[7] Their compositions reveal no mean poetic talent.

The Brāhmaṇas generally married within their caste, but marriages of the *anulōma* type, in which they took to wife a girl from a lower caste, were not unknown. Rājaśēkhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Yāyāvara family, married Avantisundarī of the Chauhāṇa lineage. This was probably not a solitary instance.

The Kshatriyas, like the Brāhmaṇas, enjoyed a high social status. Many of the rulers in the earlier as well the later period belonged to this caste. The Chālukyas and the Kalachuris were known as Kshatriyas. The former claimed to have descended from Hārītī and mentioned their Mānayya *gōtra* in their land-grants.[8] The Sēndrakas, who were matrimonially connected with them, also probably belonged to the same caste. The Kalachuris called themselves Haihayas, *i.e.*, descendants of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. The latter was born in the family of the Moon. The Kalachuris, therefore, claimed to be of the famous lunar race.[9] They had matrimonial relations with all the principal Kshatriya families of the age, *viz.*,

[1] No. 83, ll. 23 ff.

[2] No. 64, l. 17; No. 58, l. 7.

[3] *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 69-70.

[4] No. 2, l. 8 mentions Nannabhaṭṭi, and No. 24, l. 49, *Bhaṭṭa* śrī-Dēiyaka as *Dūtakas*.

[5] The *Dūtaka* communicated the royal order about a grant to the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Cf. *rāj-ājñā-prada* used instead of the usual *dūtaka* in the Pōnnuṭūru plates of Sāmantavarman; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220. The *Dūtaka* of No. 12 was a *Mahāpīlupati*, and that of No. 14 was a *Mahābalādhikṛita*.

[6] See No. 42, ll. 3 ff. and 6 ff.; No. 90, ll. 15 ff.; No. 100, ll. 17 ff.

[7] No. 44, ll. 24-25.

[8] No. 27, ll. 2-3.

[9] D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kalachuris as of foreign extraction, because, in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bāhu, were assisted by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Khaśas. The argument has no force; for, though the Haihayas may have taken the help of some foreign tribes, they do not thereby themselves become *Mlēchchhas*. If they had invaded India from the North-west after the Kushāṇas as supposed by Bhandarkar, we would have found traces of their rule in the north-western parts of the country, where they may be supposed to have first established themselves. But we do not get any records of the Kalachuris in North India till the 8th century A.C. For further discussion of this subject, see my presidential address in Section II of *P. I. H. C.*, seventh session, pp. 157 ff.

the Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chandēllas and the Pālas. The Śaka king Śrīdhara-varman and the Gurjaras, some of whom bore names ending in *bhaṭa*,[1] were also probably regarded as Kshatriyas. The latter, in their later records, claim to have descended from Karṇa, the son of Kuntī by the Sun. They were, therefore, probably regarded as born of the race of the Sun. That they claimed to be Kshatriyas is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, in which their ancestor Dadda I is spoken of as the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kshatriya mother.[2]

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriyas. The State functionaries mentioned in early grants, whose names ended in *bhaṭa*, probably belonged to the warrior caste.[3] Some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. Several records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention Kumārapala of the Haihaya lineage as a scribe. He was known for calligraphy, and out of curiosity wrote several *praśastis*.[4] He had made a deep study of politics, literature and poetics, and himself composed *praśastis* of no mean literary merit.[5]

Next to the Kshatriyas came the Vaiśyas. They were doubtless engaged in trade and commerce, and exercised great influence at the royal court as well as in the *Pañchakulas*.[6] Some towns which had predominantly a merchant population were known as *vaṇiñ-nagaras* (merchant-towns).[7] All the affairs of such towns were managed by the *Pañchakulas* elected by them. Some merchants were appointed Mayors of towns[8] and contributed liberally to the religious and charitable institutions in the State. Some Vaiśyas distinguished themselves in the military professions also. Several later records[9] from Chhattisgarh give a glowing description of the victories won by Vallabharāja, a Vaiśya feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. He constructed several temples, excavated tanks and reared mango groves.[10] He was specially favoured by Lāchchhalladēvī, the queen of Ratnadēva II, who treated him as her own son.[11]

The Kāyasthas were another influential community. Their descent from a legendary sage named Kāchara who practised penance at Kulāñchā in Gauḍa is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the reign of Karṇa.[12] Gōllāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarāja-dēva I, probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste. He is known from several huge rock-cut images which he caused to be carved at Bāndhōgarh.[13] Some of his descendants like Sōmēśvara served the Kalachuris of Tripurī by diplomacy as well as personal valour. Some Kāyasthas who settled in Chhattisgarh belonged to the Vāstavya family. Their ancestor Gōvinda had emigrated from the Chēdi *maṇḍala*. His grandson Ratnasiṁha and great-grandson Dēvagaṇa were learned persons who composed *praśastis* of considerable merit.[14] The Kāyasthas were generally employed as clerks and are mentioned as scribes in some

[1] No. 21, l. 7.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

[3] See No. 22, l. 38 which mentions Durgabhaṭa and his son Sahabhaṭa as military officers.

[4] No. 93, l. 22; No. 96, l. 34; No. 97, ll. 27-28. The engravers of Nos. 34 and 120 belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.

[5] No. 100, l. 27.

[6] No. 72, l. 9.

[7] No. 31, l. 47.

[8] No. 77, l. 12.

[9] Nos. 84, 85, 87 and 95.

[10] No. 95, ll. 24 ff.

[11] No. 85, l. 14.

[12] No. 51, ll. 20 ff.

[13] Nos. 38-41.

[14] Nos. 93 and 97.

inscriptions.[1] The *Karaṇikas* mentioned in some records[2] were not different from the Kāyasthas.

Some lower castes like *Sūtradhāra* occasionally find a mention in our records.[3] Of the untouchables, the *Mōchi* or shoe-maker is mentioned in a late record.[4] Dēvapāla, who belonged to this caste, was a religious-minded person. He was rich enough to construct a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Khalvāṭikā, modern Khalāri in the Raipur District.

Women were honoured and treated with respect. Polygamy was in vogue. Kings generally maintained a large seraglio. From inscriptions as well as from literature[5] we know that Yuvarājadēva I married a large number of princesses from different countries. Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have had as many as a hundred wives.[6] The custom of the *Satī* was in vogue. If the description in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates is correct, all the hundred wives of Gāṅgēyadēva immolated themselves on his funeral pyre near the banyan tree at Prayāga. Another instance of the *Satī* is recorded in the Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription of K. 919. When the prince Ulhaṇadēva died fighting with Jayasiṁha of Tripurī, his three queens died as *Satīs*.[7] The inscription describes vividly the grief which the people felt on that occasion. Such self-immolation was, however, not obligatory on women. Those who did not subject themselves to it led a restrained and pious life. We know of some queens who survived their husbands and helped their sons with advice in the administration of the State. The dowager queens Alhaṇadēvī and Gōsaladēvī are notable instances of this type mentioned in our records.[8]

That the joint family system was in vogue appears clear from the numbers of relatives mentioned in commemorative *praśastis*. The Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207, for instance, mentions, besides the Kāyastha Ratnasiṁha, his wife, one son, two daughters-in-law, two grandsons, one grand-daughter and two other persons whose relation to him is not stated explicitly.[9] Another instance is that of Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II. He lived to a good old age. His four sons, all of whom distinguished themselves in statecraft, continued to live with him.[10] On the other hand, we have an instance of the division of even State property. Sarvadēva, the brother of Pṛithvīdēva I, we are told, obtained, as a share of patrimony, the territory round Sōṇṭhiva, where he later established himself. Such partitions were, however, rare.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (*śrēṇis*). The first inscription included in this Volume mentions four guilds, *viz*., those of potters, makers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers, and one more whose name is lost. These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Pious persons deposited money

[1] Kīrtidhara, his son Vatsarāja and grandson Dharmarāja, who wrote several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, belonged to the Vāstavya family and were evidently Kāyasthas.

[2] No. 45, l. 33; No. 50, l. 49.

[3] No. 64 l. 26; No. 105, l. 20 *etc*.

[4] No. 108, l. 10.

[5] See above, p. lxxvii.

[6] No. 56, ll. 10-11; No. 57, l. 10.

[7] No. 98, l. 20.

[8] No. 60, l. 23 and No. 69, l. 1.

[9] No. 93, ll. 20 ff.

[10] No. 90, l. 20.

in these guilds to make perpetual endowments for religious purposes.[1] Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called *gaṇas*. There were, besides, other corporate organisations of persons who followed the same avocation. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja mention a corporation of elephant-drivers (*mahāmātras*).[2] This corporation seems to have been an influential one. It had its own assembly called *samūha*. Its President was called *Sthavira*, and members of the Executive Committee *Pramukhas*, among whom were included the *Pilupati* (Chief of the Elephant force) and the *Hastivaidya* (Physician of Elephants). The grant of land made by the corporation had to be approved by the reigning king, but it affixed its characteristic seal to the charter. This circumstance indicates how much power it wielded in the State.

There were, doubtless, several other guilds and corporations functioning in both the periods, but very few of them find a mention in our records. The Vāgūlikas and Pāyaṭis, who donated fifty leaves for each bundle sold in the market in favour of a temple at Kārītalāi, were probably guilds of traders in betel-leaves.[3] The Kārītalāi inscription speaks of the *Deśi* or foreman of the guild of five kinds of spirituous liquors (*kashāya-pañchaka*).[4] These guilds and corporations had their own militia which could be called upon to serve the State when necessary.

There was a *maṇḍapikā* or market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed.[5] A voucher called *yugā* was issued for the small fee of half a *paura*, paid for permission to exhibit the articles for sale in the market.[6] It was valid for a day. There were markets (*āpaṇas*)[7] and shops (*vīthīs*)[8] where articles were offered for sale in stalls (*āvāras*).[9] Our records incidentally mention several articles which were brought and sold in the markets of towns and villages. They include, besides food-grains, areca-nuts, betel leaves, salt, pepper, and other commodities such as liquor, oil, grass and vegetables. Elephants and horses also were sold in the markets.[10] Traders and merchants were required to pay excise and octroi duties as well as a sales tax on the things sold in the market.

Our records mention different kinds of weights and measures. They varied from district to district.[11] One grant mentions the larger measure (*bṛihan-māna*),[12] implying thereby that there was a smaller measure also in vogue there. The standard land-measure was the *nivartana*. Several varieties of it are mentioned in ancient works.[13] The *nivartana*, current in the dominion of the Early Kalachuris, is described in the Ābhōṇa plates as *ubhaya-chatvāriṁśaka-nivartanin*, *i.e.*, measuring forty *daṇḍas* in length and breadth, or 1600 square *daṇḍas*.[14] It was, therefore, larger than the *nivartanas* mentioned in ancient works.

Sometimes land was measured in *halas*.[15] A *hala* signified as much land as could be

[1] No. 1, ll. 8-13.
[2] No. 120, ll. 4 ff.
[3] No. 42, l. 34. It is noteworthy that the inscription mentions the chief of the *Vāgūlikas*.
[4] *Ibid.*, l. 33.
[5] No. 45, l. 30.
[6] *Ibid.*, l. 31. See also p. 223, n. 6.
[7] No. 31, l. 35.
[8] No. 45, l. 31.
[9] No. 31, l. 35.
[10] No. 42, l. 33; No. 45, ll. 30-36.
[11] Cf. *tad-vishaya-mānīna* in No. 19, l. 10.
[12] No. 20, ll. 9-10.
[13] See below, p. 43, n. 6.
[14] No. 14, l. 18. With this compare पञ्चविंशतिर्दण्डैरुभयोस्तु निवर्तनम् in *SNS*. adhyāya I, v. 200.
[15] No. 90, l. v. 27.

ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. This is said to be equivalent to five acres. A third method of stating the intended extent of land was by mentioning the quantity of seed required for sowing it. The measures of capacity *khārī*,[1] *piṭaka*[2] and *prastha*[3] are mentioned in this connection. Other measures of the same kind were *khaṇḍī* or *khaṇḍikā*, *goṇī* and *ghaṭī*.[4] Of the weights used in that age, only one, *viz*., *bharaka*[5] is found mentioned. It was used for weighing ginger, areca-nuts, pepper etc.

The records do not shed much light on the vexed question of the ownership of land. We can draw some inferences from the conditions and descriptions of the gifts in copper-plate charters. In most cases the gifts were of entire villages in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. In such cases, what was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. The maxim of fallow land (*bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya*),[6] usually mentioned in land-grants to describe the gifts, signified full proprietary right, *i.e.*, a complete freedom from the payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It also transferred some other privileges usually claimed by the king, but it did not carry with it the right to oust all tenants. When fields and small plots of land were, however, donated, the case was different. The cultivators who were formerly in possession of the pieces of land are generally mentioned in such cases. The words signifying their possession used in early grants are *pratyaya*, *bhukta* and *satka*.[7] None of these signifies absolute ownership. Besides, it is clearly stated in all these grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others as he pleased. The previous cultivators of these lands were evidently temporary tenants who had no proprietary right to them. The fields were probably a part of the crown land in the particular villages. On the other hand, those fields which the cultivators owned absoutely were known as *kauṭumba-kshētra*. Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of the boundaries of the donated piece of land.[8] Such fields were evidently held by the particular families from generation to generation and could not, therefore, be taken away from them except for the non-payment of land-revenue *etc*.

The bulk of the population then, as now, lived in villages. The chief village of a *vishaya* was called *jyēshṭhikā-grāma*. Some of the villages had banks which received endowments and paid interest on them in perpetuity. The boundaries of the villages were properly marked. There used to be a village common and a pasture-land surrounding it for the grazing of the cattle.[9] Sometimes, pasture-lands were donated by private individuals. Their boundaries were clearly marked by erecting pillars with the image of the goddess Durgā carved on them.[10] Among other things which constituted the common property of the villagers were the tank which irrigated their fields, the jungle which supplied them

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[1] No. 42, l. 32.

[2] No. 19, l. 10.

[3] No. 20, l. 10.

[4] No. 42, ll. 31 and 33.

[5] No. 45, l. 31. The exact meaning of *bharaka* is uncertain. If derived from *bhṛi* to fill, it may signify a measure of capacity. Perhaps, the meaning of 'a weight' would suit the context better. Cf. *bhārā* (Marathi), meaning 'a load'.

[6] No. 7, l. 9; No. 11, l. 10. See also p. 21, n. 8.

[7] No. 2, l. 4; No. 3, l. 4; No. 4, ll. 4-5; No. 6, l. 2; No. 22, l. 20.

[8] No. 22, ll. 20 and 24.

[9] Cf. सवनतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः in No. 50, l. 39.

[10] No. 51, ll. 56 ff.

with fuel, and the temple where they assembled for prayers. These are mentioned in some grants in connection with the boundaries of the donated fields. The king was, no doubt, the owner of all marshy and barren land, woodland and jungles, pasture-lands, tanks and watering places. When he donated a village, he transferred his rights to the donee;[1] but in practice, the village folk used these in common. The king was also the owner of the mines of minerals and salt, of the mango and *mahuā* trees, and also of the treasure trove.[2] He had further the privileges of *ditya* and *vishṭi*.[3] The former probably signified the obligations of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess, and the latter, that of rendering occasional service free of charge. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as *prātibhēdikā*.[4] Besides, the villagers were required to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour.[5] Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose. The donated villages were free from all these obligations. They could also adjudicate their own law-suits and levy fines for the commission of the ten crimes (*daś-āparādhas*).[6] They could not also be entered by soldiers and policemen except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.

The towns were in a flourishing condition. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* Rājaśekhara ascribes the origin of Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris, to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Śiva.[7] The description suggests the great magnificence of the capital which justified such a fancy. It is borne out by numerous beautiful sculptures and extensive remains of buildings discovered at Tewar. Tummāṇa, the earlier capital of a branch of the same family in Chhattisgarh, is said to have been beautified by Ratnadēva I with magnificent buildings, lofty temples of gods and beautiful groves of mango trees. Ratnapura, the later capital founded by the same prince, is said to have resembled the city of Alakā.[8] The existing extensive ruins of buildings and temples and large tanks at both the places testify to the past splendour of the towns. Mallāla, Jājallanagara and Vikarṇapura were some of the other places in Dakshiṇa Kōsala, noted for their grandeur and prosperity.

As remarked in a private record at Mallār,[9] the country was well governed, it was free from the infestation of troubles, and the people were happy under the rule of the Kalachuris.

LITERATURE

We have very meagre information about the literature of the earlier period. The only reference to a literary work occurring in the earlier inscriptions is that noticed in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha.[10] His religious preceptor, who was an ascetic of the Śaiva sect, but whose full name has, unfortunately, not been preserved, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Harapāravatīya*. This work has not come down to us, but its title indicates that it treated of some incident in the life of Hara and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. This is

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[1] See, *e.g.*, No. 50, ll. 38-39.
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] No. 16, l. 34.
[4] *Loc. cit.*
[5] Some villages were exempted from these. See No. 32, ll. 33-34. See p. 156, n. 2.
[6] No. 21, l. 27; No. 22, l. 28. See also p. 89, n. 3.
[7] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act III, v. 38.
[8] No. 77, ll. 9-12.
[9] No. 97, ll. 9-10.
[10] No. 28, ll. 10-11.

one of the rare instances in which a member of an ascetic order is seen busying himself with the composition of a dramatic work.

We have comparatively more information about the literature of the later period. After the Kalachuris established themselves at the fort of Kālañjara, some of them took to literary activities. Māyurāja, whom Rājaśēkhara calls a Kalachuri poet,[1] wrote a Sanskrit play named *Udāttarāghava*. This play also is not extant, but some references to and extracts from it occur in several Sanskrit works.[2] As the name indicates, its theme was the life of Rāma. There are some incidents in Rāma's career, as described in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, which are open to criticism. Māyurāja seems to have altered or omitted them in order to present the hero as absolutely free from blemish. This object of the author is indicated also by the title of the play, *Udāttarāghava*, 'The Noble Rāghava'. From some references and extracts in later Sanskrit works, it appears that Māyurāja omitted the incident of *Vāli-vadha* (the killing of Vāli). The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that while Vāli and Sugrīva were engaged in a deadly combat, Rāma concealed himself behind some trees and discharged an arrow which fatally wounded Vāli.[3] The monkey chief reproached Rāma severely for this unprovoked wrong and the latter was hard put to it in justifying his action. Some earlier playwrights like Bhāsa[4] had followed Vālmīki[5] in stating Rāma's defence. Others like Bhavabhūti had given a different turn to the incident. Māyurāja seems to have cut the Gordian knot by omitting the incident altogether. In one more respect, Māyurāja is known to have deviated from the original story of Vālmīki.[6] He sends Lakshmaṇa first to kill the *māyāmṛiga* (pseudo-deer). A Rākshasa, who had disguised himself as a sage, plaintively beseeches Rāma to go to the rescue of his brother who was in danger. Rāma hesitates at first to leave Sītā alone in the hermitage, but ultimately departs to save Lakshmaṇa. In his absence, Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa. By this manipulation of the original story, Māyurāja has cleverly avoided the occasion for Sītā's unmerited reproach of Lakshmaṇa.[7] Judging by the available extracts,[8] Māyurāja seems to have adopted the Vaidarbhī *rīti* for the composition of his play. His style is lucid and charming, being unloaded with long compounds. Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* cites two verses of Māyurāja without referring them to the *Udāttarāghava*.[9] They describe Rāvaṇa and are in the Gauḍī style. That Māyurāja wrote also a *kāvya* is known from Hēmachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*.[10] Some of the verses cited in the anthologies may have been taken from that *kāvya*.

Another king of Kālañjara, who also probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty, was Bhīmaṭa. According to Rājaśēkhara's account,[11] he composed five plays, of which the

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[1] मायूराजसमो नाम्नो जज्ञे कलचुरिः कविः । *SM.*, p. 46.

[2] *Daśarūpaka*, II, 59; III, 24; IV, 13, 28; *Vakrōktijīvita* (ed. by S. K. De, 1928), pp. 225 and 244; Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. XIX; *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, pp. 66, 116, 194.

[3] Cf. यथा छद्मना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः । in the *Daśarūpaka*, III, 24.

[4] See Bhāsa's *Abhishēka*, I, 17-21.

[5] *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 17, 33 ff.

[6] *Daśarūpaka*, IV, 28.

[7] Bhattasvamin shows that the plot of the *Udāttarāghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracharita*. He, therefore, concludes that Māyurāja flourished later than Bhavabhūti and earlier than Rājaśēkhara, somewhere between 750 and 880 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 145.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 142-43.

[9] *SM.*, pp. 314, 318.

[10] *Kāvyānuśāsana* (ed. by R. C. Parekh), Vol. I, p. 457. Māyurāja inserted the word *dhairya* in the last verse of every canto.

[11] Cf. कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् । प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥ *SM.*, p. 46. Two Kalachuri princes named Bhīmaṭa are mentioned in the Kasia inscription (No. 73, ll. 17 and 21), but they flourished much later.

Svapnadaśānana was judged to be the best. Anthologies contain some verses of Bhīmaṭa, which appear to be of the *subhāshita* type.[1]

Another renowned author of the later period was Rājaśēkhara. In the prologues of his plays as well as in the stray verses collected in Sanskrit anthologies, Rājaśēkhara has given a considerable information about his ancestors who flourished in the Chēdi court. This Brāhmaṇa family hailed from Mahārāshṭra.[2] Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim (properly Vāśim) in the Akola District of Madhya Pradesh, was probably its original place of habitation.[3] This family bore the ancient name of Yāyāvara,[4] and was noted for its learning as well as poetic ability. Rājaśēkhara mentions, as his ancestors, Akālajalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja, all of whom distinguished themselves by their poetic composition.[5] Akālajalada, the great-grandfather of Rājaśēkhara, probably flourished in *circa* 850 A.C. He may have been a court-poet of Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-890 A.C.), whose glorious reign must have attracted learned men, poets and artists from far-off lands. *Akālajalada* was not the poet's proper name. It was a sobriquet which he earned by composing an interesting verse containing the word *akāla-jalada* (an unseasonable cloud).[6] According to Rājaśēkhara, his works were eagerly studied by later poets. Some of his verses were plagiarised by one Kādambarīrāma, who earned fame by inserting them in his play.[7]

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[1] *SM.*, p. 157.

[2] M. M. Ghosh has questioned the identification of this Mahārāshṭra with the modern country of that name on the ground that Rājaśēkhara has mentioned it as distinct from Vidarbha and Kuntala. See his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, p. lxvi. It may be noted that there were three Mahārāshṭras known in ancient times, comprising modern Northern Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshṭra). Rājaśekhara sometimes mentions Mahārāshṭra separately from Vidarbha and Kuntala (vide *KM.*, p. 93) and sometimes as including the latter two countries (vide *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act XI, v. 74 and 75). His other arguments that Rājaśēkhara does not mention Mahārāshṭra as the country of Prakrit, that he wrote in Śaurasēnī and that he has great praise for Pāñchāla, have little force; for, in the verse referred to, Rājaśēkhara is only quoting the opinion of others (vide *tad=uktam* in *KM.*, p. 51); if he wrote in Śaurasēnī, that was because he was then at the court of the Pratīhāras; and he has praised Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha also in as high terms. Ghosh comes to the strange conclusion that Rājaśekhara was not a native of Mahārāshṭra, though his ancestors might have come to Madhyadēśa from some place in Mahārāshṭra! His attention is drawn to the passage in the *KM.*, p. 10, which glorifies Vatsagulma in Vidarbha as the pleasure-resort of the god of love. See also the next note.

[3] Rājaśēkhara shows a special love for Vatsagulma. This city was formerly the prosperous capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It seems to have retained its importance down to the time of Rājaśēkhara; for, it gave its name to a particular style. In the *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājaśēkhara mentions *Vachchhōmī* (Sanskrit, Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with Māgadhī and Pāñchālī. The poet again mentions this place as situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha. The heroine of the *Karpūramañjarī* was a princess of Vachchhōma. In the *KM.* (p. 10), Rājaśēkhara states that the mythical Kāvyapurusha married Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. All these references show the poet's special admiration for the place. It may, therefore, have been his ancestral home.

[4] The Yāyāvaras are mentioned in the *MBH.*, Ādiparvan, adhyāya 11, v. 13, where the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explains the term as meaning 'a householder living for only one night in a village'. Dēvala divides householders into Śālīna and Yāyāvara. The latter did not accumulate wealth and did not earn their living by teaching, officiating as a priest or accepting gifts as the former did. *H. D. L.*, Vol. II, pp. 641 ff.

[5] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I, 13.

[6] The following verse is ascribed to him in the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*: शेके: कोटरशायिभिर्मृतमिव क्ष्मान्तर्गतं कच्छपैः पाठीनैः पृथुपङ्कपीठलुठनाद्यस्मिन्मुहुर्मूर्च्छितम् । तस्मिञ्छुष्कसरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टितं यत्राकुम्भनिमग्नवन्यकरिणां यूथैः पयः पीयते ॥

The verse appears to be of the *anyōkti* type, and suggests unexpected munificent gifts of a liberal donor which relieved a great distress.

[7] Cf. अकालजलदश्लोकैश्चित्रमात्मकृतैरिव । जातः कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ *SM.*, p. 46.

This Kādambarīrāma may be identical with Kādambarīrāmakrishṇa, the author of the *Aditikuṇḍalāharaṇa*, as suggested by J. B. Chaudhari. See *Padyavēṇī*, p. 83.

From a *subhāshita* of Rājaśēkhara, we learn that Surānanda was a contemporary of the Chēdi prince Raṇavigraha.[1] As shown before, Raṇavigraha was a *biruda* of Saṅkaragaṇa II, son of Kōkalla I, who flourished in *circa* 890-910 A.C.[2] This prince is probably identical with the poet Śaṅkaragaṇa, some of whose verses are included in the anthologies *Subhāshitāvali* and *Sūktimuktāvalī*.[3] One of them is also cited in Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[4] which lends colour to the identification. The poet Surānanda, patronised by Śaṅkaragaṇa, is described as an ornament of the Chēdi country. Unfortunately, none of his *kāvyas* has come down to us. The anthologies also do not contain any *subhāshitas* composed by him. About Tarala and Kavirāja, two other ancestors of Rājaśēkhara, we have no information. From a *subhāshita* of Rājaśēkhara we learn that Tarala's poetry was known for its excellent alliteration.[5]

About Rājaśēkhara himself, we know much more, thanks to his garrulity. His father was Durduka (or Duhika), who held the post of *Mahāmantrin* probably in the Chēdi court. His mother's name was Śīlavatī. His wife Avantisundarī was born in the Chauhāṇa lineage.[6] She was a learned lady. Her views on rhetorical matters are cited in Rājaśēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[7] In his early career Rājaśēkhara was attracted by the prosperous court of the Pratīhāras in Kanauj. Before he went there, he had written six *prabandhas* and earned the title of *Bālakavi*.[8] These juvenile compositions, not even known by their titles, have long been lost. At Kanauj he received a high honour and the title of *Kavirāja* from the illustrious Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla, who regarded him as his *guru*.[9] Rājaśēkhara composed there three plays—the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* during the reign of Mahēndrapāla, and the *Bālabhārata alias Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*[10] and the *Karpūramañjarī* during that of his son and successor Mahīpāla. The first two of these, to which he has prefixed his title *Bāla*, are in Sanskrit, and the third, which was staged at the instance of his wife Avantisundarī, is in Prakrit.[11]

During the reign of Mahīpāla, the power of the Pratīhāras declined owing to the invasion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, who advanced up to Kanauj and devastated the Imperial capital. Just about this time, Yuvarājadēva I of Tripurī rose to power. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and dealt a staggering blow to the Pratīhāra Empire during the closing years of Mahīpāla's reign. Rājaśēkhara then returned to Tripurī, where he composed the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and other works. This Sanskrit play was staged in the Kalachuri capital to celebrate the victory of Yuvarājadēva I over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the reigning Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV.[12] The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, which was planned to be a comprehensive work on poetics, has remained unfinished. This was evidently his last work, since it contains quotations from all his

[1] See above, p. lxxvi, n. 5.

[2] Above, p. lxxvi.

[3] *SA.*, vv. 1516 and 1965; *SM.*, p. 169.

[4] Nirṇayasāgar ed. (1934), pp. 464 and 725.

[5] Cf. यायावरकुलश्रेणेर्मुक्ताहारस्य मण्डनम् । सुवर्णबन्धरुचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ *SM.*, p. 47.

[6] *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

[7] *KM.*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

[8] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act I, v. 12.

[9] *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 9. According to Rājaśēkhara, a *Kavirāja* is higher than a *Mahākavi*. He is proficient in several languages, various kinds of poetic compositions and different sentiments.

[10] This play has only two acts. The author did not probably complete it. As its *maṅgala-ślōka* is cited in the *KM.*, it was plainly not the last work of the poet.

[11] *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

[12] See above, p. lxxix.

Sanskrit plays.[1] Two other works—the *Haravijaya*, a *kāvya*, and the *Bhuvanakōsha*, a work on general geography—are known only from quotations.

As the author of a Rāma-play, Rājaśēkhara traces his literary pedigree from the Ādikavi Vālmīki. As a matter of fact, his enormous plays are more of the epic than of the dramatic type. He is conscious of this defect and asks the critic to *read* them if they contain any literary qualities. In the *Karpūramañjarī* also, he defines *kāvya* as 'a beauty of expression'.[2] Rājaśēkhara has shown some inventive power, but he has little skill in the arrangement of incidents and still less in characterisation. Some of the devices he employs such as the introduction, on the stage, of marionettes with parrots in their mouths are very crude.[3] Above all, he knows no restraint, but goes on piling verse on verse, regardless of monotony and hindrance to action. It cannot, however, be denied that he has a considerable felicity of expression. The ease with which he handles long metres like the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and the *Sragdharā* is truly remarkable. He had an inexhaustible stock of legends about old writers and their works. It cannot be gainsaid that several Sanskrit authors would have remained unknown to us, if he had not written his commemorative verses about them. His *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* is a veritable mine of information on a variety of subjects.

Rājaśēkhara's works continued to be studied in the Chēdi country and have considerably influenced the composition of later poets of the Chēdi court.[4] Some of them imitated his mannerisms.[5] Again, some of his verses with suitable modifications are found inserted in Kalachuri inscriptions.

The reign of the illustrious king Karṇa saw a rare outburst of poetic activity. Several great poets of the age flocked to his court. According to a well-known *subhāshita*,[6] Karṇa's court-poet was Vidyāpati. Several Sanskrit verses of this poet, in some of which he praises Karṇa in a clever manner,[7] are cited in Sanskrit anthologies. Another poet of Karṇa's court was Gaṅgādhara. From the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* we learn that he was challenged and defeated, evidently in a poetic contest, by the celebrated Kāshmīrian poet Bilhaṇa, who visited Karṇa's court at Banaras in the course of his itineracy.[8] While at Banaras, Bilhaṇa delighted the great king of Ḍāhala with his sweet poetry.[9] He also composed a *kāvya* in glorification of Rāma on the occasion of his visit to Ayōdhyā.[10] That work also is unfortunately not extant.

Other poets of Karṇa's court were Vallaṇa (or Vallana), Karpūra and Nāchirāja. Vallaṇa was a great poet. Several *subhāshitas* composed by him are found in old antho-

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[1] For the chronological order of Rājaśēkhara's works, see my article in the *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

[2] Cf. उत्तिविसेसो कव्वं in the *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 7.

[3] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act V, v. 5.

[4] For instance, the hemistich, यदेतद्ब्रह्मेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः, occurring in the beginning of several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur (vide Nos. 76, 83, 86 *etc.*), is taken from the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act I, v. 22. Similarly the verse यः सत्यस्य निधिः श्रियां च शरणिः *etc.* in the Banaras plates of Karṇa (No. 48, ll. 19-20) is taken from the *Bālabhārata*, Act I, v. 62.

[5] Below, p. 208.

[6] Cf. कर्णोऽपि विद्यापतेः। *SA.*, v. 186. See also *PCH.*, p. 30.

[7] Cf. (i) त्वं हित्वापि पदानि गच्छसि महीमुल्लङ्घ्य यान्ति द्विषस्त्वं बाणान्वद पञ्च मुञ्चसि बहुन्यस्यापि मुञ्चन्ति ते। ते वेश्मोपरतस्त्वमास्मि निवसन्ता भास्वतीन्दर्ग पतिस्ते किम्वास्तव वर्ण्यते कथमिति श्रीकर्ण निर्णीयताम् ॥ विद्यापतेः। *SKM.*, III, 13, 4

(ii) कर्ण चक्षुरभीगणस्तव पितुस्तातः पिता ते पुनः चक्रस्याधारकुमारमण्यजनगणस्तं कातरत्वेन ह्रः। वेदो वा जाह्नवीति पश्यति जगतस्त्वं विवेक्तुं पुनः प्रागल्भ्यं प्रकथन्ति यत्तदपि च प्रज्ञावनाः साधवः ॥ विद्यापतेः। *Ibid.*, III, 54, 2.

[8] *VDC.*, XVIII, 95.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, v. 93.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, v. 94.

logies like the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*. In one of these, he praises Karṇa.[1] The other two poets are known from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.[2] Nāchirāja also was a renowned poet. In a tribute which the poet Karpūra pays to him, he is said to be the only support of Bhāratī after the death of Muñja and Bhōja, the famous poet-kings of Dhārā.[3] Both Karpūra[4] and Nāchirāja[5] have left us beautiful verses in praise of Karṇa.

It seems that there were competitions in *samasyāpūraṇa* (completion of incomplete verses) at the court of Karṇa. Those who completed the *samasyās* successfully were liberally rewarded. Several years ago, Sir G. A. Grierson published, under the heading 'Curiosities of Indian Literature', a strange story about 'King Ḍahāriā Karṇa and the Paṇḍit's promise.'[6] In this story a Paṇḍit composes extempore five verses—one about the queen of Karṇa Ḍahāriā, who, being attracted by his melody, goes to him at dead of night, and four more which he recites next day before the king. The latter being pleased with them makes up his mind to give him his kingdom in all the four directions. He even allows the Paṇḍit to take him as a prisoner before his mother in fulfilment of a promise made to her. The story is absurd as it stands, but some of the stanzas mentioned in it may have been recited at Karṇa's court. Two of them, which end in *kṛitakaṁ manyē bhayaṁ yōshitām*, are of the *samasyāpūraṇa* type.[7] They specifically refer to Karṇa and describe his fame as roaming about fearlessly. They were evidently composed by different poets. This is also shown by the remark *kayōr=api* 'of some two poets', with which they are cited in the *Subhashitāvali*. The first of them, which does not explicitly refer to the king's fame, but apparently describes a lady coming out of the king's seraglio in pitchy darkness, seems to have given rise to the fantastic story mentioned above.

Karṇa gave a liberal patronage to Prakrit poets also. Some Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhraṁśa verses, describing the king and his victories, occur in the *Prākṛita Paiṅgala*.[8] They were first brought to notice by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*.[9] Unfortunately the authors of these verses are not named in the commentaries. Again, Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakaṇḍachariu*, tells us that he delighted the mind of the king Karṇa, who was probably none other than the homonymous Kalachuri king.[10]

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[1] लक्ष्मीसद्मसरोजरेणुसुहृदः सेवावनम्रीभवद्भूमीपालकिरीटरत्नकिरणज्योत्स्नानदीवालुकाः ।
जीयासुः कलिकाल कर्णनृपते दरिद्रपदाक्दरव्यावूर्णद्दूणवृन्दलङ्घनमुखस्त्वत्पादयोः पांशवः ॥
वल्लणस्य । *SKM.*, III, 10, 2.

[2] *PCH.*, p. 50.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] मुखे हारावाप्तिर्नयनयुगले कङ्कणभरो नितम्बे पत्राली सतिलकमभूत्पाणियुगलम् । अरण्ये श्रीकर्ण त्वदरियुवतीनां विधिवशादपूर्वोऽयं भूषाविधिरहह जातः किमधुना ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[5] कूले: कोटर एष कैटभरिपुर्यस्ते त्रिलोकीमिमामन्तर्भूरिभरं बिभर्ति तमपि प्रीतो भुजङ्गाधिपः ।
श्रीकण्ठस्य स कण्ठसूत्रमभवद्देव त्वया तं हृदा बिभ्राणेन परेषु विक्रमकथा श्रीकर्ण निर्णाशिता ॥ *SM.*, Introd., p. 39.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

[7] (i) उन्नादाम्बुदवर्धितान्धतमसप्रभ्रष्टदिङ्मण्डले यामे यामिकजाग्रदुग्रसुभटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले ।
कर्णस्यारिमहार्णवाम्बुवडवावह्नेर्यदन्तःपुरादायातासि तदम्बुजाक्षि कृतकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम् ॥
(ii) उद्यद्ग्राहमुदन्वति जलमतिकामत्यनालम्बिनि व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिभृतां मूर्धानमारोहति ।
व्याप्तं याति विषाकुलैरहिकुलैः पातालमेकाकिनी कीर्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम् ॥

[8] *Prākṛita Paiṅgala* (Bibliotheca Indica Series), I, 69, 96, 126 and 185.

[9] *C. W. B.*, Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

[10] Above, p. cli.

The Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kōsala also patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit poets.[1] One of them, Nārāyaṇa who composed the Pujāripāli stone inscription of Gōpāladēva, tells us that he composed a *kāvya* named *Rāmābhyudaya*, which greatly delighted the Goddess of speech. Several Sanskrit works of this name, *kāvyas* as well as *nāṭakas*, are known, and some of them have come down to us; but this work of Nārāyaṇa seems to be different from all of them.[2]

Some of the authors of the *praśastis* included here were poets of no mean order. Dhāṁsaṭa, the author of the Chandrēhē inscription,[3] Śrīnivāsa who composed the eulogy of the first three kings in the Bilhāri inscription,[4] the unknown author of the fragmentary Rewa inscription of Karṇa,[5] Dēvapāṇi, the author of the Akaltarā inscription,[6] and Kāśala who composed the Kōni inscription,[7] to name only a few, had a considerable poetic talent. They have composed their respective *praśastis* in an ornate *kāvya* style, embellishing them with numerous *arthālaṅkāras*. As the power and patronage of the Kalachuri courts declined, they ceased to attract poets of eminence. Many of the later inscriptions in this Volume are consequently written in a barbarous style.

COINS

The Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna records the investment of certain amounts of Kārshāpaṇas with the guilds of Gōvardhana, but no coins of that king or his descendants have come down to us. Perhaps the Ābhīras, like some other dynasties[8] of ancient times, did not value highly the prerogative of minting coins for currency in their own dominion, and were content to use the issues of other contemporary or past kings. This is also indicated by the find of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins at Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State. The hoard contained several coins, but those of the following Kshatrapas only could be recovered—Vijayasēna (240-250 A.C.), Dāmajada-śrī (250-255 A.C.), Rudrasēna II (255-277 A.C.), Viśvasiṁha (277-279 A.C.), Bhartṛidāman (279-295 A.C.) and Viśvasēna (295-305 A.C.). It will be noticed that the last five of these Kshatrapas were contemporaries of the Ābhīras. The Karhad hoard, therefore, plainly indicates that the Kshatrapa silver coins were current in Maharashtra and probably also in Gujarat and Konkan, during the rule of the Ābhīras. The silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi, which were of similar fabric and weight,[9] may also have continued in circulation. The potin coins struck by the Sātavāhanas perhaps supplemented this silver coinage, though no finds of them have yet been reported from these parts of the country.[10]

That these silver coins were called *kārshāpaṇas* appears clear from the Nasik cave

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[1] An inscription composed wholly in Prakrit was put up in the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura. It is much abraded and has not yet been deciphered.

[2] Below, pp. 589 ff.

[3] No. 44, ll. 24-25.

[4] No. 45, l. 30.

[5] No. 51, l. 30.

[6] No. 84, ll. 18-19.

[7] No. 90, ll. 26-27.

[8] The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as the Harischandrīyas seem to have used the *rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja, who had flourished more than a century before. See No. 31, ll. 31 ff, and No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

[9] *C. A. D.*, p. 45, pl. VII.

[10] They were current in Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.

inscription of Iśvarasēna. According to Manu,[1] the *kārshāpaṇa* was a copper coin, but some other Sanskrit and Pāli works[2] leave no doubt that it was a denomination of silver coins also. Prof. Rapson has shown that the references to gifts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas must be understood as referring to the silver coins of those dynasties which circulated in Maharashtra and Konkan. The Kārshāpaṇas referred to in the Nasik inscription of Iśvarasēna must, therefore, have been silver coins, probably of the Western Kshatrapas. These coins have the head of the Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa with the date in the Saka era on the obverse, and the chaitya (or hill), the sun and the crescent with a legend along the edge inside a circle of dots on the reverse. Their average weight is about 34 grains. These silver coins, though called *kārshāpaṇas*, were not, therefore, struck to the standard weight of 32 *ratis* mentioned in Sanskrit works.[3] They were evidently copied from the hemidrachmas of Apollodotus and Menander, which, according to the *Periplus*,[4] were current in Barygaza (modern Broach).

The Coins of the Traikūṭakas

The Traikūṭakas, who succeeded the Ābhīras in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had their own silver coinage. The first notice of this coinage can be traced back to 1862. In that year Mr. Justice Newton described, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 11 ff., a coin of Dahrasēna which had been found at Karhad. He noticed on it the title *Mahārāja* of both Dahrasēna and his father Indradatta, but could not read the names of these princes completely as the letters were only partially preserved. Thereafter in 1886, in an article entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' published in the *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, p. 222, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji described a coin of this dynasty which he had obtained from Daman in Gujarat.[5] He deciphered the legend on it as *Mahārāj-Endravarmma-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāta-Rudragaṇa*.[6] He thought that Rudragaṇa was the first king after the revival of the Traikūṭaka power on the downfall of the Kshatrapas. Afterwards in 1905, Prof. Rapson showed that the correct reading of the legend on this coin and on those acquired by the British Museum was *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*. He identified this Dahrasēna with the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna, whose Pārḍī plates dated in the (Kalachuri) year 207 had already been published.[7] Prof. Rapson also described another silver coin of this dynasty which had been acquired by the British Museum in 1904 from the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha[8]. He correctly read the legend on it as *Mahāraja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna* and thus showed that it was issued by the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna, the son of Dahrasēna.

In 1905 a hoard of Traikūṭaka coins was discovered at Kāzad in the Indāpur *tālukā* of the Poona district. Only 359 coins were recovered from it. They were examined by Rev. H. R. Scott, who published an account of them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. Of these, 355 coins were of Dahrasēna. On as

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[1] *MSM.*, adhyāya VIII, v.136.

[2] Cf. *Kārshāpaṇā dakshiṇasyāṁ diśi raupyaḥ pravartatē*, Nārada cited in the *Vāchaspatyam*. See also *C. A. D.*, Introd., pp. clxxix ff., and D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 76 ff.

[3] Cf. *MSM.*, adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

[5] A hoard of 500 such coins was discovered in 1887.

[6] In a foot-note Bhagvanlal admitted the possibility of the reading *-Jendradanna* or *-datta*.

[7] *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 801 ff.

[8] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff.

many as 350 of them the name of the Traikūṭaka king appeared as Dahragaṇa, and only on three, as Dahrasēna. Rev. Scott thought that Dahrasēna started his career as a feudatory of the Western Kshatrapas whose names usually ended in *sēna*, and later on, when he emancipated himself from the yoke of the Kshatrapas, he altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gaṇa*. The Kāzad hoard contained four coins of Vyāghrasēna also, but the royal name on all of them appeared as Vyāghragaṇa.

In a note which Mr. A. M. T. Jackson appended to Rev. Scott's article, he announced that he had obtained a Traikūṭaka copper-plate grant from Surat, in which the king's name was clearly given as Vyāghrasēna.

Finally, in the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, (p. clxiii) published in 1908 Prof. Rapson admitted that *gana* (perhaps intended for *gaṇa*) would be a more natural reading than *sēna* on most of the known coins of Dahrasēna and on all of those of Vyāghrasēna, but he contended that what appeared as *ga* might quite possibly be a conventionalised form of *sa*. This view seems to be the correct one in view of the undoubted readings *Dahrasēna* and *Vyāghrasēna* of the royal names in the Pārḍi and the Surat plates respectively. If Dahrasēna had purposely changed his name to Dahragaṇa, he would not have named his son Vyāghrasēna.

A Coin of Dahrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 1. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—34.4 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the left, and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots—

Mahārāj-Andradatta-putra-parama-vashṇava-śra-Māhārāja-Dahra[sana] representing *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna.*

On some coins the sun appears to the right of the chaitya.

A Coin of Vyāghrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 2. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—32 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the right and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots, *viz.*, *Mahārāja-Dahra[sana]-putra-paramavashṇava-śra-Mahārāja-Vyāghra [sana]*, representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna.*

As stated before, these coins were found in Southern Gujarat, and the Poona and Satara Districts of the Bombay State. They were evidently imitated from the Kshatrapa coins which had been current in Maharashtra and Gujarat during the rule of the Ābhīras. We have no means of knowing their denomination, as they are nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Perhaps, like Kshatrapa coins, they also were known as *kārshāpaṇas*.

The Coins of the Kalachuris.

The Coins of Kṛishṇarāja.

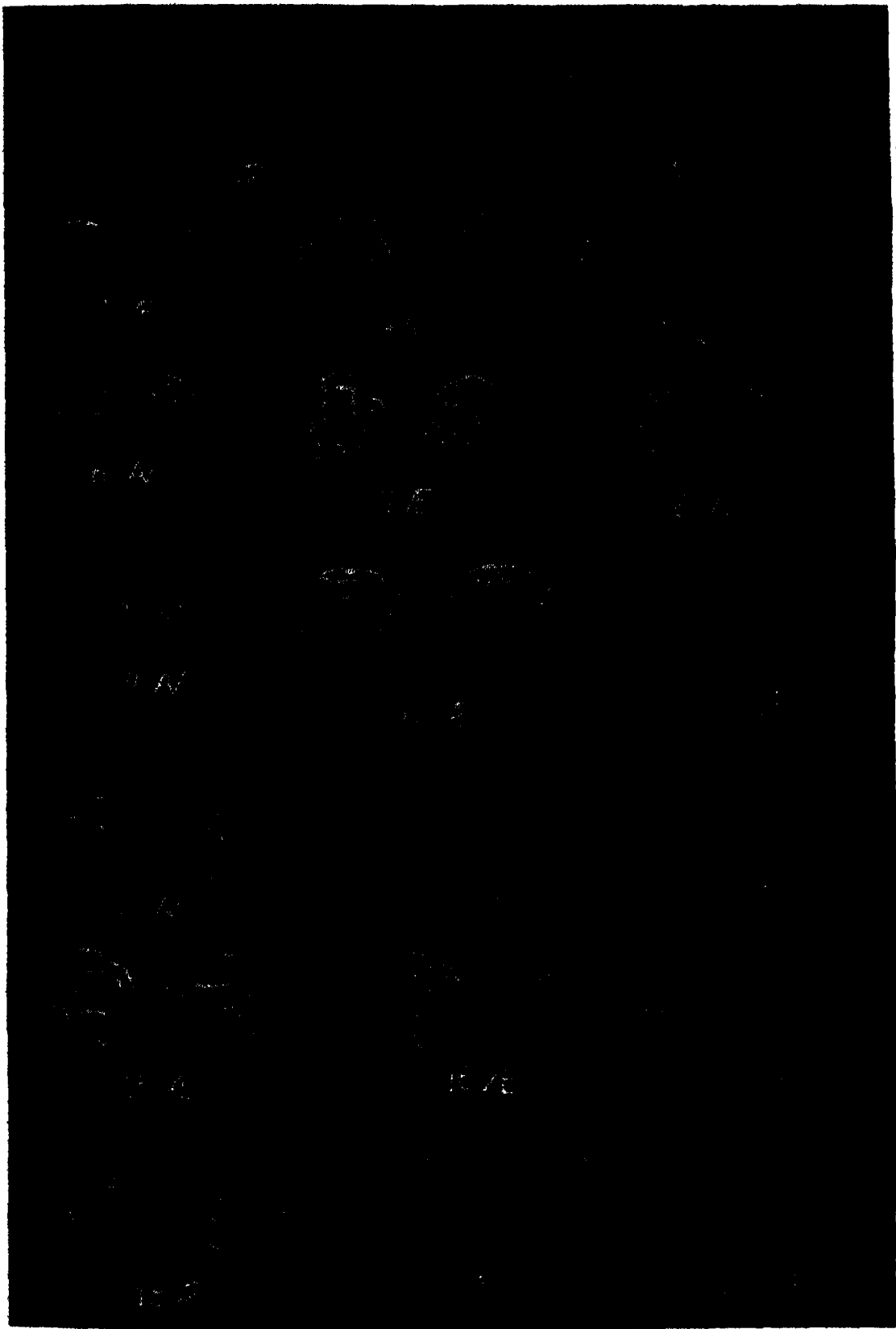
The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Dēvlānā in the Bāglāṇ *tāluka* of the Nasik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins, which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. He published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

COINS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS AND THE KALACHURIS.

(From a Photograph)

B. CH. CHHABRA. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

on the reverse as *Rājā Parama Mahēśvara Mānasa Nṛipa-Deva Dhyāna-śrī-kasa (?)*, and interpreted it as 'Mānasa king, the great devotee of Mahēśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God'. He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth century A. C.

The coins were next considered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 29 ff. He read the legend on them as *Paramamāhēśvara-Mahāditya-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇa Rājā*. He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word *Mahākshatra* in place of *Mahāditya*, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhau Daji's view that the coins belonged to about the end of the fourth century A.C., but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa whom he placed in the period 375-400 A.C.

In 1885 Dr. Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja from Cunningham's collection in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIV, p. 68. He for the first time read the legend correctly as *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*, which means 'the glorious Kṛishṇarāja, who is a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahēśvara (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents.' In the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (1896), Fleet suggested that in all probability the Dēvlānā coins were coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the Kalachuri king, who was the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

Prof. Rapson also discussed these coins in his *Indian coins* (1897), p. 27, Pl. IV, No. 17. He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māhēśvara-mahādēvyōḥ pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. As regards the date 375-400 A.C. proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛishṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which were imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the western provinces. For the same reason he could not also assign them to Kṛishṇarāja Rāshṭrakūṭa, c. 756 A.C. Rapson was, however, unable to put forward any conjecture about the identification of this Kṛishṇarāja.

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja. He supported Fleet's view that this Kṛishṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. As stated before, this Kṛishṇarāja flourished from *circa* 550 A.C. to 575 A.C.

Pl. A, No. 3. AR. Size in diameter—.45". Wt.—29 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend *Parama-mahaśvara-mata-patṛi-pad-anudhyata-śra-Kṛishṇaraja* representing *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right.

These coins of Kṛishṇarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas, which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma. Their fabric is also similar. But while the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins have the symbols of a Chaitya (or a hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛishṇarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta, the figure of a couchant bull (Siva's Nandī) facing right, in the centre of the reverse side. The coins of Skandagupta were evidently in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris before the rise of Kṛishṇarāja.

In the legend on his coins Kṛishṇarāja, like Skandagupta, refers to his religious faith. He calls himself *paramamāhēśvara*, 'a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara'. He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents, the like of which is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics.

contemporary of Yaśaḥkarṇa, mentions *kumara-gadiāṇaka*[1] which shows that the *gadyāṇakas*, were current in the north as they were in the south.[2] According to the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya (I, 3), a *gadyāṇaka* weighed 48 *ratis*. The large gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas weigh from 59 to 68 grains. They may be taken to be *gadyāṇakas*, making allowance for the variation in the weight of the *ratis* and for the usual deviation from the standard type. The large gold coins of Gāṅgēya which were the proto-type of the Gāhaḍavāla coinage seem, therefore, to have been known also as *gadyāṇakas*.[3]

Smaller denominations of half, quarter and one-eighth *ṭanka* (or *gadyāṇaka*), struck by Gāṅgēya, are also known. The half-*ṭaṅka* was probably known as *dharaṇa*.[4] Whether the lower denominations had any special names is not known.

Gāṅgēya's gold *ṭaṅkas* are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some have been found in Madhya Pradesh also.[5] Of the lower denominations the quarter-*ṭaṅka* is sometimes found, but the half-*ṭaṅka* and one-eighth *ṭaṅka* described by Cunningham are believed to be rare.[6] Silver coins were called *drammas* as they were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic *drachma* or 67.5 grains, though they rarely reach that standard. The silver coins of Gāṅgēya are very rare. Vincent Smith says that all pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were perhaps regarded officially as gold.[7] The Bēsāni stone inscription of K. 958 mentions certain contributions in *drammas*.[8] From the Sīyaḍōṇī inscription we learn that a quarter-*dramma* was known as *pañchīyaka-dramma*, because it was equal in value to five *viṁśōpakas*.[9] In the same inscription a half-*dramma* is called *drammārdha* and a three-quarter dramma *dramma-tri-bhāga*. Copper coins were known as *paṇas*. This name also is not noticed in the records edited here, but the Kāman stone inscription mentions *drammas* and *paṇas*, of which the former were of silver and the latter of copper.[10] The standard weight of the *paṇa* was a *karsha* or 80 *raktikās* (146.4 grains), but the recorded copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva do not weigh more than 60 grains. Perhaps they were half-*paṇas*. The lower denominations of silver *drammas* and copper *paṇas* are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement, No. XVII (*J.A.S.B.* for 1912, p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gāṅgēyadēva which had been found in the village Isurpur in *tahsil* Rehli of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is, therefore, suggested that they were struck by Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. Except for these, no coins struck by Gāṅgēya's successors are known.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 305.

[2] The Khārepāṭan plates of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja mention the levy of gold *gadiyāṇas* on ships coming from foreign countries. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

[3] According to an interpolated verse in the Līlāvatī a *ṭaṅka* was equal to ¾ *gadyāṇaka*, *i.e.*, was 63 grains in weight.

[4] According to the *Līlāvatī*, two *dharaṇas* make one *gadyāṇaka*. Gold *dharaṇas* also are mentioned in the Khārepāṭan plates of Raṭṭarāja. *Loc. cit.*

[5] The legend on these coins found in Madhya Pradesh was read as *Śrīmad-Udayadēva* by R. D. Banerji, who ascribed the coins to the Paramāra Udayāditya. See *J. A. S. B.* for 1920, p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of *Gāṅgēyadēva*.

[6] Cunningham has described one gold coin of Gāṅgeya weighing 7 grains, and V. Smith another which weighs only 5.6 grains.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, p. 306.

[8] No. 71, ll. 2. ff.

[9] The Sīyaḍōṇī inscription lays down in line 37 a cess of a quarter-*Ādivarāha-dramma* and then in the next line expresses the same cess as *paṁ dra* 1, *i.e.*, one *pañchīyaka-dramma*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 333.

As stated before, the coins of Kṛishṇarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after the time of Kṛishṇarāja; for, they are mentioned in the Anjanēri plates dated K. 461 (710-11 A.C.) of Bhōgaśakti. They were, therefore, in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Kṛishṇarāja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them; for, the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

As stated before, the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Kṛishṇarāja were called *kārshāpaṇas.* Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *rūpaka.* The Anjanēri plates show that the coins of Kṛishṇarāja, which were then in general circulation were called *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas,* evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.

The Coins of Gāṅgēyadēva

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No. 1, facing page 668 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. IV (1835). Prinsep, who published the coin, read the legend on the obverse as *Śrīmad-Jādjēyadēva,* and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in the hands'. The legend was correctly read as *Śrīmad-Gāṅgēyadēva* by E. Thomas[1] in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

In his *Archæological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. X (1880), p. 21 and *Coins of Mediæval India* (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Pārvatī and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyadēva, mentioned by Albērūnī as the contemporary ruler of Ḍāhala. The coins were next described by Rapson in his *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 33, and by Vincent Smith, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LXVI (1897) pp. 305-6, and then in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (1906), pp. 251 ff.

Pl. A, No. 4. AV. Size in diameter—.7″ Wt.–61 grs.

Obverse—Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines (1) [*Śrī-mad*]-*G*[*ā*]-(2) *ṅgēyadē*-(3) [*va*].

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots the figure of four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged, with lotuses in her two upper hands.[2]

Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals: gold, silver and copper. Gold coins generally weigh 61 or 62 grains, but Dr. V. S. Agrawala informs me that the top weight of Gāṅgēya's gold coin in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. Gold coins were called *ṭaṅkas.* The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha mentions *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (or rather Bhagavatī, *i.e.,* Lakshmī[3]). They were probably the gold coins of Gāṅgēya. Another term denoting gold coins which seems to have been current in that period, though it does not occur in any record edited here, was *gadyāṇaka.* The Chandrāvatī plate dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.) of the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva, who was a

[1] See his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities,* p. 291.

[2] The Kalachuri kings were no doubt Śaivas, but the device on the seals of their copper-plate grants is a figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. The lotuses in the hands of the female deity on the coins of Gāṅgēya plainly indicate that she was intended to represent Lakshmī.

[3] No. 67, ll. 20-21.

The Lakshmī type introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandēllas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and the Tōmars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See, for instance, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmī as on the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. Allan ascribes it to Śrī-Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.C.).

The Coins of the Kalachuris of South Kosala

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 654 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (1836). It was a copper coin of Pṛithvīdēva from the collection of Cunningham. It had the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god[1] crushing a demon' on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs 'in the Dihli list as having reigned at Lahore in A.D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins[2] was next discovered in 1892 in the former State of Sāraṅgarh, and some time later, three coins[3] of the same type were found in the bed of the river Āng in the State of Paṭnā. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jājalladēva, Pṛithvīdēva and Ratnadēva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanumān, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As more than one king bore each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdēva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediæval India* (1894), pp. 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins[4] of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. He identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson, who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant.[5] In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh. The largest of them was of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the *tahsil* and District of Bilaspur. It contained the coins of both the large and the small size of all the three kings together with

[1] This god is of course Hanumān, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

[2] This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jājalladēva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadēva, and one coin (large size) of Pṛithvīdēva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains, and those of the small size about 15 grains.

[3] All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladēva.

[4] In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in *C. M. I.*, Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect; for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were, therefore, identical with the coins discovered in 1892, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

[5] *C. M. I.*, pp. 75-76, n. 45.

two coins of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra.[1] In nearly all the hoards of gold coins discovered so far, the coins of Pṛithvīdēva are seen to preponderate, which seems to indicate that he was the last of the three kings.

Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, *viz*., Pratāpamalla, have been discovered at several places in Chhattisgarh. The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākōshal Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

The Coins of Jājalladēva I.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-diameter in inches	Wt. in grains	Obverse	Reverse
5	AV.	.8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a circle of dots (1) *Śrīmaj-J*[*ā*]-(2) *jalladē*-(3) *va*.	Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below.
6	AV.	.47	15½	Legend as above (1) *Śrī-maj-J*[*ā*] (2) *jalladē*-.	As above.
7	AE.	.7	43½	Legend as above (1) *Śrī-maj-J*[*ā*] (2) [*ja**] [*lladē*-].	Two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon.

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of the gold coins there has been a great divergence of opinion. Hoernle thought at first that like the figure on the copper coin of Pṛithvīdēva which had been published before, the figure on the gold coins also was that of Hanumān. But on none of the gold coins examined by me does the figure appear like that of Hanumān. Hoernle himself changed his opinion later on and took the figure to be that of an elephant, a bull, a horse or a lion. As stated before, Rapson thought it might be that of a rampant lion. Vincent Smith has followed Rapson's view.

The figure on these coins is indeed crudely executed, and hence it has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. A close examination of coin No. 5 shows that its reverse has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised, facing right and jumping on an elephant which lies prostrate below.[2]

On the copper coins, the figure of Hanumān is, of course, quite clear. In the coin figured in Pl. A, No. 7, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left, on whom he must be trampling, is cut out on this coin.

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[1] Twenty-seven coins were discovered in the former State of Sonpur, some of which have been published in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

[2] The device was correctly interpreted for the first time by Mr. B. N. Nath in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff. His view that this coinage was first introduced by Ratnadēva II does not, however, appear to be correct; for, it would relegate all coins with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladēva* to Jājalladēva II. This is precluded by the palæographic evidence detailed below.

The Coins of Ratnadēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
8	AV	.7	62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) *Śrīmad-Ra-* (2) *tnadēva.*	Lion to right attacking an elephant.
9	AV	.45	15½ „	As above.	As above.
10	AE	.9	100 „	As above.	Lion to right, with tail upraised.
11	AE	.6	23½ „	As above:(1) [*Śrī*] *mad-Ra-* (2) [*tna**]*dēva.*	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion ?).

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanumān device. The seal of the Pāragaon plates of this king (No. 122) has a sheathed dagger as on some of his copper coins.

The Coins of Pṛithvīdēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12	AV	.77	61 grs.	Two-line Nagarī legend: (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi-*(2)*thvīdēva.*	Lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below.
13	AV	.5	15 „	As above: (1) *Śrīmat-*[*Pṛi*]-(2)[*th*]*vīdē* [*va**].	As above.
14	AR	.35	6 „	As above: (1) *Śrīmat-*[*Pṛi*]-(2) [*thvīdē*] [*va**].	Some shapeless objects perhaps representing a lion.
15	AE	.85	99½ „	As above: (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi-* (2) *thvīdē*[*va*].	Four-armed Hanumān to left. He carries a mace in his upper left hand and something (a hill ?) in his upper right hand. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on right (cut out) and the other on left, whom he tramples under his right foot.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
16	AE	.75	68 grs.	As above (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi-* (2) [*thvī*]*dē*[*va*].	Hanumān to right, with a demon on left.
17	AE	.85	99½ „	As above (1) *Śrīmat-*[*Pṛi*]- (2) *thvīdē*[*va*].	Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right.
18	AE	.8	73 „	As above (1) *Śrīmat-*[*Pṛi*]- (2) *thvīdē*[*va*].	Lion with tail raised to right.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known, but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth *dramma* pieces of Gāṅgēyadēva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the lion and Hanumān (facing right or left).

The Coins of Pratāpamalla.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
19	AE	.8	38 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) [*Śrī*]*mat-Pra-* (2)*tā-pama-*(3) [*lla*]*dēva.*	Lion to left, looking backward.
20	AE	.75	29 „	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) *Śrīmat-Pra-*(2)*tāpa-ma-*(3)[*lla*]*dēva*, with a sheathed dagger below.	Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion.

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Peṇḍrābandh plates.[1] The seal of these plates has a sheathed dagger below the legend as on some coins of this king.

As the name Ratnadēva is repeated thrice and the names Pṛithvīdēva and Jājalladēva twice in the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the Sāraṅgarh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and of Pṛithvīdēva II,[2] but he gave no reason to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Pṛithvīdēva I, Jājalladēva I and Ratnadēva II.[3] Vincent

[1] No. 101.
[2] *P. A. S. B.* for 1898, p. 93.
[3] *C. M. I.*, p. 76.

Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Pṛithvīdēva II, Jājalladēva II and Ratnadēva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.[1] No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr. Allan has recently pointed out[2] that in view of the probability that Pṛithvīdēva I was still a feudatory[3] and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladēva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Pṛithvīdēva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladēva I and II and Ratnadēva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal *ś* in the legends on these coins. On the gold coins of Jājalladēva the left member of this letter is either joined to the vertical on the right, or resembles the English letter S, which shows that this prince must be identified with Jājalladēva I.[4] There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jājalladēva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the neighbouring territories, *viz.*, South Kōsala, Andhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, paid him annual tributes, and that as he was valiant, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chēdi, Kānyakubja and Jējābhuktika.[5] Jājalladēva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandēlla king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jējābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandēlla coinage begins in the reign of Kīrtivarman (*circa* 1060-1100 A.C.). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshaṇavarman, the son and successor of Kīrtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jājalladēva. Sallakshaṇavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet, which is figured as No. 16 in Plate VIII of his *Coins of Mediæval India.* It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing right on the reverse. The Hanumān type was apparently evolved in the Chandēlla kingdom[6] where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god in a stone inscription, dated in the Harsha year 316 (922 A.C.)[7] This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation[8] by Jājalladēva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandēlla king Sallakshaṇavarman.

The type 'Lion attacking an elephant' seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladēva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king. The Ratanpur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimiḍi which lay in the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. The latter were known as *Gajapatis* or *Gajādhīśas*, 'lords of elephants'. Jājalladēva's victory over the Gaṅga king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below.

Some coins of debased gold with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladēva* may have been struck by Jājalladēva II, whose reign does not appear to have been very prosperous.

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[1] *I. M. C.*, pp. 254-55, Pl. XXVI.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

[3] In his Amōdā plates dated K. 831, (No. 76, l. 25), Pṛithvīdēva I describes himself as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, which indicates his feudatory rank.

[4] This form of *ś* is no longer seen in grants of Jājallādēva II. See the facsimile of No. 99.

[5] No. 77, ll. 22-23.

[6] The Hanumān type was evidently suggested by the Ādivarāha type used by Bhōja I of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty.

[7] This date was read by Cunningham as *Samvat* 940, and by Kielhorn as *Saṁvat* 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as *Saṁvat* 316, which he referred to the Harsha era. See *P. R. A. S., W. C., for* 1903-4, p. 47.

[8] On the coins of Jājalladēva, the god appears two-armed as on the Chandēlla coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

On the coins of Ratnadēva and Pṛithvīdēva, the left member of the palatal *ś* has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom[1] than in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records.[2] These kings must, therefore, be identified with Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvidēva II. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Gōvindachandradēva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (*circa* 1110-1155 A.C.) and so was a contemporary of Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdēva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvīdēva II.

Besides *ṭankas* and *drammas*, some other coins are mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions, to which we shall now turn. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja, dated K. 965, mention 130 *Sarāhagaḍām āchhu*[3] which may mean 130 gold coins minted in Sarāhagaḍa[4] (modern Sārangarh). It is noteworthy that a similar Marathi word *āsu* occurs in inscriptions[5] found in Maharashtra and in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A.C. From several passages in the *Līlācharitra*,[6] the Marathi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, *āsu* appears to have been a gold coin current in Maharashtra in the 13th century A.C. The *Līlācharitra* speaks in one place of a *pāuṇa āsu* or three-quarter *āsu*, which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter *āsus* were also current.

The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions *ṣōḍaśikā*, which seems to have denoted a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a *dramma* just as *viṁśōpaka* denoted one-twentieth of a *dramma*.[7] Another coin mentioned in the same inscription is *paura*, which was probably a small coin of silver. A tax of four *pauras* was levied on every elephant, and that of two *pauras* on every horse, sold in the local market.[8] *Kaparda* and *dyūta-kaparda* were other coins current at the time. Kauṭilya also mentions *kaparda* as a copper coin.[9] It was probably identical with *kākiṇī* mentioned by Bhāskarāchārya as equivalent to twenty cowries. Four *kākiṇīs* made one *paṇa*.[10] *Dyūtakaparda* was probably so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling.[11] Some of these coins may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But they are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent.[12]

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[1] V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 254 ff., Pl. XXVI.

[2] In the time of Pṛithvīdēva II the earlier form of *ś* had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins; for, conservatism in regard to forms of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

[3] No. 116, l. 6.

[4] The Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla mentions this place as *Sarabarāgaḍha*. No. 88, l. 10.

[5] See, *e.g.*, the Pāṭan inscription of the time of Yādava Siṅghaṇa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343), which mentions *āsu*, *dāma* and *visovā*. These appear to be coins of gold, silver and copper respectively.

[6] See *Līlācharitra* (Marathi) ed. by H. N. Nene, part III, pp. 50-51.

[7] *Visōvā* mentioned in the aforementioned Pāṭan inscription is derived from Sanskrit *viṁśōpaka*. The *viṁśōpakas* were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This appears quite clear from l. 20 of the Sīyaḍōṇī inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a *Vigrahatuṅgīya-dramma* and then states the same as *vi* 10 (*i.e.*, 10 *viṁśōpakas*). One *dramma* was, therefore, equal to 20 *viṁśōpakas*. Similarly, it may have been equal to 16 *ṣōḍaśikās*. It is noteworthy that Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī* (I, 2) states that sixteen *paṇas* make one *dramma*. Perhaps *ṣoḍaśikā* was another name of the copper *paṇa*. According to the *Śārṅgadhara-saṁhitā*, it was so called because it weighed sixteen *māshas*.

[8] Similar taxes are laid down in other inscriptions of the period. See, *e.g.*, the Bayānā stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 122 ff), which in line 25 mentions the gift of one *dramma* per horse (sold locally) in favour of a god, installed at Bayānā.

[9] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.

[10] *Līlāvatī*, I, 2.

[11] It is perhaps identical with the smallest copper coin *ardha-kākiṇī* mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.

[12] The smallest of them may be *māshas*. According to Nārada cited in the *Mitākshara* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 159), a *māsha* was one-twentieth of a copper *paṇa*.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES[1]

I The Mahārājas of Valkha

Svāmidāsa
K. 67.
|
Bhuluṇḍa
K. 107.
|
Rudradāsa
K. 117.

II The Traikūṭakas

Indradatta (415-440 A.C.)
|
Dahrasēna (440-465 A.C.)
K. 207.
|
Vyāghrasēna (465-492 A.C.)
K. 241.

III The Early Gurjaras

Dadda I (570-595 A.C.)
|
Jayabhaṭa I—Vītarāga (595-620 A.C.)
|
Dadda II-Praśāntarāga (620-645 A.C.)
K. 380; K. 385; K. 392.
|
Jayabhaṭa II (645-665 A.C.)
|
Dadda III-Bāhusahāya (665-690 A.C.)
K. 427.
|
Jayabhaṭa III (690-715 A.C.)
K. 456; K. 460.
|
Ahirōla (715-720 A.C.)
|
Jayabhaṭa IV (720-738 A.C.)
K. 486.

IV The Sēndrakas

Bhānuśakti *alias* Nikumbha (620-625 A.C.)
|
Ādityaśakti (625-650 A.C.)
|
Allaśakti (650-675 A.C.)
K. 404; K. 406; S. 577.
|
Jayaśakti (675-700 A. C.)
S. 602.

[1] Where possible, approximate reign-periods are given in brackets. The known dates are given under the respective names of kings.

V The Chālukyas of Gujarat
Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha (670-695 A.C.)
K. 436.
Sryāśraya-Silāditya
K. 421; K. 443.
Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa
S. 613; S. 653.
Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin
K. 490.
VI The Dynasty of Hariśchandra
Svāmichandra (660-685 A.C.)
Siṁhavarman (685-700 A.C.)
Bhōgaśakti (700-715 A.C.)
K. 461.
VII The Kalachuris of Māhishmatī
Kṛishṇarāja (550-575 A.C.)
Saṅkaragaṇa (575-600 A.C.)
K. 347.
Buddharāja (600-620 A.C.)
K. 360; K. 361.
VIII The Kalachuris of Tripurī
Vāmarāja (675-700 A.C.)
Saṅkaragaṇa I (750-775 A.C.)
Lakshmaṇarāja I (825-850 A.C.)
K. 593.
Kōkalla I (850-890 A.C.)
Saṅkaragaṇa alias Mugdhatuṅga-Presiddha-
dhavala-Raṇavigraha (890-910 A.C.)
Arjuna
Āmaṇadēva
Bālaharsha
(910-915 A. C.)
Yuvarājadēva I (915-945 A.C.)
m. Nōhalā
Lakshmaṇarāja II (945-970 A.C.)
m. Rāhaḍā
Saṅkaragaṇa III (970-980 A.C.)
Yuvarjadēva II (980-990 A.C.)
Kōkalla II (990-1015 A.C.)
Gāṅgēyadēva (1015-1041 A.C.)
K. 772; K. 789.
Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.)
m. Āvalladēvī
K. 793; K. 800; K. 810; K. 812.

Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.)
m. Āvalladēvī

Yaśaḥkarṇa (1073-1123 A. C.)
K. 823 (?)

Gayākarṇa (1123-1153 A.C.)
m. Alhaṇadēvī
K. 902.

Narasiṁha (1153-1163 A.C.)
K. 907; K. 909; V. 1216.

Jayasiṁha (1163-1188 A.C.)
m. Kēlhaṇadēvī and Gōsaladēvī
K. 918; K. 926; K. 928.

Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.C.)
K. 932; K. 944; V. 1253; K. 96 (x)

Ajayasiṁha.

IX The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra

Saṅkaragaṇa I (620-650 A.C.)

Nannarāja (650-675 A.C.)

Vāmarāja (675-700 A.C.) Lakshmaṇa I (700-725 A.C.)

Sivarāja I (725-750 A.C.)

Bhīmaṭa I (750-775 A.C.)

Lakshmaṇa II-Rājaputra (775-800 A.C.)

Sivarāja II (800-825 A.C.)

Saṅkaragaṇa II (825-850 A.C.)
m. Bhūdā

Lakshmaṇa III—Guṇasāgara I
(850-875 A.C.)
m. Madanadēvī

m. Kāñchanā

Ullabha-Bhīmaṭa II
(875-890 A.C.)

Bhāmāna I (890-905 A.C.)
m. Dēhaṭṭadēvī

Saṅkaragaṇa III-Mugdhatuṅga (905-930 A.C.)
m. Vidyā

Guṇasāgara II (930-955 A.C.)
m. Rājavā

Sivarāja III-Bhāmāna II (955-980 A.C.)
m. Sūgalladēvī

Saṅkaragaṇa IV (980-1005 A.C.)
m. Yaśōlēkhā

Śaṅkaragaṇa IV (980-1005 A. C.)
|
Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III) (1005-1031 A.C.)
m. Lāvaṇyavatī
|
Vyāsa (1031-1055 A.C.)
V. 1087.
|
Sōḍhadēva (1055-1080 A. C.)
V. 1134; V. 1135.

X The Kalachuris of Ratanpur (Ratnapura)

Kaliṅgarāja (1000-1020 A.C.)
|
Kamalarāja (1020-1045 A.C.)
|
Ratnadēva I (1045-1065 A.C.)
m. Nōnallā
|
Prithvīdēva I (1065-1090 A.C.)
K. 821; K. 831.
|
Jājalladēva I (1090-1120 A.C.)
m. Lāchchhalladēvī
K. 866.
|
Ratnadēva II (1120-1135 A.C.)
K. 878; K. 880; K. 885.
|
Prithvīdēva II (1135-1165 A.C.)
K. 890; K. 893; K. 896; K. 897; K. 900; K. 905; K. 910; K. 915.

- Jagaddēva (1170-1175 A. C.)
  m. Sōmaladēvī
  |
  Ratnadēva III (1175-1200 A.C.)
  K. 933.
  |
  Pratāpamalla (1200-1225 A.C.)
  K. 965; K. 969.
  :
  Lakshmīdēva (1325-1355 A.C.)
  |
  Siṁhaṇa (1355-1375 A.C.)
  - (Ratanpur Branch)
    Ḍaṅghīra (1375-1400 A.C.)
    |
    Madanabrahman (1400-1425 A.C.)
    |
    Rāmachandra (1425-1450 A.C.)
    |
    Ratnasēna (1450-1480 A.C.)
    m. Guṇḍāyī
    |
    Vāhara (1480-1525 A.C.)
    V. 1552; V. 1570.
  - (Raipur Branch)
    Rāmachandra (1375-1400 A.C.)
    |
    Brahmadēva (1400-1425 A.C.)
    V. 1458; V. 1470.
- Jājalladēva II (1165-1170 A.C.)
  K. 919.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTION OF THE ABHIRAS

No. 1; Plate I

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 9

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Messrs. Edward W. West and Arthur A. West in their article entitled 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII (1864), pp. 37 ff. They published a fairly correct eye-copy of the record and, though they gave no transcript of it, they noticed correctly the date which occurs in lines 2-3. The record was first transcribed, with notes and an English translation, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Notices* published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1874, pp. 341 ff. It was next copied by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. Though the Pandit did the work with his wonted skill, his facsimile published in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, Plate LIII, No. 12, is considerably worked up by hand. In 1883 Pandit Bhagvanlal published a transcript of the inscription together with a Sanskrit rendering and an English translation in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI (Nasik District), pp. 579 ff. In the same year Dr. Bühler also, working on Pandit Bhagvanlal's facsimile, published a transcript and an English translation of the epigraph in the aforementioned volume of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*. The inscription was finally edited with a purely mechanical facsimile by Prof. E. Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 ff. and Plate VII (15). Prof. Senart's edition has remained the standard one to the present day. The record is edited here from the Plate accompanying Prof. Senart's article as well as a fresh estampage supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the left wall of the court in Cave No. X on the so-called Pāṇḍu-lēṇa hill, 5 miles south-west from Nasik, the head-quarters of the Nasik District in the Bombay State. It seems to have originally consisted of 15 lines, but only the first thirteen of them can now be read. Even in this part, the record has suffered considerably on the right-hand side by exposure to weather, and three or four *aksharas* at the end of almost every line have now become almost illegible. In several cases they can, however, be read from the traces left behind, or restored conjecturally. The average size of the letters is 1.2".

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of a slightly later age than in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas. In some respects, however, as in the subscript tripartite *y*, they show archaic forms; see *Māḍharīputrasya*, l. 1; *-vāstavyasya*, l. 7, *etc*. Notice also *p* in *gaṇapaka-*, l. 4, which has a long vertical on the left. As Dr. Bühler has already noticed,[1] some of the letters are cursive; see, *e. g.*, the forms of *t* and *n*, derived from looped types, in *parvata-*, l. 7 and *Īśvarasēnasya*, l. 2, as well as the form of *jña* in *rājñaḥ*, l. 1. Some of the other peculiarities worthy of notice are as follows:—*u* in *upāsikāyā*, l. 6, has a horizontal stroke at the top; the rare *ō* occurs in *ōdayaṁtrika-*, l. 10; the medial *u* in *duhitrā*, l. 4, is formed by a curve open on the right, like the medial *ṛi* of later times. *Kh* has a loop on the right; see *sukh-ārthaṁ*, l.7; *y* is generally flat as in Kushāṇa records, but the

[1] *I.P.*, p. 43.

round form also occurs sporadically; see *upāsikāyā-*, l. 6 and *ōdayamtrika-*, l. 10; *l* is bent towards the left; see *tilapishaka-*, l. 11. Finally, the palatal *ś* has two forms, the earlier one with a vertical middle stroke occurs in *viśvavarmasya*, l. 5, while the later one in which the stroke is placed horizontally is noticed in other places; see *e.g. Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4. The numerical symbol for 1000 occurs in l. 10, that for 500 in l. 11, those for 10, 4 and 3 in l. 3 and that for 2 in l. 10. A symbol denoting 9 seems to have occurred at the end of line 2, but it is now rather indistinct.

The **language** is Sanskrit with some admixture of Prakrit forms. See, *e.g., Gimha-pakhe* and *chothe* in l. 3, *[eta] yā purvayā* in ll. 3-4; *gilāna-*, l. 8, *etc.* As for **orthography,** the only point which calls for notice is the reduplication of *m* after *r* in *Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Ābhīra king** (*Rājan*) **Īśvarasēna,** the son of the Ābhīra **Śivadatta and Māḍharī.** The **object** of it is to record the foundation, by an *upāsikā* or lay devotee named Vishṇudattā, of a perpetual endowment to provide medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks from the four quarters, dwelling in the monastery on the **Triraśmi** mountain. Vishṇudattā belonged to the **Śaka** race. She was the daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* (Accountant) Rēbhila and mother of the *Gaṇapaka* Viśvavarman. For the aforementioned perpetual endowment, the following amounts in *kārshāpaṇas*[1] were invested with the various guilds evidently of Gōvardhana, *viz.*, a thousand *kārshāpāṇas* with the guild of *kularikas* (potters), two thousand with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, five hundred with another guild whose name is lost, and some more with the guild of oil-millers.

The record is **dated** on the **thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the season Grīshma in the ninth** (regnal) **year** of the **Ābhīra** king **Īśvarasēna.** As shown in the Introduction, Īśvarasēna was probably the **founder** of the so-called **Kalachuri-Chēdi era.** This date must, therefore, be referred to that era. Later dates of the era cite some lunar month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day, but this first known date of the reckoning is recorded in season, fortnight and day in accordance with the prevailing custom of the time.[2] According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Grīshma would fall in 258 A. C. if the year 9 was current, and in 259 A. C. if it was expired. The date does not admit of verification.

Of the **geographical names** which occur in the present record, **Triraśmi-parvata** (or the three-rayed hill) is plainly identical with the Pāṇḍu-lēṇa hill where the epigraph is incised. Pandit Bhagvanlal has suggested that its pyramidal or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of its name Triraśmi[3]. **Gōvardhana** which was probably mentioned in line 8 is identical with the modern village **Gōvardhan-Gaṅgāpur**[4] on the right bank of the Gōdāvarī, about 6 miles west of Nasik. It is mentioned in four other inscriptions on the cave-hill and was, in ancient times, the **head-quarters** of a territorial division (*āhāra*) named after it.

[1] *Kārshāpaṇa* was a silver coin weighing about 34 grains. The *kārshāpaṇas* mentioned here were probably those of the Western Kshatrapas which appear to have circulated in Maharashtra during the time of the Ābhīras.

[2] Most of the Kshatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions in the Nasik caves contain similar season dates, but two records, *viz.*, Nos. 12 and 14, mention the lunar months Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Chaitra. Season dates survived down to the time of the Vākāṭakas. See the date of the Dudia plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.

[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 541.

[4] The village is in two parts, Gōvardhan or Gōrdhan above and Gaṅgāpur below; *loc. cit.*, p. 538.

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं [।*] राज्ञः [मा]ढरीपुत्रस्य[2] शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
2 आभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य[3] संवत्सरे नव[मे][4] [९] [गि*]-
3 म्हपखे[5] चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० ३ [एत*][6]-
4 या पुर्वया[7] शकाग्निवर्म्मणः दुहित्रा[8] गणपक[स्य*][9]
5 रेभिलस्य [भा]र्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य [मा*]-
6 त्रा शकनिकया[10] उपासिका(क)या विष्णुदता(त्त)या सर्वसत्व(त्त्व)हि-
7 [त]सुखार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य [चातुर्दिश][11][स्य]
8 भि[क्षु]संघस्य गिलानभेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता .व..[वास्त-][12]
9 व्यासु आगता[नागता]सु[13] श्रेणिषु यतः कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते क(का)र्षापण-
10 सहस्रं १००० ओदयंत्रिकश्रेण्यां[14] सहस्राणि द्वे २ [15]......
11 [ण्यां] शतानि पंच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रे[ण्यां][16]........
12 एते च क(का)र्षापणा चतालो[पि][17]...........
13 ....[त]स्य [मास]वृद्धि[तो][18].................

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[1] From 'Nasik Inscriptions'—Plate VII (15), facing p. 88 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, and a fresh estampage.

[2] Pandit Bhagvanlal was the first to read this name, but he admitted that the first two letters of it were doubtful. The facsimile shows clear traces of *ḍha*. *Mā* appears to be very much cramped for want of space and may have been added subsequently.

[3] Dr. Bhandarker read आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य Here, again, Bhagvanlal first read the name which appears to be quite certain.

[4] The last character मे of नवमे is somewhat indistinct. Bhagvanlal and Senart read नवम, but the Plate shows a slanting stroke to the left on the top, denoting medial *e*. This word seems to have been followed by a symbol denoting 9 (cf. *chothe* 4 in l. 3, below), but it is now rather indistinct. The last character in this line may have been *gi*. Bühler read *gi* in the beginning of the next line.

[5] Here and in some places below, Prakrit forms have been used. As they are easily intelligible, they have not been rendered into Sanskrit.

[6] These two *aksharas*, though now completely gone, can be conjecturally restored from the context.

[7] The superscript *r* of *rva* in *purvayā*, though not noticed before, is as clear here as in *parvata* in line 7, below.

[8] This *akshara*, though indistinct, appears like *tr* in *Trīraśmi*, l. 7.

[9] Here and in the next line, Bühler read *gaṇāpaka*, but the *ā* stroke is clear in neither case. *Sya* is partially seen on the right border.

[10] Bhandarkar read *bhrātṛi-kani(nya)kayā*. Bhagvanlal's reading [*mā*]*trā Śakanikayā* accepted by Senart is, however, supported by both the facsimile and the context.

[11] These four *aksharas* are rather indistinct. There appears one more *akshara*, viz. *sya*, at the end of the line.

[12] The *aksharas* lost here were conjecturally restored by Bühler as *Govardhanavāsta-*. *Vāsta* is faintly seen at the end of this line.

[13] Bühler read *Sugatāgatāsu*, but it gives no good sense. Besides, the Plate shows the *akshara nā* between *tā* and *ga*. Like Senart, I have adopted the above reading, first proposed by Bhandarkar.

[14] Bhagvanlal read *Oḍayaṁtrika*, but as Senart has already observed, the letters *da* and *ḍa* can hardly be distinguished in so defaced an inscription. The *anusvāra* on *ṇyā* is clear in the estampage.

[15] The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* as well as the fresh estampage shows the figure 2. One would rather expect here the symbol for a thousand with a horizontal stroke added on the right. The name of the *śrēṇi* which must have occurred at the end of this line is now illegible.

[16] The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* shows two more *aksharas śatā* which are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.*

[17] See below, p. 4, n. 6.

[18] The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* has traces of seven more *aksharas* which can be read as सर्वं रक्षति त्रिपा, but they are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.* The *aksharas* in the next two lines are completely effaced.

TRANSLATION

Success! In the ninth—9—**year of the king, the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna,** son of the **Ābhīra Śivadatta** (*and*) son of **Māḍharī, on the thirteenth—10** (*and*) **3—day in the fourth—4—fortnight of summer,** on this aforementioned (*day*) the lay devotee Vishṇudattā of the Śaka race[1], mother of the *Gaṇapaka*[2] Viśvavarman, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* Rēbhila (*and*) daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, has invested the (*following*) perpetual endowment in the present and future guilds,[3] dwelling at **Gōvardhana,** in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dwelling in (*this*) monastery on Mount **Triraśmi,** for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, *viz.*, a thousand—1000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the hands of the guild of *Kularikas*[4], two thousand—2000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the guild of the manufacturers of hydraulic machines[5], five hundred—500—in the guild of . . . . (*and*) . . . . in the guild of oil-millers.

(Line 12) All these four[6] (*investments of*) *kārshāpaṇas* . . . . . by the monthly interest of[7] . . . . .

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[1] *Śakanikā* seems to be used here in the sense of a woman of the Śaka race. *Nikā* was added as a suffix in the sense of a woman, like the later *ambā*. Cf. *Vijayā* and *Vijayanikā* in inscriptions Nos. 1, 9 and 19 at Kuḍā. *I.C.T.W.I.*, pp. 4 ff.

[2] Bühler took *Gaṇapaka* to mean 'the protector or leader of a *gaṇa*'. A *gaṇa*, according to him, consists of three *gulmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of 'a colonel' or 'a brigadier-general.' Senart derived the word from *gaṇāpayati* (irregular for *gaṇayati*) and understood it to mean 'an accountant' or 'an astrologer'. Mr. Bakhle, on the other hand, thinks that it means the President of a *gaṇa* or republican state. *J.B.R.B.A.S.* (*N.S.*), Vol. IV, p. 78.

[3] Bühler, who read *Sugatāgatāsu*, translated, 'with the Buddha (?) companies dwelling in (*Gōvardhana*)'. The expression *āgatānāgatāsu* is intended to commit the specified guilds existing at the time and their successors to the payment of the perpetual interest.

[4] *Kularika* may be identical with *kulāla*, a potter, as conjectured by Bühler, or with *kaulika*, a weaver, as suggested by Bhandarkar. The guild of the *kaulikas* (*kōlika-nikāya*) is mentioned in l. 2 of the Nasik cave inscription No. 12.

[5] *Ōdayantrika* is properly *audayantrika*. It probably signified 'a worker fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others' (Senart).

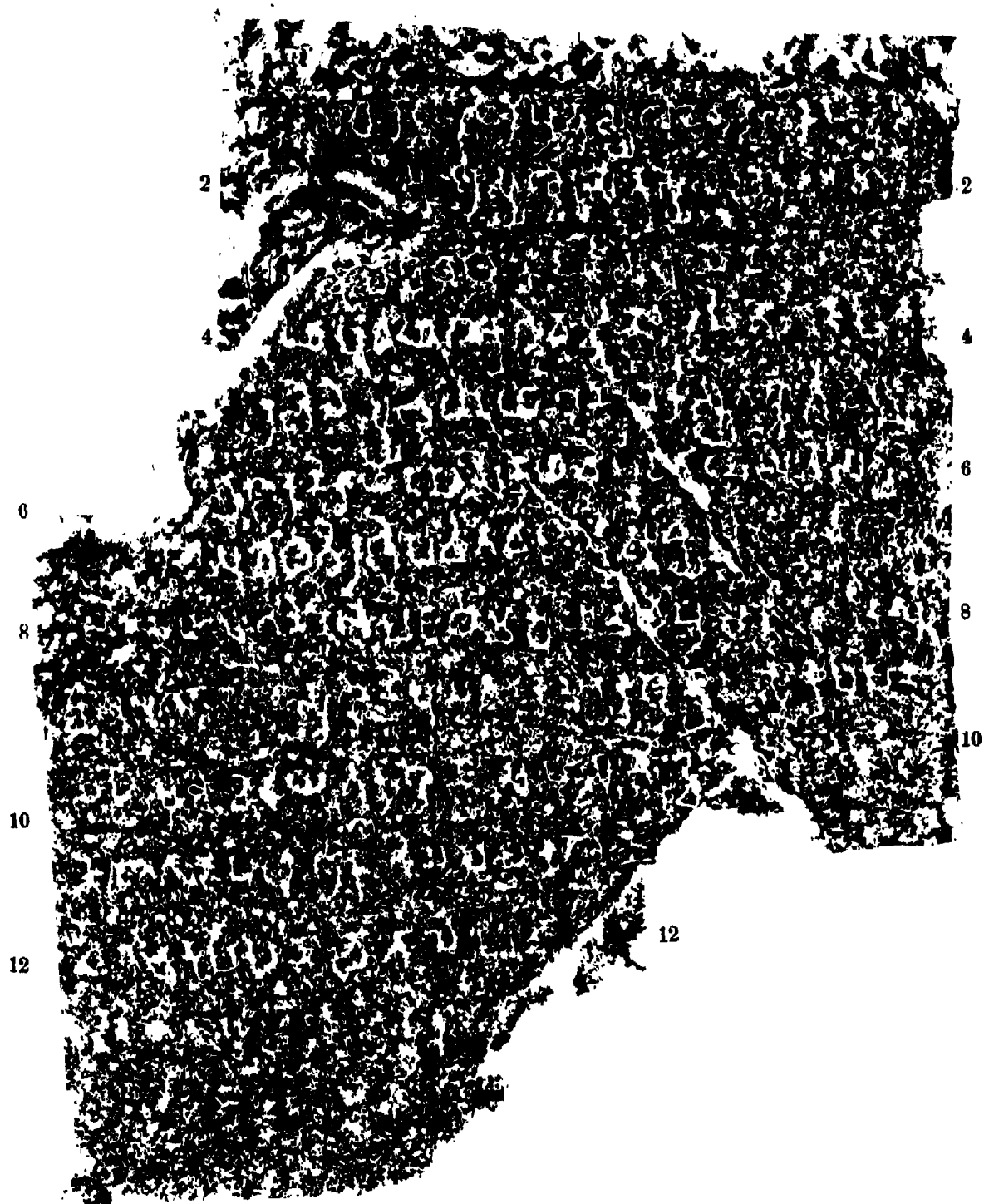
[6] Previous editors, who read *chatālāpa or chatālepa*, failed to understand it and omitted it in their translations. The correct reading appears to be *chatālo-pi* and signifies 'all the four'. *Chatālo* is plainly to be equated with *chattāro* meaning 'four'. Cf. *SHC.*, VIII, 3, 122. The reference is evidently to the investment of the four amounts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the four guilds named in the epigraph.

[7] The last two lines of the record, now completely effaced, may have stated how the interest was to be utilised. Compare ll. 3 ff. of Nāsik cave inscription No. 12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

Nasik Cave Inscription of Isvarasena: (Kalachuri) Year 9.

B. Ch. Chhabra.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36

Scale: One-sixth.

Survey of India, Calcutta

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJAS OF VALKHA

No. 2; Plate II A

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67

THIS was one of the two copper-plates obtained by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar from Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore[1]. Dr. Bhandarkar handed them over to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who edited them together in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 f. and plates. Their contents and dates were discussed by me in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. The inscription on the present plate is edited here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The inscription is incised on one side only of a single **copper-plate** measuring 7.6" broad and 4.1" high. It has no ring-hole and shows no sign of a seal having ever been attached to it. The plate has nine lines of writing, of which the last, containing the sign-manual of the reigning king, is incised in the margin on the left. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with knobs at the top. They show considerable development over those of the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna,[2] which was incised only about sixty years before. The letters *a*, *k*, *ñ* and *r*, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end of their verticals, distinctive of the southern alphabet; *th* is shown by a curling curve open to the right; see *-pathakē*, l. 3; *n* has developed a loop, while the vertical of *l* curves to the left; see *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *Sāṇḍilya-*, l. 3; the subscript *y* has assumed a bipartite form; see *Āryya-*, l. 4. As regards medial vowels, *i* now forms a complete curve; its long form is indicated by a curling curve turned to the left; the *mātrās* for *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* appear in some cases above the line; and the medial *au* is bipartite in *-pautra-*, l. 5. The **symbols** for 60, 7 and 5 occur in l. 8.

The **language** is Sanskrit. There is now little admixture of Prakrit forms, the only cases occurring in this epigraph being *santaka*, l. 2 and *krishāpayatuḥ*, l. 7, which however persisted for a long time. As regards **orthography**, the only peculiarity which calls for notice is the reduplication of the consonant before *y* and after *r*; see *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *sarvvān=*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Svāmidāsa.** The **object** of it is to record confirmation,[3] by Svāmidāsa, of the gift of a field in the village **Dakshiṇa-Valmika-tallavāṭaka** (South Valmika-tallavāṭaka) which was situated in the territorial subdivision **Nagarikā-pathaka.** The plate was issued from **Valkha,** which was evidently then the royal capital. The **Dūtaka** was Nannabhaṭṭi. The record is **dated** on the 5th **tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year** 67 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era. It may be noted that the year in this case is introduced with the

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[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XV, p. 286 and XXIV, p. 52. The other copper-plate was issued by Bhuluṇḍa. See below, No. 3.

[2] Above, No. 1.

[3] The use of the words *samanujñātyē(mē)* in ll. 2-3 and *krit-ānujñasya* in l. 6 as well as the absence of any statement that it was a royal grant indicate that *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa only confirmed the gift. Who the donor was is not known. The plate of Bhuluṇḍa (No. 5, below), which bears close resemblance to the present record, mentions a person named Āshāḍhanandin at whose request the gift was confirmed.

word *varsha* in stead of the usual *saṁvat*. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

Svāmidāsa who issued the present plate was only a feudatory chief; for he describes himself as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', though he does not name his suzerain. The latter probably belonged to the Imperial family which started the era in which the date of the present inscription is recorded. The date does not admit of verification in the absence of such details as a week-day or a *nakshatra*. We must therefore identify the era to which it refers, on other evidence. Unfortunately, the provenance of the plate has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. The present grant bears close resemblance to the Sirpur grant[1] of Rudradāsa, dated in the year 107, in several respects, *viz*., (i) the names of the princes in both the cases end in *dāsa*; (ii) both the princes bear the title *Mahārāja* and acknowledge their feudatory status in the same words; (iii) the characters and phraseology of the two grants are strikingly similar; (iv) the date is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsha* in both the grants. These similarities[2] leave no doubt that the two grants belong to the same royal family and came originally from the same part of the country. As the grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found at Sirpur in the Khandesh District, that of Svāmidāsa also must, in all probability, have originally belonged to the same district of Northern Maharashtra. Pandit Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country, seems to have obtained the plate somewhere in Khandesh and taken it to Indore.

Dr. Majumdar referred the date of the present plate to the Gupta era on the ground that its characters resemble those of the Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II. This view cannot now be upheld; for we have no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era to Northern Maharashtra where, as we have seen, the plate was probably found.[3] The use of the word *varsha* in recording the year of the grant may perhaps be taken to point to the Śaka era[4], but that era is out of the question here, as the characters of the present grant are far more developed than those current in the second century A. C. The only other era to which the date can be referred is the so-called **Kalachuri era** founded in 249 A. C. by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. Accordingly, the date would correspond, for the expired year 67, to the 2nd May 317 A. C.[5] It does not admit of verification.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Valkha**, which was probably the

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[1] No. 4, below.

[2] The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Śirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line where two or three letters have been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the left. The sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have been incised in the margin on the left, is also lost.

[3] In fact there is no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era south of the Narmadā except the solitary grant of Bhīmasēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. and Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.) That grant, however, belongs to Kōsalā or modern Chhattisgarh, the ruler of which had submitted to Samudragupta. Khandesh, on the other hand, was never under the direct or indirect rule of the Guptas. The old identification of Ēraṇḍapallī mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Ēraṇḍōl in Khandesh, proposed by Fleet, is now held to be untenable. See Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 59 f.

[4] Dr. Kielhorn has shown that the word *varsha* is characteristic of the Śaka era. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 150. The use of that word in the present grant seems to be in imitation of the older grants dated in the Śaka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

[5] In the case of early records of the Kalachuri era (Nos. 1—34), the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 249-50 A. C. for an expired year.

royal capital at the time, may be identical with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G.I.P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions.[1] One of these inscriptions[2] in three parts, edited by Dr. Kielhorn, shows that Vāghlī became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family which originally hailed from Valabhī in Kathiawad, and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.[3] **Nagarikā**, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) named after it, may be identical with Nagar Dēvlā, about 10 miles north-east of Vāghlī, which also contains an old *Hēmādpanti* temple of Mahādēva.[4] Finally, **Valmika-tallavāṭaka** may be Talwāḍ khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Dēvlā.[5]

TEXT[6]

1 वल्खा[त्*] परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासः समाज्ञा–
2 पयति सर्व्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकाना[7]युक्तकाद्वि[8]ज्ञातमस्तु व[:*] समनुजा–
3 नीयोस्मि[9] शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मन(ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव–
4 ल्मिकतल्लवाटके आर्य्यवानि(णि)जकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपदं ब्रह्मदेयमाचन्द्रा–
5 र्कतारककालीयं पुत्रपौत्रन्वयभोज्य[10] भोगायैव[11]मिदानि(नी)मस्य(स्या)स्मा–
6 भिक्कृतः नज्ञस्यो[12]चितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:*] कृषतः कृषा–
7 पयतश्च:[13] सर्व्वैरेवा[स्म]पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि[14]स्समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम् ।)
8 नक्षभट्टि दूतकः[15] [।*] वर्षे ६० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ [।*]
9 (*In the margin*) महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य [।*]

TRANSLATION

From **Valkha**—the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Svāmidāsa**, who meditates on the fee of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his[16] officers—

"Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, belonging to the merchant Ārya and situated in the southern **Valmika-tallavāṭaka** in the *pathaka* of **Nagarikā**, to this Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*, to be enjoyed

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[1] *K. D. G.*, p. 478.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

[3] Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit suggested that Valkha might be identical with Bāhaḷ in the Chalisgaon tālukā, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently found.

[4] *K. D. G.*, p. 457.

[5] The place-name seems to have dropped *Valmika* in course of time. Dr. Majumdar's identification of Nagarikā with Nagar which lies 75 miles from the borders of the former Indore State, and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nagar, or with Talōrā, 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be accepted as the plate did not come from North India.

[6] From the facsimile facing p. 289, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

[7] This should properly be स्वसन्तका–.

[8] Read –नायुक्तकान्विज्ञात–.

[9] Read समनुजानीमोऽस्य as in the plate of Bhuluṇḍa (No. 3).

[10] Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं.

[11] Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी–.

[12] Read –स्माभिः कृतानुमस्यो–.

[13] Read कर्षयतश्च.

[14] Read –स्मत्पक्षतत्कुल्यादिभि–.

[15] Read नक्षभट्टिर्दूतकः

[16] *Lit.*, Our.

(*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (*Wherefore*) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (*the field*), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (*land*)."

(L. 8) The *Dūtaka*[1] is **Nannabhaṭṭi. In the year 60** (*and*) **7**, (*in the month of*) **Jyēshṭha** (*and*) **the bright fortnight,** (*on the lunar day*) **5.**

(*In the margin*) Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Svāmidāsa.**

No. 3; Plate II B

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107

This **copper-plate,** like the preceding one of Svāmidāsa,[2] was in the possession of Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore, from whom it was obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The two plates were edited together by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 ff. and plates. I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The present record also is on a single **copper-plate** and is incised only on one side of it, measuring 8.25" broad and 3.75" high. The plate has no ring-hole and does not appear to have ever had a seal attached to it. It has 9 lines of writing, of which the last one containing the royal sign-manual is incised in the margin on the left as in the case of Svāmidāsa's plate. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .5".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the preceding plate, though more cursive in form. The only peculiarities worth noting are—(i) medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions as also by a curve curling to the left; see *samanujānīmō*, l. 2; *-kālīnam*, l. 5 *etc.*; (ii) *ḍ* and *d* are not clearly distinguished; see *Bhuluṇḍaḥ*, l. 1 and *Skandō*, l. 8; (iii) the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l. 6 and **numerical symbols** for 100, 10, 7 and 2, in l. 8.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the grant of Svāmidāsa. The **orthography** also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Bhuluṇḍa.** Like Svāmidāsa, he also describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* and therefore seems to have owed allegiance to some lord paramount.[3] The **object** of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa, to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field belonging to one Khuddataka together with the surrounding *kachchha* (bank), to a Brāhmaṇa named Kusāraka, at the request of Āshāḍhanandin. The field was situated on the boundary of a place named Ulladana. Āshāḍhanandin seems to have purchased the field from the owner, donated it to the Brāhmaṇa, and applied to the king for the confirmation of the gift. The royal order was issued from **Valkha.** The record is **dated** in the **year** (*varsha*) 107 (expressed in numerical symbols only) **on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.** The **Dūtaka** of the grant was the *Pratihāra* Skanda. The plate is **signed** by the *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa in the margin on the left.

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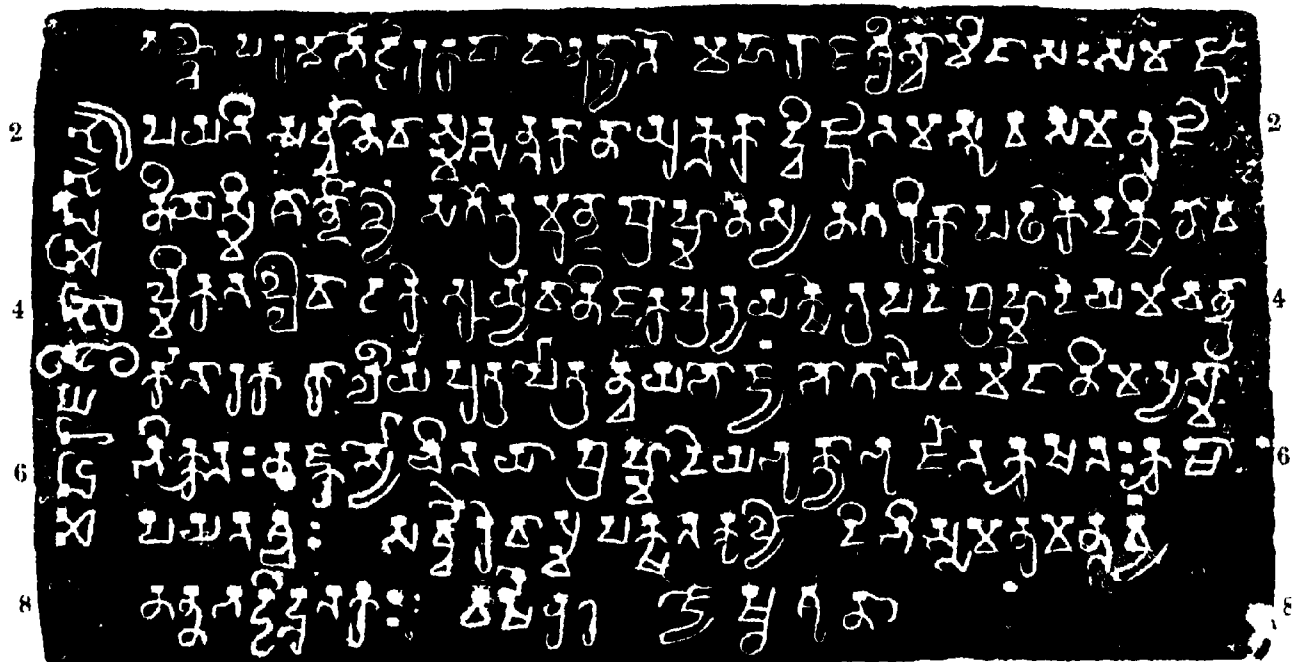
[1] *Dūtaka*, also called *Ājñapti* in some grants, mentioned generally at the end of early copper-plate charters, was an officer charged with the execution of the royal order. Compare *kārīvaka* used in the same sense in a grant of the Vākāṭakas, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[2] No. 2, above.

[3] See above, p. 6.

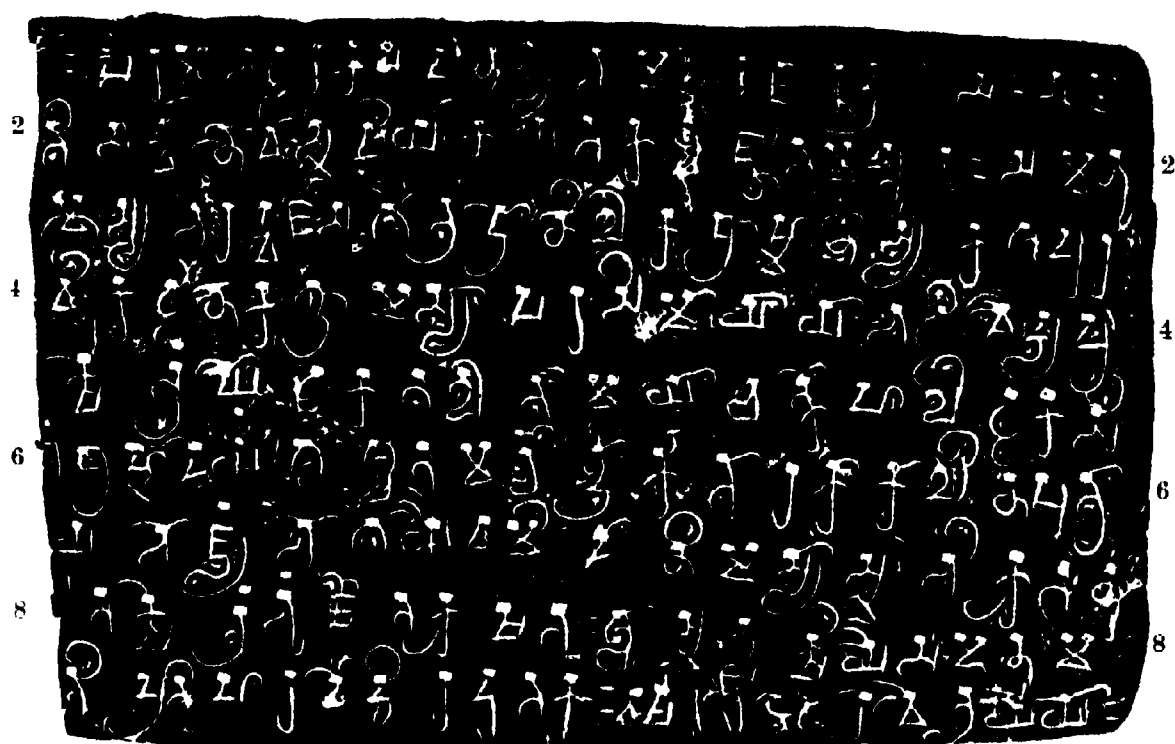
A.—INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67.

ACTUAL SIZE

B.—INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107.

SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS.

B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'50

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

C.—SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117.

ACTUAL SIZE

The close similarity in the characters, phraseology, royal sign-manual and mode of dating of the plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa leaves no doubt that they originally came from the same part of the country, which, as already stated, was probably the Khandesh District. The date of the present plate must therefore be referred to the same reckoning, *viz.*, the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., it corresponds, for the *amānta* Phālguna in the expired year 107, to the 4th March 357 A. C. The date does not admit of verification.

As for the places mentioned in the present record, Valkha, as shown before,[1] is probably identical with Vāghlī near Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District. Ulladana may be the same as Udhli, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal. The description in the present plate that the field in Ulladana was granted together with the surrounding *kachchha* suits Udhli very well; for it is situated on the bank of the Tāpī.

TEXT[2]

1 वल्खा:(ल्खात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धयातो महाराजभुलुण्ड: समाज्ञापयति
2 सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तका[3]नायुक्तकाद्वि[4]ज्ञातमस्तु व: समनुजानीमोस्य
3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण(न)न्दिविज्ञाप्या[5] उल्ल-
4 दन[6]सीमायां खुद्दतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि(ट्टिं) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय-
5 मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनंमन्वयभोज्यं[7] भोगाये[8]वमिदानी-
6 मस्यास्माभिxकृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:*] कृषा-
7 ताश्च[9] स[र्व्वै]रेवास्मत्पक्षीये[10] समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम्) [।*]
8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतक: [।*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु[11] ब १० २ [।*]
9 (*In the margin*) मा(म)हाराजभुलुण्डस्य [।*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha—*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) command to all his[12] officers:—

(Line 2) "Be it known to you that at the request of Āshāḍhanandin, We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the entire *brahmadēya* gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to Khuddataka, together with the surrounding *kachchha* (*bank*), on the boundary of Ulladana, to the Brāhmaṇa Kusāraka of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed by (*him and*) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(L. 5) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now

[1] Above, p. 6.

[2] From the facsimile facing page 289, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

[3] This should properly be सर्व्वानेव स्वसन्तका–.

[4] Read –नायुक्तकान्वि–.

[5] Read आषाढनन्दिविज्ञप्त्या.

[6] Dr. Majumdar read वल्लयन, but the first *akshara* is clearly *u*. In *ra*, the curve should have been turned to the left, and another, turned downwards, added to the vertical stroke.

[7] Read –कालीनमन्वयभोज्यं.

[8] Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी–.

[9] Read कृषत–.

[10] Read –स्मत्पक्षीयै:.

[11] Read फाल्गुन.

[12] *Lit.*, Our.

that he has thus been permitted by **Us**, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadīya* (*land*)."

The *Dūtaka* is *Pratihāra* **Skanda**.

(L. 8) In the **year 100** (*and*) **7, in the month Phālguna** (*and*) **the dark fortnight,** (*on the lunar day*) **10** (*and*) **2.**

(*In the margin*) Of the *Mahārāja* **Bhuluṇḍa.**

No. 4; Plate II C

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117

This **copper-plate** was discovered in 1884, in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur[1] in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 98 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is a **fragmentary plate,** the extant piece measuring 7" broad and 4.5" high. It is intact at the top, the bottom and the right side; but from the left side a narrow piece, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down, so that about three *aksharas* have been lost at the beginning of each line. There is no hole in the extant piece; and from the close resemblance which the record on this plate bears to the last two grants, it does not seem likely that there was any hole in the lost piece also. In any case no ring or seal was discovered with the plate. The present inscription is incised only on one side of it, but on the other side, Pandit Bhagvanlal found seven faintly cut shell-characters.

The inscription consists of nine lines. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .3". The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the plate of *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa,[2] though they are somewhat more angular. Like the latter, they have knobs at the top of the letters. They include, in line 9, the **symbols** for 100, 10 and 7. In some cases we see an admixture of different forms; *v*, for instance, has generally the triangular form as in the inscriptions of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa; see *sarvvāṇ=ēva* in line 2 and *bhōgāy=aiva* in line 7; but in *yāvat*, l. 5, it has the same shape as in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. Pandit Bhagvanlal referred the present record to the beginning of the sixth century A. C., but in view of the earlier forms of some letters like *d* and *m*, I would date it about the middle or end of the fourth century A. C.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout. The wording of the grant resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the preceding grants of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, but it is written very carelessly. The **orthography** also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Rudradāsa.** He describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', which clearly indicates his feudatory status. The **object** of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, to the gift of a field named **Ghōṭakatala** situated on the western boundary of the village **Vikaṭṭāṇaka.** This village seems to have been included in the Kaśapura sub-division(?). The boundary of the field extended as far as **Kōhalaṭṭaka,** which may have been the name of a field or a village. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. The place of issue is not named in the extant portion. It must

[1] This place-name is spelt as Shirpur in the Degree Map No. 46 K.

[2] Above, No. 2.

have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece on the left, and was, in all probability, Valkha. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue are still seen in the beginning of the first line, as on the plate of Bhuluṇḍa. The signature of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have occurred in the margin on the left as on the plates of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, is also lost.

The inscription is dated in line 9 in numerical symbols which are carelessly incised. The intended date appears to be the third tithi of the month Vaiśākha in the year 117.[1] The fortnight has not been specified, but it may have been the bright one, as the *tithi* was probably *akshaya-tṛitīyā* (Vaiśākha śukla tṛitīyā). The date is introduced with the word *varsha* as in the preceding two grants. In view of the close resemblance which the present grant bears to those of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.[2] According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early dates of the era, the present date would correspond, for the expired year 117, to the 18th April 367 A. C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Vikaṭṭāṇaka may be Viṭnērā, about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. The other places cannot be traced in the vicinity of Sirpur.

TEXT[3]

1 [वल्खा*[4]]: परमभट्टरकपदनुद्ध्यतो[5] महरजरुद्रदस:[6] समा-
2 [ज्ञापय*[7]]ति सव्र्वाणेवा[8]स्मदीयानयुतक[9][न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु-
3 [जानी*]मोस्य भरद्वज[10]सगोत्रद्रोणिलकब्राह्मणस्य कशपुरा-
4 [न्तर्गत*]विकट्टाणकग्रामस्यापरसीमाया(यां) या[11] भट्टिवैद्यप्र-
5 [त्ययं*] क्षेत्रं घोटकतलत्ताम[12] यावत्कोहलट्टकसी-
6 [मासन्धि[13]*] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीन[14] पुत्रा[15]-

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[1] Pandit Bhagvanlal read the date as 118, but the unit figure is 7, not 8. See the figure in No. 12, line 34, below.

[2] It may be noted here that Dr. Fleet also has, though doubtfully, referred to the Kalachuri era the date of this record, which he, following Pandit Bhagvanlal, read as 118. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 294.

[3] From the photo-lithograph accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 f.

[4] As the beginning of the second line shows, two or three letters are lost here and at the commencement of each subsequent line. The initial *aksharas* may have been *Valkhā* (for *Valkhāt*) as in the previous two grants. The horizontal stroke at the top of the second *akshara* can be marked in the upper left corner.

[5] Read परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो.

[6] Read महाराजरुद्रदास:.

[7] The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets in the beginning of lines 2-9 are supplied conjecturally on the analogy of the previous two grants.

[8] Read सर्व्वानेवा-.

[9] Read -नायुक्तकान्वि-.

[10] Read भरद्वाज-.

[11] This *akshara* is redundant.

[12] Read घोटकतलं नाम.

[13] Bhagvanlal suggested -मासाम्यं here.

[14] Read -माचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनं.

[15] Read पुत्र-.

7 [पौत्रान्व*]यभोज्यं[1] भोगायैवमिदानी[2]मस्यास्माभि[:*] कृतनु[3]–
8 [ज्ञस्यै*]तत्क्षेत्रं भुञ्जत[:*] कृषतः श्चा[4]स्मत्पक्षीयै[:*] समनुम–
9 [न्तव्यमि*]ति [।*] प्रतिहरदोद्धिरदुतकं[5]॥ वर्षं[6]। १०० १० ७[7] वै तृयाया[8] ॥

TRANSLATION

[From **Valkha**][9]—*Mahārāja* **Rudradāsa,** who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his[10] officers—

"Be it known to you that **We** (*hereby*) give **Our** assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, called Ghōṭakatala, which belonged (*formerly*) to Bhaṭṭi Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village **Vikaṭṭāṇaka** included in the **Kaśapura** (sub-division?), extending as far as the boundary of **Kōhalaṭṭaka,** to the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed (*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to it while he is enjoying and cultivating that field, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us.

(*This charter has been issued*), the *Pratihāra* **Dōddhira** being the *Dūtaka*, in **the year 100** (*and*) **10** (*and*) **7,** (*in the month of*) **Vaiśākha,** on the **third** (*lunar day*).

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[1] Read –भोग्यं.

[2] Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी–.

[3] Read कृतानुज्ञस्यैतत्क्षेत्रं.

[4] Read कृषतश्चा–

[5] Read प्रतिहारदोद्धिरदूतकं. Some words like लिखितमिदं are required to be supplied here. See the concluding portion of Nos. 9, 11, 12, etc.

[6] Read वर्षे. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] The unit symbol denotes 7, not 8 as supposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal; for it is exactly like the one used in l. 34 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragaṇa (No. 12).

[8] Read वैशाखतृतीयायाम्. Bhagvanlal suggested the reading द्वितीयायां which he thought was supported by the two dots at the end. But the latter may be a sign of punctuation like those after दूतकं.

[9] See above, pp. 10 ff.

[10] *Lit*., Our.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF MAHISHMATI

No. 5; PLATE III A

KANAKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102

THE inscription was discovered by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India at Kānākhērā, a village near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, Central India.[1] It is now preserved in the Sāñchī Museum. The inscribed stone was found built into a well. The record was first briefly noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1917-18, p. 57, and later edited by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 ff. It was re-edited by Mr. N.G. Majumdar, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol XIX (1923), pp. 337 ff., and later in the *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 392 ff. and Vol.III, Pl. CXXXIX. Mr. Majumdar corrected some mistakes in the transcript of Mr. Banerji and gave a different reading of the date at the end. The record is edited here from an excellent ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of six lines of writing, and covers a space, 6.75" broad and 2.5" high. It is in an imperfect state of preservation. Several *aksharas* towards the end of the first line have either become illegible or have been completely lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right edge of the stone. Besides, many more have been damaged in the middle of lines 4 and 5 by the flaking off of the surface of the stone. The size of the letters varies between 1.25" and .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. Their striking features are the elongated verticals of *k*, *r* and *l*, the beautiful superscript curves denoting medial *i* (short and long) and rarely medial *ā*, and the ornamental forms of the subscript *y* and *r*. The following peculiarities may be noted:—*ṇ* and *n* have a loop in the lower part; see *tridaśa-guṇa-* and *senāpatēr=*, both in l.1; *dh* has generally an oval shape; see *dharmma-vijayinā*, l. 2, but its archaic form is also noticed; see *Śrīdharavarmmaṇā* in the same line; *y*, though still tripartite, has a hook for its left limb; see *-nāyaka-* l. 2; and *ś* has generally a short horizontal bar, but in ligatures it assumes a tripartite form; see *śrāddhayā*, l. 3 and *śāśvatī*, l. 4. On the evidence of palaeography, the inscription may be referred to the 4th century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record begins in prose, but is rounded off with a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, composed in a good *kāvya* style. The influence of Prakrit is seen in the forms *trayōdaśamī* and *khānāpita*. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*; see *Śrīdharavarmmaṇā*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdharavarman who was the son of the Śaka Nanda. Though Śrīdharavarman belonged to the Śaka race, he was a follower of the Hindu religion; for he was apparently described in the mutilated line 1 as a worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsēna (Skanda or Kārttikēya), the commander of the celestial army. The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by Śrīdharavarman for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the acquisition of religious merit and fame, and the everlasting attainment of heaven.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 230.

The inscription contains in lines 2 and 3 the following **date,** ***viz.,*** **the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa** in the victorious **thirteenth year.** This date is mentioned in close connection with the name of the *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* Srīdharavarman to whose reign it apparently refers, but Banerji thought that as Srīdharavarman did not claim any royal title, it was extremely improbable that the year 13 was of his reign. He therefore referred the date to the reign of Jīvadâman, the father of Rudrasiṁha II and the founder of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, whose name, he thought, he could read in line 1.[1] But, as Majumdar has shown, this view is untenable;[2] for (i) the existing traces of letters in line 1 show that the correct reading of the passage where Banerji read the name of the Kshatrapa ruler is *vīryy-ârjjita-vijaya*[3]; (ii) no title like *Svâmin* is prefixed to the name of Jīvadâman even according to the reading of Banerji; and (iii) the victorious thirteenth year mentioned in line 2 is described as augmenting the reign evidently of Śrīdharavarman who is named immediately before in that line. It seems therefore that Srīdharavarman, though he held only the military title of *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka,* was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, since he does not mention any overlord in this epigraph[4].

There is **another date** towards the close of the record which has been differently read by Banerji and Majumdar. The former called attention to the two symbols which immediately follow the aforementioned verse in the *Sârdûlavikrīḍita* metre. The first of these, he thought, was 'the Western Kshatrapa symbol for 200 written at one stroke', while the second signified the unit. The **date** was thus 201 which Banerji referred to the Saka era and took as equivalent to 279 A. C. Mr. Majumdar, on the other hand, thought that the first sign had no resemblance to a 200 figure and that it was unlikely to be a numerical symbol since it was not introduced by a word like *varsha* or *saṁvatsara.* He, therefore, took it to be a sign of interpunction indicating the end of the verse. Mr. Majumdar, however, drew attention to the letter *sa* which occurs at some distance from this sign followed by 'apparently three numerical symbols'. He was not certain about the reading of the first of these, but took it tentatively as signifying 200. The other two signs he read as 40 and 1. The date of the epigraph was thus, according to Majumdar, 241. He referred this year to the Saka era and took it as equivalent to 319 A.C.[5]

Whatever may be the correct reading of this date, the attribution of it to the Saka era is not plausible;[6] for there is no other early date of that era coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa. The Saka era was, no doubt, used by the Kshatrapas in Kathiawad, but no records of their rule have been found in Malwa. In fact Kshatrapa supremacy in Malwa seems to have terminated about the middle of the third century A.C.[7] It seems therefore better to refer the date to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi era which was undoubtedly current in the adjoining Anûpa country as evidenced by the inscriptions of Subandhu.[8]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, 231.

[2] *J.A.S.B., N.S.,* Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 340 ff.

[3] Banerji read here *s-âditya-viryya-Jīvadâma-*.

[4] An analogous instance is that of the Śuṅga Emperor Pushyamitra, who retained his military title of *Sênâpati* to the last. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, p. 57; Kâlidâsa, *Mâlavikâgnimitra,* Act. V.

[5] *J.A.S.B., N.S.,* Vol. XIX, p. 342.

[6] Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar also gives this date doubtfully under the Śaka era. See *I.N.I.,* p. 144. The earliest date of the Śaka era found in Central India is the year 784 in a Jain inscription from Deogad in the Jhansi District. *I.N.I.,* No. 1085.

[7] Kshatrapa copper coinage of the Malwa fabric ceases about 240 A.C. Rapson, *C.A.D.,* Introd., p. cxxxiii.

[8] Nos. 6 and 7, below.

The first of the two signs, which immediately follows the completion of the verse in line 6, is definitely *not* a sign of interpunction as supposed by Majumdar; for, so far as I know, such a sign is not used for this purpose anywhere else. Banerji seems to be right in taking it to be a numerical symbol,[1] notwithstanding the unusual omission of an introductory word like *varsha* or *saṁvat*. The symbol, however, signifies 100, not 200; for the horizontal stroke which is generally attached to the top of its vertical in order to convert it into a symbol for 200[2] is not noticed in this case. This symbol is followed by two horizontal strokes, one below the other,[3] signifying the unit figure 2. This is followed by some *aksharas* which are indistinct. The first appears to be *sa* and the last *stu*. They may be remnants of *Siddham=astu*.[4]

The date of the record is thus the year 102, which, being referred to the Kalachuri era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of *amânta* Svāvaṇa va. di. 10 in the expired year 102 fell on the 22nd July 352 A. C. The date does not admit of verification, but it is supported by the palæographical evidence stated above.

TEXT[5]

1 सिद्धम्[6] [।*] भगवतस्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहासेनमहा [कुमारस्य*[7]][दिव्य]–
वीर्य्यार्ज्जितविज[य*] . . . .

2 धर्म्मविजयिना शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्म्मणा व[र्ष*सह]स्राय स्वरा–
ज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे*][8]

3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्व्वकमेतद्दिवसं[10] कल्याणाभ्युदयवृ[द्ध्यर्त्थम]क्षयस्वर्ग्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्म्म–
यशोर्त्थं धर्म्मासिसंबुद्ध्या श्रा(श्र)द्ध[या*]

4 शाश्वते[11] चन्द्रा[दित्य[12]][कालि]कोयं . . . . (।*)— — — ⏑ ⏑ —[13]
प्रसन्नसलिल: सर्व्वाधिगम्य: सदा

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[1] Majumdar's statement that this sign is not used as a numerical symbol is incorrect. As a matter of fact, it is the usual symbol denoting a hundred and is used in several records edited here. See, *e.g.* the dates of Nos. 3, 6, etc.

[2] See *e.g.* the symbol denoting hundreds in the plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8).

[3] These strokes are rather indistinct in the plate accompanying Banerji's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, but they appear clear in Pl. cxxxix of the *Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. III, and also in the fresh estampage supplied to me.

[4] D. C. Sircar has suggested the reading *svasty=astu*. *S.I.*, Vol. I, p. 181. It has, however, to be admitted that the first *akshara* shows no trace of the subscript *v*, and the second does not look like *stya*. Mr. Majumdar takes the last *akshara stu* as a numerical symbol denoting 40. But see the forms of the symbol for 40 in Plate IX in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*. The shape of that symbol is clearly different.

[5] From an inked estampage.

[6] This word is incised in the margin on the left, between lines 3 and 4.

[7] These four *aksharas* are damaged but can be read from the traces left. The following two *aksharas divya* are fairly clear. Banerji reads तेजसादित्य which yields no good sense. Majumdar first read *s-ādtitya-* and subsequently *-tējaḥ-prasādāt*. See *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, Vol. XIX and *M.S.*, Vol I, p. 393.

[8] Majumdar read [*rshsha*], but as the *akshara* is much defaced, it is difficult to say whether the consonant *sh* was reduplicated.

[9] There are some traces of an *akshara* after *śa*, which may be of *me* as supposed by Banerji and Majumdar. Read त्रयोदशे.

[10] Read दशम्यामेतद्दिवसे.

[11] Read शाश्वतं.

[12] Banerji read चतुःसत्य–, and Majumdar चन्द्रसूर्य–. But the reading चन्द्रा– is quite clear. Besides, there is no trace of the medial *ū* of *sū*. The correct reading appears to be चन्द्रादित्य–, which was later adopted by Majumdar.

[13] These six *aksharas* are illegible. I would restore श्वाकारेऽप्यतिथि:. The upper part of *kā*, the medial *i* of *ti* and the *visarga* are clearly seen.

5 सत्वा(स्वा)नां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धम्म्मा[भृतः[1]] शाश्वतः (।*)----- [प्रणम्य मनसा द्रव्यस्य[2]] [कृत्वा व्ययम्*]

6 [कू]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो[यं] शुभः[3] (॥*) १०० २[4][।*] [स]..स्तु[5] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! [This well], lasting for ever as long as the sun (*and*) the moon would endure, [has been excavated] by the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* **Śaka Śrīdharavarman,** the son of the **Śaka Nanda,** the righteous conqueror, [who meditates on the feet of] the Great [Kumāra], the divine Lord Mahāsēna (*Kārttikēya*), the Commander of the celestial hosts, whose army has never been vanquished and who, by his celestial prowess, attained victories . . . . on this day (*namely*) the **tenth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** in the victorious **thirteenth year** augmenting his dominion for a thousand years, [being actuated] by religious faith awakened by the sword of righteousness, for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the eternal attainment of heaven (*and*) the acquisition of religious merit and fame.

(Line 4) This excellent well containing clear water, [matchless in shape], which is always accessible to all, has an appearance pleasing to all living beings, and is a perennial store of water, has been caused to be excavated, for the acquisition of religious merit, by the meritorious Srīdharavarman, having mentally paid obeisance to . . . . (*and*) spent (*a large sum of*) money.

(L. 6) (*The year*) 100 (*and*) 2. May there be success!

[1] Banerji and, following him, Majumdar read -र्द्धम्मामलः, but the third *akshara* appears more like *bh* than *m*, and the following one has no resemblance to *l*. Besides, *dharmāmalaḥ* has a queer comparison.

[2] These nine *aksharas*, read here for the first time, appear to be quite certain from the traces still-extant.

[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[4] For the reading of these symbols, see above, pp. 14 ff.

[5] Read सिद्धमस्तु.

C.—Bagh Cave Plate of Subandhu.

ACTUAL SIZE

No. 6; Plate III B

BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU : (KALACHURI) YEAR 167

This Copper-plate was found in the Barwani District in Madhya Bhārat. Its exact findspot has not been recorded. The inscription on it was first noticed very briefly in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1924-25, and was later on edited, without any facsimile or translation, by Mr. R. R. Haldar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 f. Its contents and date were discussed by me in an article entitled 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. The record is edited here from an excellent facsimile which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a single copper-plate and on one side of it, measuring 8" broad by 3.2" high. The plate has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of eight lines, of which the last, containing the sign manual of Subandhu, is incised in the margin on the left.

The characters resemble those of the so-called Indore plate of Svāmidāsa and have knobs or boxes at the top. The numerical symbols for 100, 60 and 7 occur in line 6. The language is Sanskrit. There is no admixture of Prakrit forms in the wording of the grant. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r*, see *garttā-pathakaḥ*, l. 1 and *-paddrakē*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* Subandhu. Unlike Svāmidāsa and other princes of Khandesh, he gives no indication that he acknowledged the suzerainty of any other ruler, though, as shown below, his grant is probably dated in the same reckoning as theirs. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by *Mahārāja* Subandhu, of a field owned by a person named Sāti in the village (*padraka*) Sōhajanā which was included in the *pathaka* of Udumbaragartā. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Shashṭhisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The order was issued from the city of Māhishmatī. As no word like *vāsaka* is attached to the place-name, Māhishmatī was probably the royal capital at the time. The Dūtaka was Guhadāsa. The royal sign manual *Srī-Subandhōḥ* occurs in the margin on the left as in the case of the Khandesh plates.[1] The record is dated in the year 167 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era, on the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date does not admit of verification.

Mr. Haldar, who first edited the present inscription, referred its date to the Gupta era and took it as equivalent to 486 A.C.[2] He thought that *Mahārāja* Subandhu was a subordinate of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta whose Eran Stone inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A.C.), *i.e.*, just two years before the date of the Barwani grant.

This view, however, presents several difficulties. If *Mahārāja* Subandhu was a feudatory of the Guptas, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka Mahārājas. As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seems to have received a setback in Central India in the second half of the fifth century A.C.; for we have several records from Mandasor and the adjoining places in the ancient Daśārṇa country, which are dated not in the Gupta era, but in the Mālava *saṁvat*. Further, we learn from the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II (*circa* 470-90 A.C.) that the king of Mālava was one of the vassals of his father Narēndrasēna. If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta

[1] Above, Nos. 2 and 3.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 262.

Empire, it is not likely that Anūpa which lay further to the west continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy.[1] The year 167 is not, therefore, likely to be of the Gupta era.

The general resemblance that the present grant bears to the three preceding grants from Khandesh in respect of characters, phraseology, royal sign manual etc., indicates that it belongs to the same period as the latter. The era in which these four grants are dated must therefore be identical. As shown above, the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna in 249 A.C. The **date** of the present grant, if referred to the same era, would correspond to the 5th August 417 A.C. As stated above, it does not admit of verification.

Māhishmatī, from which the plate was issued, is generally identified with the holy place Oṅkāra Māndhātā on the Narmadā, in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya **Pradēsh.** The description of the city given by the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI, 43), namely, that it was surrounded by the river Narmadā like a girdle, suits Oṅkār Māndhātā very well. **Udumbaragartā,** which was the chief town of a *pathaka* named after it, may be Umarbār, now a small village on the western border of the Barwani District. It lies on the Jharkhal, a small tributary of the Narmadā. **Sohajanā** may be Sejwānik, about 4 miles south-east of Barwani.

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धम्[3] [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] माहिष्मतिनगरः[4] महार(रा)जसुबन्धुः कुशली उदुम्बर-
गर्त्तापथकः(के)
2 सोहजनापद्रके स्वानायक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणषष्ठिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राया[5] वा[जि]स-
4 नेय[6]सब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायता(ना)र्त्थमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्णणा(र्ण्ण)व-
5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं[7] ब्रह्मदेयमतिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*]विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि(चि)-
6 तया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुज(ञ्ज)तां न व्यासेधव्यxकाय्य[8](।*)सं १०० ६०७ भ(भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि
स[प्त] [।*]
7 गुहदासदूतकः [।*]
(*In the margin*) श्रीसुबन्धोः [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the city of **Māhishmatī**—*Mahārāja* **Subandhu,** being in good health, issues the (*following*) order to his (*officers*), *Āyuktakas* and others, at the village (*padraka*) of **Sohajanā** in the *pathaka* (district) of **Udumbaragartā:**—

The field, which is at present enjoyed by Sāti here (*i.e.*, at the village Sohajanā), has been granted by me as a *brahmadēya* gift to this Brāhmaṇa Shashthisvāmin of the Bhara-

[1] For a detailed discussion of this matter, see my aforementioned article on the age of the Bāgh Caves in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

[2] From an excellent photograph of an inked estampage of the plate supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read माहिष्मतीनगरात्.

[5] Read सगोत्राय.

[6] Read वाजसनेय.

[7] Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं.

[8] Read व्यासेधxकार्य्यः ।

dvāja *gōtra* who is a religious student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, (*to be enjoyed by him*) as long as the moon, the sun and the ocean would endure, for the increase of religious merit of my parents and myself.

(Line 5)—Having known (*this*), you should not cause from this day, (*any*) obstruction while he is enjoying it according to the condition of enjoying *brahmadēya* land.

(L. 6) (*In*) the **year** 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 7, in (*the month*) **Bhādrapada** (*and*) the **bright** (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) **day seven**. The **Dūtaka** is Guhadāsa.

(*In the margin*) Of the illustrious **Subandhu**.

No. 7; Plate III C

BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU

This **copper-plate** was found in the debris of **Cave** No. II at **Bāgh** in Madhya Bhārat. The inscription on it was first brought to notice in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1928-29, pp. 15 and 28. Its date was discussed by me in an article on the age of the Bāgh Caves published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. It is edited here from an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Archæological Department of Madhya Bhārat.

The record is on a **single copper-plate** and, like the preceding inscription of Subandhu, it is incised on only one face of it, measuring 8.3" broad by 4.5" high. It has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of fourteen lines, of which the last containing the royal **sign manual** is incised in the margin on the left. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the first three lines where a few *aksharas* in the upper left corner have now become illegible. Again, the plate has lost a small triangular piece with its two arms measuring 1.5" each in the lower right corner which has resulted in the unfortunate loss of an important portion of the grant mentioning its date. The size of letters varies from .15" to .3".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the South Indian alphabets resembling those of Svāmidāsa's plate[1] except that most of the letters have nail-heads instead of knob-heads. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the length of the medial *ī* is shown by a double curve as in the Vākāṭaka grants, see *chīvara*, l. 8, and that *t*, which is generally unlooped, shows a loop in *āchchhettā* l. 12. The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*, see *chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-*, ll. 5-6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Subandhu**. The **object** of it is to register the grant, by Subandhu, of a village situated in the *pathaka* of Dāsilakapallī.[2] The grant was made for providing materials for the worship of the Buddha and maintaining an alms-house in the *vihāra* called **Kalāyana**,[3] for repairing the broken and dilapidated portions of the *vihāra* and for supplying clothing, food, medicine, beds and

[1] Above, No. 2.

[2] The name of this *pathaka* was read at first as *Dasitbakapallī*. See *A.R.A.D.G.S.* for 1928-29, p. 28.

[3] *Kalāyana* "the Abode of Art is a fitting name for the caves at Bāgh which, like those at Ajaṇṭā, are well known for their beautiful paintings. See *Bāgh Caves* published by the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.

seats to the Community of Venerable Monks hailing from all the four directions. The order was issued by the king personally from **Māhishmatī** which was evidently his capital at the time. His **sign manual** *Mahārāja-Subandhōḥ* occurs in the margin on the left as on the preceding Barwani plate.

The plate bore a **date** at the end of lines 12 and 13, but owing to the breaking off of a piece of it, only the name of the month Śrāvaṇa now remains. All other details are now lost. The date of the Barwani grant made by the same *Mahārāja* Subandhu shows, however, that the inscription can be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A.C. **Māhishmatī,** as stated before, is probably identical with Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. **Dāsilakapallī** may be identical with Dēswāliā which lies about 14 miles almost due south of the Bāgh Caves.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] (।*) [स्वस्ति] (।*)माहिष्मतीनगरान्महाराजसुबन्धुxकुशली दासिलकपल्लीप–

2 [थके*] ....[3] ग्रकांश्च (स्थान?)लकदित्योद्ग्रहकायुक्तकविनियुक्तक–

3 चाटभट[गो]ष्ठिकगमागमिकदूतप्रेषणिकादीन्ग्रामप्रतिवा–

4 सिनश्च समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वः यथैष ग्रामो मया दत्तट–

5 ककारितकला[4]यनविहारे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनार्त्थमाचन्द्रा–

6 र्क्कार्ण्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः[5] भगवतो[6] बुद्धाय गन्धधूप–

7 माल्यबलिसत्रोपयोज्यः[7] भग्नष्फु(स्फु)टितसंस्का(स्क)रणार्त्थमार्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य

8 चातुर्द्दिशाभ्यागतकस्य चीवरपिण्डपातग्लानप्रत्ययशेय्यासनभै–

9 षज्यहेतोराग्रहार[8]स्सोद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः[9] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारो[10]

10 तिसृष्टः[11] विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्यास्मदीयैरण्य(न्य)विषयपतिभिश्च ..[12]

11 प्रि(प्री)त्यास्मत्प्रीत्या च भिक्षवो भुञ्जन्तो न व्यासेद्धव्याः [।*] षष्टिवर्षसह ..[13]

12 स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*) आच्छत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के) वसत(वसेत्) ।। स्वय–
[माज्ञा] [।*] .... [14]

13 श्रावण .....[15]

(*In the margin*) महाराजसुबन्धोः [।*]

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[1] From an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of Archæology, Madhya Bhārat.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] About four *akshara*s are illegible here. They must have contained the name of the village granted.

[4] The stroke denoting medial *ā* of *lā* is rather faintly seen in the impression, but it is there.

[5] Read कालीनो.

[6] Read भगवते.

[7] Read –त्रोपयोज्यो.

[8] Read –रग्रहार.

[9] Read –स्सोपरिकरो.

[10] This word is redundant.

[11] Read अतिसृष्ट इति विदित्वा

[12] Two *akshara*s are lost here. They may have been धर्म्मं–

[13] Two *akshara*s are lost here also. Read सहस्राणि.

[14] Three or four *akshara*s appear to have been lost here. They must have been *Saṁ* followed by two or three numerical symbols denoting the year.

[15] About four or five *akshara*s have been lost here. They must have contained the name of the fortnight followed by symbols denoting the *tithi*.

TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! From the city of Māhushmatī—*Mahārāja* **Subandhu**, being in good health issues the (*following*) order to *Sthānalakas*[1] (?), *Dityōdgrāhakas*,[2] *Āyuktakas*, *Viniyuktakas*, *Chāṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, *Gōshṭhikas*[3], *Gamāgamikas*[4], *Dūtapreshaṇikas*,[5] and others as well as villagers at...in the *pathaka of* **Dāsilakapallī**.

(Line 4) Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my parents and myself, this village has been granted by me together with *udraṅga*[6] and *uparikara*,[7] as an *agrahāra* according to the maxim of waste land,[8] in order that it may be used for (*defraying the expenses of*) perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms-house, for repairing broken and rent portions (of the *vihāra*) and for providing the Community of Venerable Monks coming from (*all*) the four quarters, with clothing, food, nursing of the sick, beds, seats as well as medicine in the Monastery called *Kalāyana* (the Abode of Art) caused to be constructed by Dattaṭaka, as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, planets, constellations and the earth would endure.

(L. 10) Having known this, our officers and rulers of other countries should not cause obstruction out of their love [for religion] and regard for us, while the monks (*of this Vihāra*) are enjoying (*the village*).

(*Here occurs a benedictive and imprecatory verse.*)

(L. 12) My own command . . . . . . in (*the month*) Srāvaṇa . . . . . .

(*In the margin*) Of the *Mahārāja* **Subandhu**.

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[1] I have not come across the name of this officer elsewhere. His name appears like that of the officer *Purillaka* mentioned in the recently discovered plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja.

[2] *Dityōdgrāhaka* was the collector of the royal cess called *ditya* which is mentioned in the records of the Gurjaras. For *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa* see below, p. 43, n. 12.

[3] *Gōshṭhikas* were members of the Managing Committee. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332 f.

[4] *Gamāgamikas* were officers who issued passports for egress and ingress. See also No. 25, l. 19.

[5] *Dūtaprēshaṇikas* were officers who despatched *dūtas*.

[6] The meaning of *Udraṅga* is still uncertain. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *inter alia* the following meanings :—the place where anything is kept, a store-room or receptacle. *S-ōdraṅga* in this sense would correspond to *sa-śibaram* in l. 12 of No. 20, below; but it is noteworthy that it is mentioned there in addition to the latter. *S-ōdraṅga* and *s-ōparikara* are generally used together to qualify the village or the land granted. They correspond to *sa-kḷipta* and *s-ōpakḷipta* which occur in a similar context in other records. In line 17 of the Hyderabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73) the expression *sa-kliptaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ* is used in place of *s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ* which shows that *udraṅga* has the same meaning as *kḷipta*. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) mentions *kḷipta* as one of the sources of royal income. Its derivation from *kḷip* to fix seems to point to the meaning of 'fixed assessment'. *Udraṅga* which, as shown above, is a synonym of *kḷipta*, has therefore probably the meaning of a land-tax.

[7] *Uparikara* is the counterpart of *antaḥ-kara* or *antar-āya*, which is mentioned in some southern records. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 27. It seems therefore to denote an external or additional tax, probably levied in kind such as is mentioned in the *MSM.*, *adhyāya* VII, vv. 130-32. It corresponds to *bhōga* mentioned in some early records. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

[8] *Bhūmi-chchhidra* is explained in the lexicon *Vaijayantī* as *kṛishy-ayōgyā bhūḥ i. e.*, land unfit for cultivation. The person, who brought such land under cultivation by cutting down trees etc., became the owner of it. Cf. *sthāṇu-chchhēdasya kēdāram* in *MSM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44. *Bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna* therefore means 'with full proprietary rights'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS

No. 8; Plate IVA

PARDI PLATE OF DAHRASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

PĀRḌĪ is the headquarters of a *tālukā* of the same name, 50 miles south of Surat, in the Surat District of the Bombay State. The present **plates**, which were found in 1884 in the course of digging a tank at Pārḍī, were first brought to notice by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji who edited them with a translation, but without a lithograph, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff. They were subsequently published, with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 51 ff. I edit them here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

'The **plates** are two in number, each measuring about 9 3/16" by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but, as may be seen from the facsimile, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. They are somewhat thin, so that the letters, though not very deep, show through on the backs of them, to such an extent that some of them can be read there. The interiors of the letters show the marks of the working of the engraver's tool.

'There is no ring of the ordinary kind, with a seal on it. But at each of the two ring-holes the plates were held together by a long **copper wire**, 1/8" thick in the thickest part, which, after being passed through the ring-holes, had its ends twisted over and round and round so as to form a kind of complicated tie, without the ends being soldered together. As the ring-holes are not much larger than the wires, and as the plates appear to have been secured as soon as they were discovered, it would seem that these wires are the means by which the plates were fastened together *ab initio*.

'The **weight** of the two plates is 31 tolas, and of the two wires 1¼ tolas; total, 32¼ tolas=12¾ oz.[1]'

The record consists of nine lines only, of which four are inscribed on the first and the remaining five on the second plate. The outer sides of the plates are blank. The engraver seems to have found the metal somewhat hard to work upon; his tool seems to have slipped occasionally (see *e.g.*, *kh* of *Vaiśākha* 1.9) and his strokes and curves are not properly formed. The average size of letters is .2".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. Most of the letters have knobs at the top. The *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ai* generally appear above the line (see *e.g.*, *skandhāvārād-* and *Traikkuṭakānāṁ* both in l. 1), while those for the medial *ō* appear as a horizontal stroke on either side, see *karmmakarō*, l. 2, *pitrōr-*, l. 4, *yaśō-*, l. 5 etc. Medial *au*, which occurs only once, is bipartite as in *Vākāṭaka* records, see *pautr-*, l. 6. No distinction is made between the short and the long medial *i*. The signs for medial short and long *u* are added to the right of the vertical stroke in some cases and to its left in others. As instances of the former, see *śuddha*, l. 9 and *bhūmidaḥ*, l. 8 and for those of the latter, notice *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *dūtakam-*, l. 8. The curve for medial *ṛi* is curled in *pitṛi* l. 1, but in other cases (as *e.g.* in *-bhivṛiddhayē*, l. 5, *samatisṛishṭō* and *kṛishatō* in l. 6), it is exactly like that for *r*. The right hand hook of *ñ* is added to its subscript *ch* which is open on the left, see *uktañ=cha*, l. 7. The subscript

[1] From Dr. Fleet's description of the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

n appears in two forms, see *Naṇṇa*, l. 3 and *-ārṇṇava-*, l. 5. The superscript *n* is unlooped in *-antarggata*, l. 4. The sign for *b* has a round top in *brāhmaṇa-*, l. 3. *Sh* generally appears with a notch in its left limb, see *shashṭi-*, l. 7, but notice its subscript form in *kshiti*, l. 5. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll. 6 and 7, and the numerical symbols for 200, 10, 7 and 3 in l. 9.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse towards the close, the record is in prose throughout. Attention may be drawn to the word *santaka* in l. 2 which is used here as in Vākāṭaka records in the sense of an official, and *bhōjya*, l. 6 which, contrary to Pāṇini VII, 3, 69, is employed in the sense of what is to be enjoyed.[1] The expression *Buddhagupta-dūtakam* in l. 8, which is evidently copied from an earlier record where it must have qualified some word like *likhitam*, is here wrongly connected with *ājñā*. As regards orthography we may note that a consonant following *r*, with the exception of *sh*, is doubled in several cases, see *karmmakarō*, l. 2, *-ārṇṇava*, l. 5, etc. Similarly *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta*, l. 1. Rules of *sandhi* have either not been observed, or violated in a few cases, see *svāmina atr-*, l. 3, *-bhivṛiddhayē ā-*, l. 5, and *krishatō praviśata-*, ll. 6-7.

The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā by *Mahārāja* Dahrasēna (of the dynasty) of the Traikūṭakas. The object of the inscription is to record the donation, by Dahrasēna, of the village Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā in the Antar-Maṇḍalī *vishaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and glory of the king and his parents. *The dūtaka* was Buddhagupta.

The date of the grant is given in line 9 as the thirteenth tithi (expressed both in words and in numerical symbols) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha in the year 207 (expressed in numerical symbols only). The palaeography of the present inscription leaves no doubt that this date refers to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year[2] 207, to the 23rd April 457 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Dahrasēna calls himself *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. He was, therefore, a worshipper of Vishṇu. He is identical with Dahrasēna, the son of Indradatta, 'the most devout worshipper of Vishṇu', whose silver coins were discovered at Damaṇ in the Surat District, Kāzad in the Indāpur *tālukā* of the Poona District, Karāḍ near Sātārā and some other places.[3] He was apparently an independent king, as he is said, in the present grant, to have performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

The localities mentioned here were identified by Dr. Fleet.[4] According to him the Antar-Maṇḍalī *vishaya* denotes 'the district of the territory between' the rivers Miṇḍhōlā on the north and the Pūrṇā on the south. I would rather take the expression to mean the district on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī (modern Miṇḍhōlā) river on the

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[1] *Santaka* and *bhōjya* occur in the earlier records also. See *e.g.* Nos. 2 and 3, l. 2.

[2] The date was first calculated by Dr. Fleet. It would correspond to the 4th April 456 A.C. if the year is taken to be current. In the case of the early records of the Kalachuri era, Nos. 1-34, the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C.

[3] Rapson, *C.A.D.* Introd., p. clx, f. n. 2. On some coins the name appears as *Dahragaṇa*, from which Rev. R. Scott conjectured that the king altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gaṇa* at an early period of his reign. But even in the later Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna his name appears as Dahrasēna. As Rapson has pointed out, some letters of the coin legends have assumed conventional forms, which has caused the confusion. See Rapson, *C.A.D.* Introd., pp. clxii f.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 53

analogy of Antar- Narmadā *vishaya* mentioned in the Sunao Kalā plates of Saṅgamasiṁha.[1] **Kāpura**[2] is a village of the same name, three miles south-south-west from Vyārā the head-quarters of the Vyārā subdivision of the Surat District. **Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā** means Smaller Taḍākāsārikā and may be represented by 'Tarsāri, fifteen miles almost due west of Kāpura and about half way between the Miṇḍhōlā and the Pūrṇā'. **Āmrakā,** where the king's camp was fixed, cannot be definitely identified as there are several villages of the name Ambachh or Āmbāchh in the neighbourhood, but of them the nearest to Kāpura is Ambachh, about 2 miles towards the south-west.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति [।*] विजयस्कन्धावारादाम्रकावासकात्त्रैक्कुटकानां[4] मातापितृपादानुद्धयातो भग–
2 वत्पादकर्म्मकरोश्वमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीमहाराजदह्नसेन: सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकानन्त–
3 र्म्मंण्डलि[5]विषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति यथा कापुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनण्णस्वामिन[6]
4 अत्रैव विषयान्तर्ग्गतकनि[7]यस्तडाकासारिकाग्रामो मा[ता]पि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्य–

Second Plate

5 यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्र(न्द्रा)र्क्कार्ण्णव[क्षि]तिस्थितिकालिका[8]श्चोरराजापत्थ्यकारिवर्ज्जं[9]
6 सर्व्वादित्यविष्टिपरिहारेण पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य[10]स्समतिसृष्टो यतोस्य भुञ्जतxकृषतो[11]
7 प्रविशतश्च न कनचि[12] प्रतिषेधxकार्य्यं इत्युक्तञ्च[13] भगवता व्यासेन [।*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्रानि[14]
8 स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[15][॥*] बुद्धगुप्त–
दूतकमाज्ञा[16]
9 सं २०० ७ वैशाखशुद्धत्रयोदश्या[17] १० ३ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at **Āmrakā**, the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Dahrasēna** (*of the family*) of the **Traikūṭakas**, who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat and who has performed an *Aśvamēdha,* issues the following order to all his[18] officials residing in the *vishaya* (district) of **Antar-Maṇḍalī.**

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[1] Below, No. 11.

[2] As Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out (*J. B. B. R.A.S., p.* 346), this is identical with Kāpura mentioned as the chief town of an *āhāra* in two Nāsik cave inscriptions.

[3] From the facsimile facing p. 53 in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X.

[4] Read त्त्रैकूटकानां.

[5] Read –नन्तर्म्मण्डली–.

[6] Read स्वामिनेत्रैव.

[7] Read कनीय–.

[8] Read कालिक–.

[9] Some expression like अचाटभटप्रावेश्य: is omitted after चोरराजापथ्य-. See text of No. 9, lines 10-11, p. 27, below.

[10] Read भोग्यस्समतिसृष्ट: । यतो–.

[11] Read कृषत : .

[12] Read प्रविशतश्च न केनचित्.

[13] Read कार्य्यं इति । उक्तञ्च.

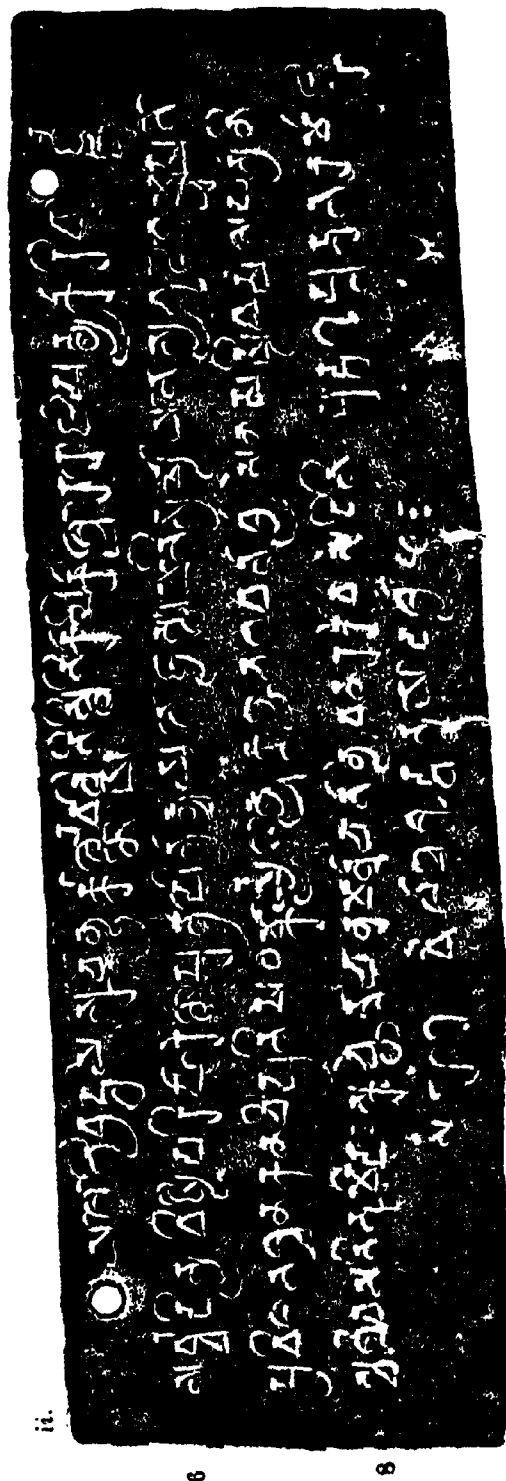
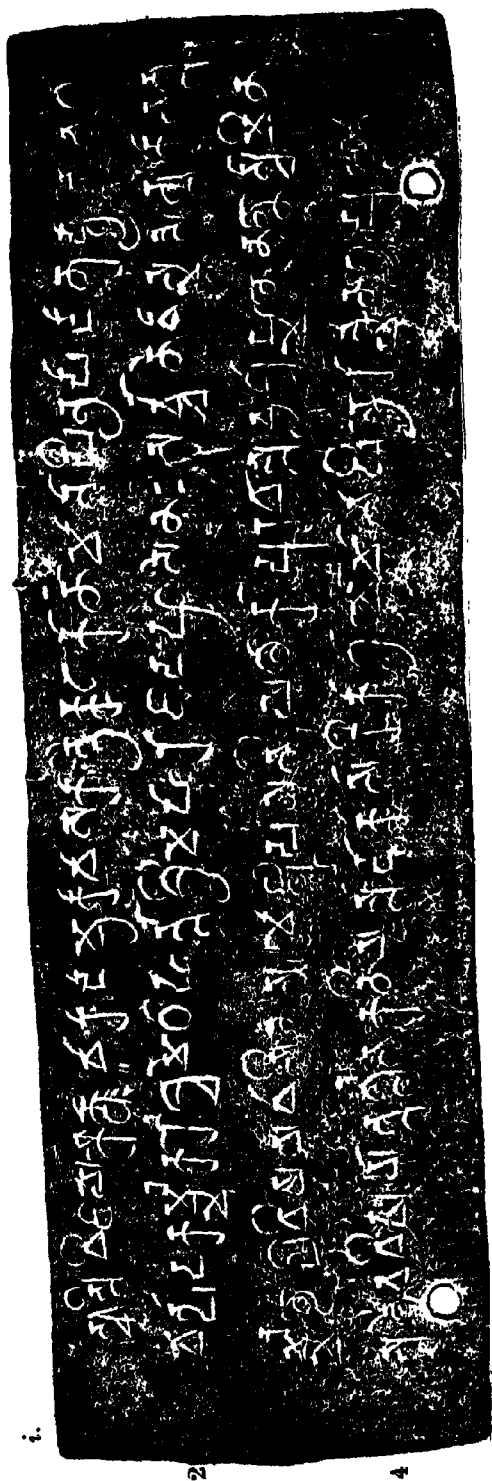
[14] Read सहस्राणि.

[15] Read वसेत् । इति । Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[16] Read बुद्धगुप्तदूतकाज्ञा.

[17] Read त्रयोदश्यां.

[18] *Lit.* our.

A.—Pardi Plates of Dahrasena: (Kalachuri) Year 207.

B. Ch. Chhabra

ACTUAL SIZE

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36

B.—SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 241.

ACTUAL SIZE.

(Line 5) For increasing the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, the village **Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā** (Smaller Taḍākāsārikā), situated in this very *vishaya*, has been conferred (*by Us*) on the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura, for as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas*[1]) except (*to punish*) thieves and rebels, to be exempt from all taxes (*diya*) and forced labour (*and*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons.

(L. 6) Wherefore, none shall cause obstruction while he enjoys, cultivates and assigns (*this village*).

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 8) (*This*) order (*is issued*), **Buddhagupta** being the *dūtaka*, (*in*) the **year** 200 (*and*) 7, on the **thirteenth**, (*in figures*) 10 (*and*) 3, (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha.**

No. 9; Plate IV B

SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 241

The plates were first brought to notice by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S., in a note which he added to Rev. H. R. Scott's article entitled 'Traikūṭaka coins from the Poona District' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently edited with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff. I edit the inscription here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

The **copper-plates** were found at **Surat.** 'They are two in number, each measuring between 9¼ and 9½ inches in breadth and about 3¼ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍī plates there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.[2]' The record consists of eighteen lines, nine being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is about .2".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Pārḍī plates[3]. Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities. The medial *ā* which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke in *-ārāti-*, l. 5, while in the case of *m* and *l* it is shown by a curve attached to the bottom of the letter, see *pramāṇī-*, l. 14, *Hālāhala*, l. 18. Notice also the curve denoting the *mātrā* for medial *ē* and *ō* in the case of *m* and *ṇ* in *śarmmaṇē*, l. 10 and *mōdati*, l. 16. The length of medial *ī* is in some cases (*e.g.*, in *śrī-Mahārāja*, l. 7) indicated by a dot and in others (*e.g.*, in *pallikā-*, l. 14), it is indicated by two curves turned in opposite directions. The medial *ṛi* is generally denoted by curled curve, but in one case (*viz. pramāṇīkṛitya*, l. 14) the vowel is shown by a curve

[1] See above, p. 24, n. 9 *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* were charged with the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers. See below, p. 43, n. 12.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 219.

[3] Above, No. 8.

turned downwards and added to the left of the vertical. The subscript *th* is shown by a double curve open on the left, see *sthira*, l.6 and *sthiti*, l.12. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l.1, and that for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll. 4, 5, 6 and 14. The **numerical symbols** for 200, 40, 10, 5 and 1 occur in l.18.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. In copying the formal part of the grant from previous records, the official draftsman has forgotten to change the genders of some adjectival expressions to make them conform to the feminine name of the donated village. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that the *anusvāra* is in most cases correctly replaced by a class nasal, but in *vaṅśā*, l.5 and *vaṅśya*, l.12 it is wrongly changed to the guttural nasal. The consonant following *r* is doubled in such cases as *karmma-*, l.1, *sarvva,-* l.3 *dīrggha*, l.13 and that preceding *y* is doubled in *-anuddhyātō*, l.1 and *rāj-āpatthya*, l.10.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Vyāghrasēna** (of the dynasty) of the **Traikūṭakas** from the victorious **Aniruddhapura**. The king is described as the servant of the feet of Bhagavat (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the lord of the **Aparānta** and other countries. **Aparānta** is North Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. It is, therefore, interesting to read in line 6 that the king had stationed an army of many great warriors to guard the sea as well as forts and towns.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Vyāghrasēna, of the village **Purōhitapallikā** in the **Iksharakī** *āhāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Karka** and the *dūtaka*, **Hālāhala.**

The **date** is expressed in numerical symbols only in l.18 as the **fifteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika of the year 241.** *Mahārāja* Vyāghrasēna of the present plates who was a devotee of Vishṇu is clearly identical with the *Paramavaishṇava* Vyāghrasēna whose **silver coins** have been found at Kāzad in the Indāpur Taluka of the Poona District[1] and other places[2] in Western India. From these coins which resemble those of Dahrasēna, we learn that he was the son of *Mahārāja* Dahrasēna. The date of the present plates, therefore, must, like that of the Pārḍī plates, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired[3] year 249, to the 14th October 490 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present plates, **Aparānta,** Ariake of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, is, as already remarked, identical with North Konkan. As the Traikūṭakas were ruling over Aparānta, **Trikūṭa,** their home land, must have been situated in the west. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta and the lexicographer Kēśava gives Sahyādri as a synonym for Trikūṭa.[4] The victorious **Aniruddhapura** was probably the Traikūṭaka capital as no word like *vāsaka* (camp) is attached to it. As Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, it is probably identical with

[1] *J. B. B. R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 2. For the latter part of the name which Rev. R. Scott read as *gaṇa*, see above, p. 23, n. 4.

[2] *J.R.A.S.* (1905), pp. 801 ff.

[3] If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 25th October 489 A.C. As the Kalachuri year began on Karttika śu. di. 1, the date of the present plates (Kārttika śu. di. 15) cannot in any case fall in 491 A.C., as supposed by Hultzsch.

[4] Cf. *Sahyāchalas=tu Mūrddhādris=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha saḥ. Kalpadrukōśa* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. I, p. 342. For the exact location of Trikūṭa, see below, No. 31, l. 38.

the victorious Aniruddhapurī mentioned in the Bagumrā plates[1] of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. He identified it with Sūrpāraka, Sopārā in the Ṭhāṇā District, on the authority of the lexicon *Vaijayantī*.[2] But the statement in the lexicon only places Sūrpāraka in the Aparānta country. It does not state that it was the capital of Aparānta at any time, much less at the time of the Traikūṭakas. Besides, the mention of Aniruddhapurī as the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee of the Bagumrā grant indicates that it should be looked for not very far from the donated village which was near Bagumrā. It was, therefore, probably situated in South Gujarāt. I have not, however, been able to trace any place-name similar to it in that part of the country. **Purōhitapallikā**, the donated village, is probably identical with Pāl, two miles to the west of Surat.[3] **Iksharakī**, the head-quarters of the *āhāra* in which it was situated, is probably represented by Achchhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति [।*] विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटका[नां] [म]तापितृपादानुद्ध्यातो भग[व]त्पादकर्म्मकर-×करयतक्रमागत–

2 स्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकम[लस्स्व]भुजपरिपालन[प्र]ता–

3 पार्ज्जितप्रभु[5]द्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तसर्व्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशाश्शा[रद]रजनिकरच[चिरवपु]–

4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शना[र्त्थमि]व [निर्म्मित×प्रति]–

5 हतसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्स्ववङ्शा[6]लङ्कारभूत[×प्रभूतप्रवी]रसाधना–

6 धिष्ठितदुर्गांना(न)गर[6]सागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृति×प्रकृ[तिजन]मनोहर×प्राज्ञ–

7 संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगूहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीश्श्रीमहा–

8 राजव्याघ्रसेन: सर्व्वानवे[7]क्षरक्याहारान्तर्ग्गतपुरोहितपल्लीकाप्रतिवासीनो[8]–

9 स्समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

10 [भरद्वाज]सगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्म्मणे[9] इयं पल्लिका चोरराजापथ्यकारिवर्ज्जं[10] अचाटभट–

11 प्रा[वे]श्या सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणो[11]ग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या [12]आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णव–

12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनो[13]तिसृष्टा [।*] तदस्मद्वङ्शय[14]राजभिरन्यैश्च विभवानभावानुबद्धा–नायुष्य–

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[1] Below, No. 26, line 25.

[2] Cf. *Aparāntās=tu pāschātyās=tē cha Śūrpārak=ādayaḥ* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, v. 53.

[3] From the name *Purōhitapallikā* of the donated village, Dr. Hultzsch inferred that the donee Nāgaśarman was the king's family priest (*purōhita*). But the conjecture appears improbable, as the village bore the name even before the grant.

[4] From the facsimiles facing page 221 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI.

[5] Read वंपा—.

[6] Dr. Hultzsch reads नगर but the sign of the medial ā is clean in his lithograph.

[7] Read सर्व्वानिवेक्ष—.

[8] Read पल्लिकाप्रतिवासिन—.The length of ī in *pallīkā* is quite clear in the lithograph.

[9] Read शर्म्मण इयं.

[10] Read वर्ज्जमचाट—.

[11] Read परिहीणाग्राहार—.

[12] Read भोज्याचन्द्रा—.

[13] Read कालीनातिं—.

[14] Read —वंश्य—.

13 योंगानुगतञ्जुणांश्च दीर्घंकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-

14 मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरञ्चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरियं[1] पल्ली(ल्लि)कादायो-
नुमन्तव्य ᳵ पा-

15 लयितव्यश्च [।*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] पूर्व्वंदत्तान्द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]-
द्रक्ष युधि-

16 [ष्ठिर][।*] महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्)[2] [॥१॥*] षष्टिवर्षंसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे मोदति

17 [भूमिदः] [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) प्रतिपृच्छच
लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्र-

18 [हिककर्क्के]ण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious **Aniruddhapura,**—the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Vyāghrasēna** (*of the family*) of the **Traikūṭakas**—who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat; who is the lord of the **Aparānta** and other prosperous countries acquired by his arms and (*of those*) inherited (*by him*); whose lotus-like feet are bowed to by countless kings; whose bright fame, acquired by bestowing (*in charity*) abundant wealth obtained by the protection (*of his subjects*) with his arm (*as well as*) by his prowess, has pervaded all quarters; whose body is lovely like the autumnal moon; whose noble actions resemble those of distinguished men of bygone times; who has been created as if to show an example of good conduct; who has overcome neighbouring foes; who is more distinguished than other kings; who is an ornament of his family; who, by his armies of many great warriors, has occupied forts, cities and seas; who by nature is as grave as the sea (*is deep*), and as firm as (*Himālaya,*) the chief of mountains; who is naturally attractive to people; whose wealth is shared by learned men, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons; whose enviable fortune is allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth — issues this order to all residents of **Purōhita-pallikā** included in the **Iksharakī** *āhāra.*

(Line 9)—"Be it known to you, that for augmenting the religious merit of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, We have given this village, (*which is*) not to be entered by policemen and soldiers except for (*arresting*) thieves and rebels, which is exempt from all taxes and forced labour, (*and is*) to be enjoyed as an *agrahāra* by his descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra.*

(L. 12) "Therefore, considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are noble deeds, kings born in our family and others, (*who are*) desirous of accumulating, for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this gift of the village."

(L. 15) For, the holy Vyāsa, who arranged the *Vēdas*, has said—

(*Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

[1] Read —यं.

[2] Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushṭubh.*

(L. 17) Having inquired again (*about the details of the grant*) I, the *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika* Karka, have written (*this charter*), Hālāhala being the *dūtaka*.

The year 200, 40 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

No. 10; Plate V A

KANHERI PLATE OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS : (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

Kanhēri is situated on the island of Salsette, about twenty miles from Bombay. It is well-known for its numerous Buddhist caves. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who has left us a description of a five-storeyed cave temple there. The present plate was discovered in 1839 by Dr. James Bird. He gives the following account of its discovery in his article entitled 'the opening of the Topes at the caves of Kānari and the relics found in them', which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. X, pp. 94 ff. 'Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago I thought of opening some of them, in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics; but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr. Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so.

'The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the Lath or cave character, accompanied the urns and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed.'

Dr. Bird kept the plates with himself and published a small lithograph in his *Historical Researches*. He subsequently wrote the aforementioned article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* which was accompanied by an eye-copy of the record with an interlinear transcription in Dēvanāgarī and an English translation. Later on Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., attempted a transcript and a translation from the same eye-copy, as the plate could not be traced after Dr. Bird's death. His article was published in July 1853 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 10 ff. The work of both Dr. Bird and Dr. Stevenson was very imperfect, though the former recognised that it was a Buddhist inscription and the latter gave a correct reading of its date. The record was first correctly read by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji with his wonted ingenuity, from the eye-copy published in the *J.A.S.B.* His transcript, which was accompanied by an English translation and an enlarged facsimile of Dr. Bird's lithograph, was published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp. 56 ff. The plate is edited here from the same facsimile. It will be seen that the transcript given here differs from Pandit Bhagvanlal's text in very few places.

The record consists of nine lines written breadthwise on one side of the plate.[1] The latter does not seem to have been properly cleaned before Dr. Bird's facsimile was prepared; for several curves, *mātrās* and *anusvāras*, which were probably filled with verdigris on the original plate, do not appear at all in the lithograph. In making the transcript given below I have, however, taken the lithograph to be an accurate copy of the original plate, as it is now impossible to say which of the mistakes in the lithograph are due to the fault of the copyist.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other Traikūṭaka plates. The only points worth noticing are that the length of the medial *ī* is denoted by a curve curling to the right in *kshīrōdaḥ*, l. 7 and to the left in *kshīra-tōyō* in the same line; the medial *ū* is shown in a peculiar way in *ghūrṇṇat-*, l. 7; the sign for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in l. 2 and that for the *jihvāmūlīya* in l. 7. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for a verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The only **orthographical** peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases; see e.g., *pravarddhamāna-*, l. 1, *-antarggata-* l. 2, etc., and that *v* is doubled seemingly after an *anusvāra* in *sa[ṁ*]vvatsara*, l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous regime of the **Traikūṭakas** and records that in **the year two hundred and forty-five** (expressed in words only) **Buddharuchi**, the son of **Buddhaśrī** and **Pushyavarman** and a devoted servant of the holy Śākya Sage (Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village **Kāṇaka** included in the **Sindhu** *vishaya*, erected at **Kṛishṇagiri** the Chaitya, in which the plate was found, and which he dedicated to the venerable **Śāradvatīputra**, the foremost disciple of the great sage (Buddha). After invoking the blessings of gods, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyādharas, Māṇibhadras, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, Vajrapāṇi, etc., the record closes with the hope that the fame of Pushyamitra's son (*i.e.*, Buddharuchi) would last as long as the milky ocean, the Mēru mountain and rivers would endure. The last line contains only two letters which seem to read *dāḍhā* and perhaps refer to the **tooth relic** of Śāradvatīputra on which the *stūpa* was erected.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who first read correctly the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, connected it with the expression containing the date, and understood it to mean the two hundred and forty-fifth year of the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas. He, therefore, thought that he had found in the present plate a clear statement that the era known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era was founded by the Traikūṭakas, who, in later times, assumed the dynastic name of Haihaya or Kalachuri[2]. This view was at first accepted by Fleet[3], but later on[4] he pointed out in his article on the era that the real meaning of the expression, in accordance with an early Hindu method of expressing dates, may just as well be 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era).' As a matter of fact, we find no dynastic or regional name associated with the era till the eleventh century A.C. The date of the present inscription would correspond to 493-94 A.C. or 494-95 A.C., according as the year 245 was current or expired. It does not contain any details for calculation.

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[1] No details about the plate, *e.g.*, its breadth, height and weight, have been recorded.

[2] See his article 'Two new grants of the Traikūṭaka dynasty' in the *P.V.O.C.*, pp. 212 ff.

[3] *D.K.D.* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II), pp. 294-95.

[4] See his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era', *J.R.A.S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.

As for the **localities** mentioned in this inscription, **Krishṇagiri** is evidently Kaṇhēri, and **Sindhu** *vishaya* the district of Sindh in North India. The village **Kāṇaka,** from which **Buddharuchi** hailed, I am unable to identify.

TEXT[1]

1 नमस्सर्व्व[ज्ञ]ाय ॥ त्र(त्रै)[2]कूटकाना(नां) प्रवर्द्धमानराज्य(ज्ये) स[3]व्वत्सरशतद्वये पञ्चचत्वा-
रि(रिं)शदुत्तरे कृ[ष्ण]गिरिमहाविहारे

2 सि[न्धु][4]विषया[न्तर्ग्ग]तग्रा[5]मिकाणकवास्तव्य[:*] सुप्रभायाः बुद्धश्रियाxपुष्यवर्म्मणश्च
[पु ?]त्रो दशबलबल(लि)-

3 नो भगवतश्शाक्यमुनेस्सम्यक्सम्बु[द्ध]स्य तद्धर्म्म[श्र]ावकार्य्यं[6]भ(भि)[क्षो7][:*] च[र]ण-
परिचरणकुश[लो] बुद्धरुचिरि-

4 दं तस्यैव परममुनेरग्रश्रावकस्यार्य्यशार[द्व8]तीपुत्रस्य चैत्य(त्यं) घटितपाषाणेष्टकाभिराच-

5 [न्द्र9]ार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षि(क्षि)तिस्थितिसमकालीन(नं) प्रतिष्ठापितवा(वां)स्तदस्य देवय[क्ष]-
सिद्धविद्याधरगणमाणिभद्रपू-

6 र्णभद्रपञ्चिकार्य्यवज्रपाणिवाङ्कण[का?]दयः[10] स्वस्ति दिशन्त्वपि च[।*] [य]ा[व]द्वीचि-
(ची)सहस्रप्रचलि[त]मकरा-

7 घूर्ण्ण(र्ण्णि)तावर्त्ततोय[:*] क्षीरोदः क्षीरतोयो वृहदुपलचितxकक्कंशो वापि मेरुः [।*] यावद्व-
(द्वा) यान्ति नद्य-

8 स्सुविमलसलिल(ला)स्सागरं तोयवत्यः तावत्कीर्त्ति[11] स्थिरेय(यं) भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं
पुष्यनाम्न[:*॥१॥][12]

9 दाढा[13](?)[।*]

[1] From the lithograph in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, A. S. W. I.*

[2] Neither of the two *mātrās* on *ttra* can be seen, but there is no uncertainty about the dynastic name which occurs in the two other records (Nos. 8 and 9). Pandit Bhagvanlal read त्रिकूटकानां.

[3] There was evidently an *anusvāra* on *sa* which is responsible for the reduplication (wrong, of course,) of *v*. Pandit Bhagvanlal took the upper sign for *m*. Read संवत्सर-.

[4] The vertical stroke joining what now looks like an *anusvāra* to the horizontal stroke of the superscript *n* has not come out in the lithograph.

[5] Perhaps ग्रामकाणक was intended. Bhagvanlal read ग्रामे काणक.

[6] The superscript *r* has been wrongly written like the medial *i*. The sign for the medial *i* on *bh* has not come out in the lithograph.

[7] The superscript *k* of *ksh* is cursive like that in *kshiti*, in line 5 of the Pārḍi plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8). Pandit Bhagvanlal proposed to read गण्यो, but the first *akshara* is probably *bha*. See *Suprabhāyāḥ*.

[8] The subscript letter appears like *ta*, but there is no uncertainty about the name.

[9] The subscript curve appears like that of medial *ri*, but it is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

[10] Pandit Bhagvanlal read वङ्कणकादयः, but the first *akshara* has clearly the sign of medial *ā*. *Vāṅkaṇaka* may be a follower of Vaṅkaṇa. The latter is, perhaps, the presiding diety of the Vaṅka mountain mentioned in some *Jātakas*. See, for instance, the Vessantara Jātaka (Eng. Tr. by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, p. 266) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions the Vaṅkaṭaka mountain.

[11] The *visarga* is dropped here by the Vārttika on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

[12] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[13] *D* is generally acute-angled in this record, but its rectangular form occurs in *pravarddhamāna-*, l. 1. The second *akshara* of this word has the same form as *ḍh* which occurs twice in l. 24 of the Sunao Kalā plates of Saṅgamasiṁha (No. 11). It can also be read as *phā* (See *sphī* in l. 2 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, No. 9, above), but *dāphā* gives no sense.

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the augmenting kingdom of the **Traikūṭakas, in the year two hundred increased by forty-five,** in the Great Monastery at **Kṛishṇagiri, Buddharuchi,** a resident of the village **Kāṇaka** included in the **Sindhu** *vishaya* (district), the son of the glorious **Buddhaśrī** and **Pushyavarman,** skilful in serving the feet of the holy Śākya sage who was mighty by the possession of the ten powers *and* attained complete enlightenment, (*and*) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this *Chaitya* with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*which is*) dedicated to the venerable **Śāradvatīputra** the chief disciple of the same great sage (*i.e.*, Buddha).

(Line 5) Therefore, may gods, *yakshas*,[1] *siddhas*,[2] *vidyādharas*,[3] *gaṇas*, *Māṇibhadras*,[4] Pūrṇabhadra,[5] Pañchika,[6] the venerable Vajrapāṇi,[7] Vāṅkaṇaka[8] and others bless it!

(L. 6) Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (*its*) waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Mēru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (*their*) water into the ocean — even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (*who is*) named Pushya!

(L. 9). **A canine tooth** (?)

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[1] A *Yaksha* is a semi-divine being who is described as an attendant of Kubēra in Hindu mythology.

[2] A *Siddha* is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, *aṇimā* and others.

[3] A *Vidyādhara* is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himālayas.

[4] A *Māṇibhadra* is a follower of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the prince of *yakshas*. Perhaps the intended reading in the text is *Maṇibhadra*. Cf. *Purṇabhadra*.

[5] *Purṇabhadra* is the name of a *yaksha*, the father of Harikēśa.

[6] *Pañchika* is the chief of the generals of Kubēra or Vaiśravaṇa. For his form, see the *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 156 ff.

[7] *Vajrapāṇi* (Thunderbolt-bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from Śakra, the lord of gods. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 ff.

[8] He is perhaps a follower of Vaṅkaṇa (the deity of the Vaṅka mountain ?).

B.—SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

i.

ii.

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMASIMHA

No. 11; Plate V B

SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

THESE plates were discovered in November 1898. They were first published, with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XX, pp. 211 ff., and subsequently with a translation and photo-lithographs by Prof. Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, pp. 72 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs accompanying Prof. Sten Konow's article.

The **copper-plates** are two in number. 'They were found buried about two feet below the surface of a cart track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahāl of the Broach District . . . The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6 and one in line 7 . . . The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.'[1] Each plate measures 12¼" broad and 6¼" high. The record consists of twenty-five lines, of which twelve are inscribed on the first, and the remaining thirteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is ¼".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Traikūṭaka grants. There is a triangular wedge at the top of letters except in the case of *b, ṇ, ñ* and sometimes of *l* and *r*. The initial *i* which occurs in l. 12 shows a closed hook on the left. The medial *ō* and *au* are not clearly distinguished, compare *e.g. ō* in *yaśō-vāptayē* l. 11 and *au* in *Laukākshi* l. 6. *L* occurs in two forms: (1) with a short vertical as in *kulaputraka* and *kuśala-*, l. 3 and (2) with the vertical bent to the left as in *Gālava*, l. 5 and *phalaṁ*, l. 21. *Th* has the same form, whether it is independent or subscript, see *e.g., yathā*, l. 4 and *sthiti-*, l. 9. A final consonant is indicated by a short horizontal stroke which takes the place of the wedge at the top; see *vasēt*, l. 20. The sign of the *Jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l. 15 and the **symbols** for 200, 90, 10, 5 and 2 in l. 25.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 19-23, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases, see *sarvvān*, l. 2, *Antar-Nnarmadā*, l. 4, etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y*, see *pād-ānuddhyāto*, l. 1. *Saṁgamasīha for Saṁgamasiṁha* and *karishayatāṁ* for *karshayatāṁ* are evidently due to the influence of the Prakrits.

The plates were issued by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, **Saṅgamasiṁha** from **Bharukachchha**. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Śoṇavvā** in the **Antar-Narmadā** *vishaya* to five Brāhmaṇas, who were residents of **Bharukachchha**, on the occasion of the **Mahākārttikī**, *i.e.*, the full-moon day of **Kārttika**. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices, *viz., bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra* and *havana*. The grant was written by

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 211.

Vishṇushēṇa according to the order conveyed by the *Mahāpratīhāra* **Gōpāḍhyaka.** The *dūtaka,* was the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Rēvaḍhyaka.**

The inscription is dated, in the last line, on **the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 292** of an unspecified era. The *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only. As the characters of the present record resemble those of Traikūṭaka grants, its date must likewise be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the date would correspond, for the expired year[1] 292, to the 20th October 541 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Saṅgamasiṁha calls himself *Mahāsāmanta,* which indicates his feudatory rank. Prof. Sten Konow called attention to the fact that 'the wording of our grant sometimes recalls the phraseology of the Sarsavṇī plates; compare ll. 18-19 with ll. 26-27 of the latter, and, especially, the end of the two grants, where we have, in both cases, first an instrumental (*-prāpit-ājñayā* and *-vijñāpanayā,* respectively), then a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *-dūtakaṁ,* and followed by *likhitaṁ* and finally the date expressed in the same way in numerical figures.[2]' From this he conjectured that Saṅgamasiṁha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris, who, down to the time of Buddharāja (609 or 610 A.C.), retained the command of the country round Broach. He thought that either Kṛishṇarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, or his predecessor, must have been the overlord of Saṅgamasiṁha. A comparison of the wording of the present record with the phraseology of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna would, however, show that the former inscription bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to any record of the Kalachuris; for, besides the peculiarities noticed by Prof. Sten Konow, all of which are also found in the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, our inscription has copied lines 16-19 *verbatim* from earlier records of the Traikūṭakas (see, *e.g.,* lines 12-15 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna), the only difference being the omission (evidently inadvertent) of *apadānam* after *avadātam.* Saṅgamasiṁha's present inscription was, therefore, drafted by a clerk, who had before him the earlier records of the Traikūṭakas. And this is not at all surprising, for Sōṇavvā, the village granted by the present charter, is only two miles to the north of the Kim which probably formed the northern boundary of the Traikūṭaka kingdom. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Saṅgamasiṁha had under his sway some territory which was previously ruled over by the Traikūṭakas. The similarity in the wording of the grants of Saṅgamasiṁha and Buddharāja is, therefore, due to the draftsmen of both having drawn upon earlier Traikūṭaka records.

The successors of Saṅgamasiṁha do not seem to have retained their hold over the Broach District for a long time; for within fifty years from the date of the present plates we find that the neighbouring country came under the rule of another feudatory, Nirihullaka, of the Kalachuri Emperor, Śaṅkaragaṇa and soon after, we find Śaṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja himself, donating a village in the Bharukachchha *vishaya.*

As for the **localities** named in the present grant **Bharukachchha,** which was probably the capital of Saṅgamasiṁha, is modern Broach. The donees also were residents of this place. **Śōṇavvā**, the village granted, is probably Sunao Kalā, 18 m. west by south of Broach, where the plates were found. The **Antar-Narmadā** *vishaya,* in which it was situated, was, as its name indicates,[3] a district comprising territory on both the sides of the Narmadā.

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[1] If the year is taken to be current, the date would correspond to the 31st October 540 A.C.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 73.

[3] The name *Antar-Narmadā* of the *vishaya* must be taken, as Dr. Fleet has shown (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 56), to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, though the correct form in that case should be *Antar-Narmada.* It may be noted that the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*adhyāya* 45, *sl.* 130) speaks of *Āntara-Narmada vishayas.* Cf. *Nāsikyādyāś=cha yē ch=ānyē yē ch=aiv=āntara-Narmadāḥ । Bhānukachchhāḥ (Bhārukachchhāḥ?) samāhēyāḥ sahaśāśvatair=api* ॥.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] [स्वस्ति] [।।*] भरुकच्छान्मातापितृपादानु[ध्या]तो म[हासामन्तश्री]महाराज-
संगमसींहः[3]

2 सर्व्वानेव स्वान्राजस्थानीयोपरिककुमारामात्यविषयपत्यारक्षिकग्रामिक-

3 कुलपुत्रकचाटभटादींस्तदादेशकारिणश्च कुशलमनुवर्ण्य समनुदर्श-

4 यति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथास्माभिरन्तर्म्मदाविषयान्तर्गतशोणव्याग्रामो भारु-

5 कच्छकछन्दोगिसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणानन्तदत्त[4] तथा गालव-

6 सगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिप्रजापतिशर्म्म[5] तथा लौकाक्षि[6]सगोत्राध्वर्य्युसब्रह्म-

7 चारिशिवदेव[7] तथा लोहायनसगोत्राध्वर्य्युसब्रह्मचारिभाणुदेव[8] तथा पौ[र्ण][9]स-

8 गोत्रबहृचसब्रह्मचारिभवरुचिभ्यो[10] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवन[प]ञ्च-

9 महायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः

10 सोद्रंगस्सोपरिकरस्सभूतवातप्रत्यायोचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन

11 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवाप्तयेच्च पुण्यतमां

12 महाकार्त्तिकीतिथिमगीकृत्य[11] उदकातिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितो(तः ।) यत एषां ब्राह्मणानां

Second Plate

13 उचितय[ा] ब्रह्म[देयाग्रहा*]रस्थित्या भुंज[तां] कृषतां करिषयतां[12] प्रदिशतां च न केनचित[13]

14 निषेधे वर्तितव्य[मिति । एत*]द्ग्र[ा][म]निवासिभिरप्यमीषां विधेयैर्भूत्वा समुचित-

15 मेयहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयxकार्य्यः [।*] भविष्यद्राजभिश्चास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सा-

16 [मा*]न्यं भूमिदानपुण्यफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिर्व्विभवानभायानुबद्धानायुर्व्वियोगा-

17 [नुग*]तं गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानं च गुणवतामवदात[14]मिति

18 [प्रमा*]णीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः

19 [पा*]लयितव्यश्चेति ।। उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ।। षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति

20 [भू]मिदः [।*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[15]।। [१*।।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिस्स-

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[1] From the lithograph facing p. 74 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read संगमसिंहः.

[4] Read दत्तस्तथा.

[5] Read -शर्म्मा.

[6] Prof. Sten Konow proposes to read सौगाक्षि [*Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 75], but the *Gôtrapravaranibandhakadamba* gives the *Laukākshi gôtra* under the Āngirasas.

[7] Read शिवदेवस्तथा.

[8] Read भानुदेवस्तथा.

[9] Mr. Jackson doubtfully read चोष्वि, and Prof. Konow पौष्वि, but the aforementioned work on *gôtras* and *pravaras* does not give any *gôtras* of these names. Perhaps पौर्ण was intended for which see *ibid.*, p. 31.

[10] Read भवरुचिरित्येतेभ्यो.

[11] Read -मंगीकृत्योदका-. Prof. Konow suggested-मधिकृत्यो-.

[12] Read कर्षयतां.

[13] Read केनचित्.

[14] Some word like अपवर्गं is omitted here. Compare l. 13 of the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasêna (No. 9, above).

[15] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh*.

21 गराविभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [२॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजा-
तिभ्यो य-

22 त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [३*॥] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो-

23 यासु [शु]ष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते पूर्व्वदायान्हरन्ति ये ॥ [४*]

24 महाप्रतीहारगोपाढधकप्रापिताज्ञया सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवाढधकदूतकं

25 लि[खि]तं विष्ण(ष्णु)षेणेनेति ॥ सं २०० ९० २ कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From **Bharukachchha**—the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, **Saṅgamasiṁha**, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, having stated his good health,[1] informs all (his *subordinates, such as*) *Rājasthānīyas*,[2] *Uparikas*,[3] *Kumārāmātyas*,[4] heads of *vishayas*, *Ārakshikas*,[5] *Drāṅgikas*,[6] *Kulaputrakas*,[7] *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and others, as well as those who execute their orders (*as follows*):—

(Line 4). "Be it known to you that for obtaining religious merit and fame for Our mother and father and for Ourself, We, availing Ourself of the holiest Mahākārttikī[8] *tithi* today, have granted with a libation of water, the village Sōṇavvā situated in the Antar-Narmadā *vishaya* together with the *udraṅga*[9] and the *uparikara*,[10] as well as excise and octroi duties, (*which is*) not to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, (*and is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, according to the maxim of uncultivated land—to the (*following*) residents of Bharukachchha, (*viz.*,) the Brāhmaṇa Anantadatta of the Chhandōgi *gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the *Chhandōga* (*i.e., Sāmavēda*) (*and*) Prajāpatiśarman of the Gālava *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Chhandōga*, and Sivadēva of the Laukākshī *gōtra*,

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[1] Prof. Sten Konow translates *kuśalam-anuvarṇya* as 'having greeted'. In the Rāshṭrakūṭa and other records, the word *kuśalī* occurs in the same context, which shows that here also the king refers to his own good health.

[2] *Rājasthānīya*, lit., one who occupies the position of a king, probably in the administration of justice. Bühler calls attention to the definition of the term in Kshēmēndra's *Lōkaprakāśa*, *viz.*, *prajā-pālan-ārtham-udvahati rakshayati cha sa Rājasthānīyaḥ*, 'he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is a *Rājasthānīya*'. In line 17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśōvarman (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 154) Abhayadatta is said to have protected some territory after the manner of a *Rājasthānīya*. So the term seems to indicate also the governor of a province. Kalhaṇa also mentions the office *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhikāra*. Stein, and following him, Vogel hold that the *Rājasthānīya* was an officer of justice. (See *A.C.S.* Part I, p. 122). Fleet was inclined to think that 'Viceroy' was too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent, because the *Rājasthānīya* is, in some records, mentioned 'rather low down in the list of officials'. (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 157). It is noteworthy that in the present record the *Rājasthānīya* heads the list of officials.

[3] *Uparika* is mentioned in some Gupta records as the head of a *bhukti* or Commissioner. The title *Mahārāja* is sometimes added to the term. The *Uparika Mahārājas* recommended the appointment of *Vishayapatis* (heads of districts) who were subordinate to them. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 133). According to the definition given by Bṛihaspati, *Uparika* appears to have been a Magistrate. *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 134.

[4] *Kumārāmātya*, lit. the councillor of a prince, was a title borne by several grades of officials such as ministers, provincial governors and heads of districts. (See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 71)

[5] *Ārakshika*, lit. a protector, was probably a police-officer.

[6] *Drāṅgika*, derived from *draṅga* a town, is probably identical with the *Nāgarika* (the Mayor of a town) mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 143 ff.

[7] I. e. noblemen.

[8] I. e. the full-moon day in Kārttika.

[9] See above p. 21, n. 1.

[10] See above, p. 21, n. 2.

(*who is*) a student of the *Adhvaryu* (*vēda i.e., Yajurvēda*) and Bhānudēva of the Lōhāyana *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Adhvaryu* (*vēda*), (*and*) Bhavaruchi of the Pauṇa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Ṛigvēda*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*,) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* (*and*) offerings to fire.

(L. 12) "Wherefore, none should cause any obstruction while these Brāhmaṇas are enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated and directing (*others to cultivate the land in the donated village*) according to the customary rules of *agrahāras* granted to Brāhmaṇas. The residents of this village also, submitting to these (*Brāhmaṇas*), should make over to them the customary (*share*) of measurable (*things*), gold and other taxes. And kings of the future whether born in our family or others, desiring to share in the reward of the religious merit of (*this gift of*) land and considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are excellent, and wishing to accumulate for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift."

(L. 19) Moreover, the holy Vyāsa has said—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 24) (*This charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Rēvāḍhyaka**, has been written by **Vishṇushēṇa** according to the (*royal*) order communicated by the *Mahāpratīhāra* **Gōpāḍhyaka**.

The year 200 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) **Kārttika**, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY KALACHURIS

No. 12; Plate VI

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Rajput family of Ābhōṇa, a village in Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 9.7" broad and 7" high. Except for a mistake here and there, the writing on them has been well executed and is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes, about .5" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally connected it with the other plate of the set, but no ring or seal was apparently discovered. The weight of the plates is 132 *tolas*[1]. The record consists of thirty-four lines, seventeen being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is .25".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets.[2] The letters have, in most cases, a knob at the top, and show, as usual, some admixture of northern peculiarities. The *mātrās*, for instance, for the medial *ē*, *ai* and *au* are placed above the line, see *-vipulē*, l.1, *guṇair-*, l.6, *Kṛishṇarājō*, l.5. The medial *au* is indicated by three *mātrās*, only the middle one of which rises above the line; see *pautr-*, l.20 and *Gautama-*, l.21; *kh* in *likhitam-*, l.34 has a loop larger than its hook; *n* appears with a loop, while *t* is without it; see *gagana-tala*, l.1; *ṇ* generally appears in its southern form, its upper portion being undivided, see *e.g.*, *guṇa-*, l.2, but the northern form also occurs in a few places, see *kriy-ōtsarppaṇāya*, and *puṇya*, l.22; the vertical stroke of *l* is either shortened as in *tala*, l.1, or is sharply turned to the left as in *vimala*, l.1. Besides these northern characteristics, the following peculiarities of other individual letters may also be noticed:-the initial *i* is indicated by a curve with a notch in the centre over two dots, see *iva*, l.5; the sign for initial *ē* in *ēva*, l.4, is open on the left; the stroke for medial *ā* is generally bent down, and in some cases it is brought down lower than in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions,[3] thus showing a later palaeographic stage, see *vicharatā-*, l.8, *par-ābhimāna*, and *vinayāya*, l.9; in a few cases (*e.g.*, *ṇā* and *jñā*) it is turned upwards, see *e.g.*, *Kaṭachchurīṇām-*, l.3, *=ājñāna-*, l.26, while in the case of *jā* it encircles the letter on the left, see *jāyantē*, l.29; in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curve in the circle for short *i*, see *Ujjayanī-*, l.1; the medial *u* is marked in three ways (1) by lengthening the vertical stroke to end in a small curve as in *vipulē* l.1; (2) in the case of letters whose vertical stroke already ends in a curve (*e.g. k*, *r*, etc.) by adding another curve to the vertical and turning it downwards, see *kumuda-*, l.4; and (3) by turning the vertical stroke of the letter upwards to the right, see *pād-ānuddhyātaḥ*, l.16; the medial *ū* also appears in two ways as in *bhūri-*, l.13, and *yūthapa*, l.7; *ḍ* is distinguished from *d* by its tail, see *-āpīḍita* l.12; the subscript *ṇ* consists only of a loop cf. *-ārṇṇava* l.20; *th* is shown either with a notch in the base as in *yūthapēna*, l.7, or with a ringlet as in *-apratiratha-*, l.10; in its subscript form, it is indicated by a curve curling to the right, see *sthiti*, l.20

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270.

[2] See *I. P.*, pp. 62 ff.

[3] Nos. 8-10, above.

and *sthēyatas-*, ll. 24-25; *b* shows a notch on the left, see *vibōdhana-*, l. 5, and *y* is tripartite, see *Ujjayanī*, l. 1. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke on the top in ll. 19 and 30 and by its small size, in l. 28. Punctuation is indicated by double vertical strokes in ll. 29-31, 33 and 34. The sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that of the *upadhmānīya* thrice, in ll. 8, 11 and 26. The **numerical symbols** for 300, 40, 10, 7 and 5 occur in l. 34. Of these the symbol for 7 deserves special notice, its upper curve being here separated from the vertical by a knob as in the Sirpur plate of the *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna.[1]

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Its eulogistic portion is composed in an ornate style which recalls that of Valabhī grants.[2] Again, as stated below, the present plates were issued from Ujjayanī, which was for some time, a second capital of the Gupta Empire. The draftsman who composed the present record was probably well acquainted with Gupta inscriptions, from which he has evidently borrowed certain epithets which are employed here to eulogize the donor Śaṅkaragaṇa.[3] It may, again, be noted that both in its eulogistic and formal parts, this record has several expressions which are either imitated or copied *verbatim* from the earlier Traikūṭaka grants.[4] This shows that the Kaṭachchuri empire comprised some provinces which were previously under the rule of the Traikūṭakas. As regards **orthography**, the only peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many places, see, *e.g.*, *durllaṅghē* l. 2, and *dharmm-ārttha-*, l. 12, and that a class-nasal is often used instead of *anusvāra*, as in *kalaṅka*, l. 4.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** of the **Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri)** dynasty from his camp at **Ujjayanī**. He was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and was the son of the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja** 'who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati'. Śaṅkaragaṇa is described as the lord of the country extending from the eastern to the western ocean and of other lands.

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[1] Line 9 of No. 4 above. Pandit Bhagvanlal read this symbol doubtfully as 8, but in view of the clear mention of the date in words in l. 34 of the present record, it will have to be taken as a sign of 7.

[2] Compare, for instance, the *utprēkshā* in *yas=samāśraya-viśēsha-lōbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ* in lines 5-6 with that in *rūp-lōbhād=iv=āśritāḥ sarasam=ābhigāmikair=guṇaiḥ* which occurs in connection with the description of Dharasēna I in many Valabhī grants.

[3] In his translation of the Sarsavṇī plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 300), Dr. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the epithets *pṛithivyām=apratirathaḥ*, *chatur-udadhi-sali-lāsvādita-yaśāḥ* and *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ* which closely resemble (the last with a slightly different reading) those in Gupta records, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Text, pp. 8 and 53). Again, the expressions *praṇati-mātra-suparitōsha-gambhīr-ōnnata-hṛidayaḥ* and *chir-ōtsannānāṁ nṛipati-vaṁśānāṁ pratishṭhāpayitā* in this and other early Kalachuri grants recall *bhakty-avanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasya* and *anēka-bhrashṭa-rājy-ōtsanna-rāja-vaṁśa-pratishṭhāpana-* in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

[4] Thus the epithet *samyak-prajā-pālalan-ādhigata-bhūri-draviṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyaḥ* and *pūrv-ā-para-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēśa-svāmī* in lines 13 and 15 respectively of the present record are obviously suggested by *sva-bhuja-paripālana-pratāp-ādhigata-prachura-draviṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-sarvva-dig-vyāpi-śukla-yaśāḥ-* and *Aparant-ādi-dēśa-pati* in the earlier Traikūṭaka records like the Surat grant of Vyāghrasēna (See lines 2-3 of No. 9 above). The expression *sarva-ditya-vishṭi-parihīṇaḥ* in line 11 of the latter record was adopted by the official draftsman of the Early Kalachuris, who only inserted *prātibhēdika* in it. Again, the expressions *ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-sama-kālīnaṁ* (l. 20), *abhāv-ānugatān=asārān=vibhavān=dīrggha-kāla-sthēyasaś=cha guṇān=ākalayya* and *śaśi-kara-ruchiraṁ chirāya yaśaś=chichir(chī)shubhir=ayam=asmad-dāy=ōnumantavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha* in lines 24-6 of the present grant are plainly borrowed, with some changes like the inversion of the order of words, from Traikūṭaka records (See *e. g.*, lines 11-14 of No. 9 above). The same can be said of the manner of inserting the name of the *Dūtaka* in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying the word *likhitam*.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Śaṅkaragaṇa, of a hundred *nivartanas* of land, measuring forty *nivartanas* on either side, in the village Vallisikā which was situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Bhōgavardhana. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa[1] of the Taittirīya *śākhā* and Gautama *gōtra* residing at Kallivana. The purpose of the grant, which was made at the request of Gōggā,[2] is stated to be to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites.

The grant is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347. Though no era is specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. which suits other verifiable early dates of the era, the date of the present grant would correspond, for the expired year[3] 347, to the 3rd August 597 A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Ujjayanī is, of course, modern Ujjain in Central India. Kallivana, where the donee was residing is modern Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nāsik District. It may be noted in this connection that the present plates were found at Ābhōṇa which lies only seven miles west of Kalvan. Bhōgavardhana, the headquarters of the district in which the donated village was situated, is probably Bhōkardhan (20° 16′ N. and 75° 46′ 56″ E.) in the Hyderabad State, where a large Brahmanical cave temple of about 8th century A.D. has been recently excavated.[4] Vallisikā is modern Valsā, 7 miles south of Bhōkardhan.[5]

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[1] Prof. Pathak read the name of the Brāhmaṇa in line 21 as *Ābmaṇasvāmin*. The first *akshara* of this word is certainly not *ā*, the form of which may be seen in *āchchhitta*, l.28. I read it as *prā* which, I think, is incorrectly written for *brā*. The scribe has confused *p* and *b* in another place also, see *pratāb-ātiśaya* for *pratāp-ātiśaya* in line 11. Strange as it may appear, the proper name of the donee, which ought to have been inserted between *brāhmaṇa* and *svāmin*, has been inadvertently omitted here. Compare the names of the donees *Brāhmaṇa-Bōdhasvāmin* and *Brāhmaṇa-Bappasvāmin* in other Kalachuri grants Nos. 14 and 16, below). Similar names of donees with the prefix *Brāhmaṇa* occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas and Maitrakas also.

[2] This lady may have been the queen of Śaṅkaragaṇa. As for the absence of any title like *Mahārājñī* in connection with her name, it may be pointed out that neither Kṛishṇarāja, nor Śaṅkaragaṇa is called *Mahārāja* in this or any other grant of the Early Kalachuris.

[3] The usual practice is to cite expired years. Current years are cited only exceptionally. If the year 347 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 15th July 596 A. C. Prof. Pathak gives the 27th July 595 A. C. as the corresponding Christian date, evidently taking the year 347 as current and applying the epoch A. D. 247-48 which Dr. Kielhorn finally fixed on the evidence of later Kalachuri dates. But this epoch does not suit early dates of the Kalachuri era as admitted by Kielhorn himself. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

[4] *A. B. I. A.*, (1935), pp. 31-32. Bhōgavardhana is mentioned in several inscriptions at Sānchī. See *e.g.* Nos. 156, 162, 163, etc. *M. S.* Vol. I, pp, 315 ff.

[5] Mr. Gupte has suggested the identification of Vallisikā with Vārasi, about 8 miles south of Kalvan (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270); but as the Vaḍnēr grant of Buddharāja (No. 14 below) shows, the country round Vaḍnēr, which is only about 16 miles south of Kalvan, was included in the *bhōga* of Vaṭanagara. So the country round Kalvan is not likely to have been included in a different *vishaya* like Bhōgavardhana. Mr. Gupte's alternative identifications of Vallisikā with Bālhēgāon near Ujjain and of Bhōgavardhana with Bōgtē near Bālhēgāon are also unlikely; for, the plates were found in the Nāsik District, and as shown above, better identifications of the localities with places not far from the eastern limit of that District can be proposed. Kallivana is also mentioned in the Mundkhēḍe plates of the Sēndraka king Jayaśakti. See *Q. B. I. S. M.*, Vol. XVII, p. 52 ff.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति [।।*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरत्समयगगनतलविमलविपुले
2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्वा(त्वा)पाश्रयतुङ्गे गाम्भीर्य्यवति स्थित्य-
3 नुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चुरीणामन्वये[3] सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिक[ये]ऽव कीर्त्या
4 भुवनमवभासयता जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरःकलङ्कदोषरहितःकुलकुमुद-
5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकै-
6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्य्येन च रुचिरवं-
7 शशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
8 शङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहःपरा-
9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्ज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्म्माय धर्म्मः श्रेयोवा-
10 प्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तक-
11 समप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्ज्जितराजश्रीःप्रताबा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामान्त[5]-
12 मण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्म्मार्त्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत-
13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्म्मश्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना-
14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकु(कृ)पणसमभिल-
15 षितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
16 पादानुद्ध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्व्वाणेव[6] राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-
17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[7]त्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः[8]

Second Plate

18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्ग्गतवल्लिसिकाग्रामे[9] उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना
19 भूमेर्न्निवर्त्तनशतम्(तं) सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्ववेत्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयो[प*]भोग्यं
21 कल्लिवनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारिब्रा[10]ह्मणस्वामिण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-
22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोग्गाविज्ञापनया[11]
23 उदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा नृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जि(जी)वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीर्षुभि[12]-
26 रयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यःपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-

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[1] From the lithographs facing pages 296-97 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Prof. Pathak read कटच्चूरीणां, but what looks like a dot after the vertical stroke of *chchu* is not joined to it and appears to be due to a fault in the copper.
[4] The engraver seems to have first incised *chandrikay=āva* and then corrected it into *chandrikay=ēva*.
[5] Read सामन्त—.
[6] Read सर्व्वानेव.
[7] Read –धिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयति[। *] अस्तु.
[8] Read –मस्माभिर्ग्राम.
[9] Read ग्राम उभय—.
[10] Read ब्राह्मण-स्वामिने. The name of the Brāhmaṇa has been omitted inadvertently.
[11] Read विज्ञापनयोदका—.
[12] Read चिचीषुभि—.

27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्यु[1] क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[।*]
28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[:।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[2]
[१॥*] विन्ध्याट-
29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*]
बहुभिर्व्वं-
30 सुधा भुक्ता[3] राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३॥*]
पूर्व्वंदत्तां
31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन[4] मपि च ॥ यानीह
32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैद्दा(र्दा)नानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*]निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधु:
33 पुनराददीत[5] ॥ [५॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिं[श]दुत्तरके श्रावणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां महा-
पीलु[6]-
34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाटपल्लिनेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७
श्रावण शु १० ५ [*।]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ujjayanī—

In the family of the **Kaṭachchuris,** which, resembling the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of the manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*) as the ocean is by the mass of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity (*and*) is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds ;—(*there was*) the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja,** who brightened the world with his fame which, like moonlight, attracted the minds of all people ; who, from his very birth, was devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), revived the prosperity of his family, (*and therefore, though*) free from (*all*) defects, resembled the moon, (*which has spots*), which rests on Śiva and revives the beauty of clusters of night-lotuses. He[7] was resorted to by all attractive royal qualities and other excellences as if out of a desire to find a choice resting place, was possessed of all the constituents of royalty[8] (*and*) had properly acquired royal powers[9] and attained successes. Shining with his illustrious lineage, with the flow of his charity always unchecked, and the greatness of his prowess well known, he conquered the regions marching about fearlessly, even as the leader of a herd of

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[1] Read –स्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

[2] Metre of this and the next three verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] The sign for *t* is affixed to the right of the vertical of *k*, like that for medial *u*.

[4] Read पालनम् ॥ [४॥*] अपि च.

[5] Metre, *Indravajrā.*

[6] Prof. Pathak reads महापिलु—, but as pointed out by the Editor (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Additions and Corrections, p. viii), the medial *i* is long.

[7] In the original, this and the succeeding sentences are relative clauses qualifying *śrī-Kṛishṇarājaḥ* in l. 5.

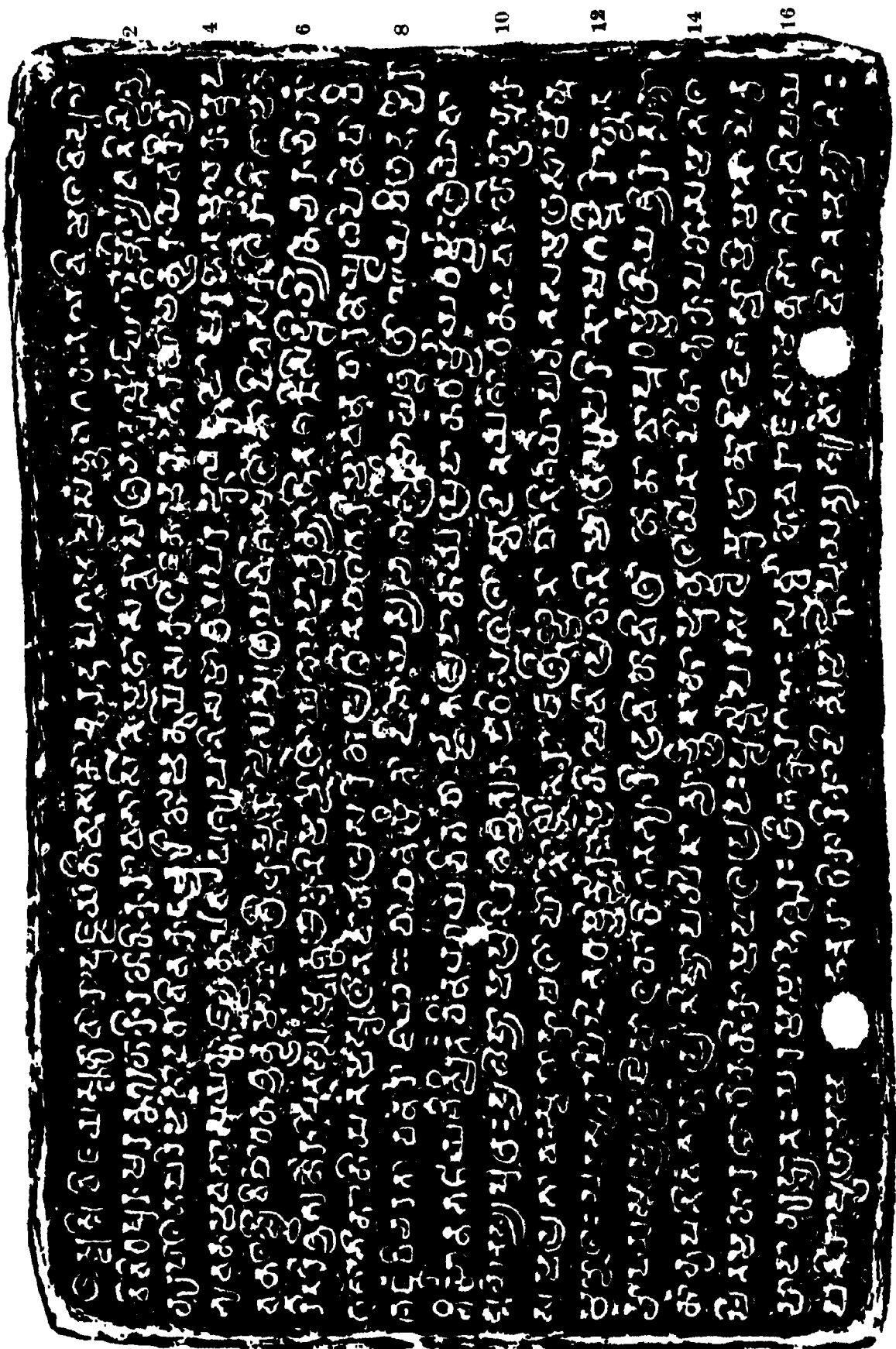
[8] These are usually enumerated as seven, *viz.*, the king, ministers, allies, treasury, territory, fortresses and army. See *AK.*, II, 8, 18.

[9] These are three, *viz. prabhuśakti* (power derived from the control of treasury and army), *utsāhaśakti* (power of personal energy) and *mantraśakti* (power of good counsel).

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

B. CH. CHHABRA. ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36 - 778'51

ii.

wild elephants, who looks splendid with his excellent back-bone, has an ever unceasing flow of rut and well-known might of strength, brings down rows of forest-trees, moving about fearlessly. He wielded his weapon (*only*) for the protection of the distressed, fought (*only*) for humbling the arrogance of his enemies, was engaged in study (*only*) for humility, acquired wealth (*only*) to spend it in charity, made gifts (*only*) for the sake of religious merit, and accumulated religious merit (*only*) to secure final liberation.

(Line 10) His son, the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** — who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western oceans and of other lands; who has, on the earth, no adversary (*worthy of him*); whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans; whose prowess equals that of Dhanada (*i.e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i.e.*, Yama)[1]; who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the circle of neighbouring princes has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who has performed religious rites by spending, in charity, plenty of wealth which he had obtained by properly protecting his subjects; who has reinstated royal families, which had long been dethroned; who has exterminated such as had risen too high; who bestows, on the distressed, blind and poor people, abundant gifts which exceed their desires — issues this order to kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*[2], heads of *vishayas*[3], *Mahattaras*[4] of *rāshṭras*[5] and villages, officials and others:—

(L. 17)—Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted, with a libation of water, at the request of Gōggā, land measuring a hundred *nivartanas*[6] by a land measure (*nivartanin*) of forty (*daṇḍas*) on either side, in the village **Vallisikā**, situated in the *vishaya* of **Bhōgavardhana** —together with all receipts[7] and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,[8] (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*[9] according to the maxim of waste land [10]

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[1] These are the guardians of the North, West, East and South.

[2] *Bhōgika* is the head of a *bhōga* which was a sub-division of a *vishaya*.

[3] *Vishaya* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern district.

[4] *Mahattara*, (a comparative form of *mahat*, great), occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of a chief person, see *e.g. Uttararāmacharita*, Act IV; *Naishadhīyacharita*, canto III, verse 19. It is perhaps used here and other similar passages in the sense of the head of a province or a village.

[5] *Rāshṭra* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern Commissioner's Division. The Añjanēri plates (l. 26) of Bhōgaśakti (No. 31, below) mention the *Gōpa-rāshṭra*.

[6] It seems that there were several *nivartanas* in vogue. The *Līlāvatī* (I, 6) mentions *nivartana* as a measure of land equal to 400 square rods, *i.e.*, 20 rods in length and in breadth. Kauṭilya (II, 20) mentions a *nivartana* measuring 30 *daṇḍas* (in length and in breadth) *i.e.*, 900 square *daṇḍas*, and Bṛihaspati follows him. The measure (*nivartanin*) intended here seems to be 40 (*daṇḍas*) on either (*side*) (*ubhaya-chatvāriṁśaka-nivartanin*) *i.e.*, equal to 1600 square *daṇḍas*.

[7] *Ādāna* (lit., receiving) probably has here the meaning of a tax.

[8] Kings had prerogatives in respect of these. They are waived in the case of *agrahāra* villages and lands. Compare *sarva-vishṭi-parihāra-parihṛitaḥ* and other expressions which occur in Vākāṭaka grants.

[9] Compare *a-bhaḍa-papēsaṁ* in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 87) and *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-prāvēśyaḥ* in Vākāṭaka grants. In the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna (above, No. 9, l. 10) the qualifying expression *chōra-rāj-āpathya-kāri-varjja(m)* is added to *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya*. The *bhaṭas* and *chāṭas* were forbidden to enter the *agrahāra* villages except when they had to apprehend thieves and persons accused of high treason. They were evidently royal servants whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers.

[10] *i.e.*, with full proprietory rights. He who brought waste land under cultivation became the absolute owner of it. Cf. *MSM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44.

and (*is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa —svāmin[1] of the Gautama *gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the Taittirīya (*sākhā*) and a resident of **Kallivana**, for the performance of *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra* and other religious rites.

(L. 23)—Wherefore, (*future*) kings and heads of *bhōgas*, whether born in our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost (*and, therefore,*) worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and desiring to share in the reward of this donation of land which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 27)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*:—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth (*lunar, day*) of the **bright half** of **Śrāvaṇa**, this (*charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupati* **Pāśupata**, was written by **Vāṭyali**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 7, (*the month*), **Śrāvaṇa**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

No. 13; Plate VII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

This plate was apparently discovered at **Saṅkhēḍā**, the chief town of the Saṅkhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroḍā District in the Bombay State. It was edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

The **plate** measures 8.3" broad and 3.9" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It is the **first plate** of a set which originally consisted of two plates. They were held together by two rings passing through holes about .3" in diameter at the top of each plate; but neither the rings nor the seal, if there was any, was apparently found. The weight of the plate is not recorded. The plate has lost small pieces at the top and both the sides of the bottom. This has caused the partial or total loss of about twenty-two *aksharas*, which can, however, be restored conjecturally. The extant portion of the inscription, which consists of twelve lines, is in a good state of preservation. The writing was very carelessly executed. As will be seen from the subjoined transcript, the record contains numerous mistakes due to careless writing or engraving, especially in ll. 9-12. The average size of letters is .2".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with the usual admixture of northern peculiarities. They resemble in a general way, the characters of the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragaṇa. The only peculiarity that need be noticed here is the form of the medial *ū* in *vadhū* in l.3. The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *kirtti*, l.4 and *ri* is used for the medial vowel *ṛi* in several places; see *Krishṇarājaḥ* l.2, *Balādhikrita* l. 5, etc.

[1] See above p. 40, n. 1.

The plate was issued from the victorious camp fixed at **Nirguṇḍipadraka** by **Sāntilla**, the *Balādhikṛita* (Military Officer) of **Nirihullaka** who bore the titles *Bhōgikapālaka*[1] and *Mahāpīlupati*.[2] Nirihullaka is described as meditating on the feet of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who had obtained victory in many battles and who was the son of the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja**. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a field, requiring one *piṭaka* of paddy as seed, which was made by Sāntilla on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the increase of religious merit and fame of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *i.e.*, probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The field was situated on the western boundary of **Śrī-Parṇakā** which was included in (the territorial division of) **Taṇḍulapadraka**. The donee was *Bhaṭṭika* Anantsvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda and a resident of **Pāshāṇihrada**. The gift was intended to provide for the performance of the religious rites of the five great sacrifices.

Dr. Bühler first suggested that Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose name has been wrongly written as Śaṅkaraṇa in l. 3, was identical with the **Kaṭachchuri** (or **Kalachuri**) **Śaṅkaragaṇa**. Sāntilla, who issued the present plate, was only a military officer. He seems to have obtained a great victory, to commemorate which he made this grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse; for he did it not for his own religious merit and fame, but for those of his great lord (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*) who was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. He was obviously acting in anticipation of the latter's sanction; so he communicates his order not only to the officers serving under him, but to those directly appointed by the king. He mentions here his immediate superior, the *Bhōgikapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupati* Nirihullaka, probably because he was governing the territory in which the donated village was situated.

The plate does not contain any date, but the mention of Śaṅkaragaṇa as the reigning sovereign shows that the inscription must be referred to the last quarter of the sixth century A. C.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, Mr. Dhruva identified **Pāshāṇihrada** with Saṇiādarī, about 14 miles north by east of Saṅkhēḍā, for '*hrada* would be masculine *dharō* and feminine *dharī* in Gujerātī and *Pāshāṇi* would drop its *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Ba* in having Gumṛā, and give Saṇiā and thus we get Saṇiādarī.[3]' His further suggestion that **Taṇḍulapadraka** is Tāndaljā is also acceptable, as the latter is only two miles west of Saṇiādarī. But his identifications of **Nirguṇḍipadraka** with Nāgarvāḍā, 6 *kos* from Dabhoi and **Śrī-Parṇakā** with Paniu, now desolate, 5 *kōs* from Dabhoī, are doubtful, as the places are not in the vicinity of Saṇiādarī and Tāndaljā. I am, however, unable to suggest any other identifications.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धम्[5] स्व[स्ति][।*] नि[र्गु]ण्डिप[द्र]कावस्थितविजयकटकात् [स][कल*][क्षि][तिपत्य*]

2 ण्चितत्चरणकमलः श्रीक्रि(कृ)ष्णराजः तसू(त्सू)नुरनेकस[म]रविजय[प्राप्तकी*]–

3 र्तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकरः श्रीशंकरणःस्तत्पादानुद्ध्या[6]स्सकल–

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[1] The present grant shows that the *Bhōgikapālaka* was not an altogether petty officer, for Nirihullaka who bore that title had a military officer under him. The *Bhōgikapālaka* seems to have been the chief of the *Bhōgikas* who were probably identical with *Bhōgapatis* or heads of subdivisions to whom royal orders are often addressed.

[2] *Mahāpīlupati*, the great commander of the elephant force, is a technical official title.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 25.

[4] From the lithograph facing p. 22 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read श्रीशंकरगणस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात–.

4 महीमण्डलतलप्रथी(थि)तकिर्त्ति भ्भोगिक[1]पालकमहा[प]लुपति[2]निरिहुल्ल-
5 कस्तद्भव(द्ब)लाधिक्रि(कृ)तशान्तिल्ल[:*] सर्व्वानेव परमपादीयात्स्वांश्चा[3]वेदयति [।*]
6 [य]था पाषाणिह्लद[4]वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेय[5]सब्रह्मचारिणे
7 भट्टिक[6]नन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म्म[7]क्रियोत्प(त्स)र्प्पणाय परमभट्टा-
8 रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिवि(वृ)द्धये तण्डुलपद्रकान्त[र्ग]केत[8]श्रीपर्ण्णका-
9 [यां] पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं[9] पत्रपौत्रान्वयाभोज्यं[10] आदि-
10 [त्यो*]परागकाल[11]मुदकातिसर्ग्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आञ्चम्यि[12]
11 ....वषिति[f]तिसमकालीनं[12] प्रतिपादिथ्[13] ह्र असस्था[14]
12 ....ररानुव्र्याथा[14] भत्रनिपतिभि:[15]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at **Nirguṇḍīpadraka**—

(*There was*) the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja** whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by all kings. His son (*is*) the illustrious **Śaṅkara[ga]ṇa** who has obtained glory by his victories in many battles, who has made the lotuses, namely, the faces of the enemies' wives, fade. Meditating on his feet (*there is*) the *Bhōgikapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupati* **Nirihullaka,** whose fame is well known on the globe of the whole earth. His *Balādhikṛita* (Military Officer) **Śāntilla** informs (*the officers*) of the Great Lord (Śaṅkaragaṇa) and his own as follows:—

(Line 6) To *Bhaṭṭika* Anantasvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasanēyī (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Pāshāṇihrada,** there has been granted, with (*a libation of*) water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the performance of the religious rites, (*viz.*) the five great sacrifices, for augmenting the religious merit and glory of the Great Lord, a field requiring one *piṭaka*[16] of paddy as seed, situated on the western boundary of **Śrī-Parṇakā** which is included in (*the sub-division of*) **Taṇḍulapadraka,** (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, (*and which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as [the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.]

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[1] Read कीर्त्तिर्भोगिक—.

[2] Read महापीलुपति—.

[3] Read परमपादीयान् स्वांश्चा—.

[4] Dhruva read ह्रद, but the lower curve is not curled.

[5] Read वाजसनेय—.

[6] Dhruva read भजिक, but the *akshara* resembles ट्टा in भट्टा at the end of this line, and about the reading of the latter there can be no doubt. Read भट्टिकानन्तस्वामिने. For भट्टि which, like ब्राह्मण, was prefixed to the names of Brāhmaṇas, see the names of भट्टिसूर्यमित्र and other donees of the Navalākhi plates of Śīlāditya I—Dharmāditya, G. E. 286 [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 179].

[7] The sign of *rēpha* on this ligature is indistinct.

[8] Read तण्डुलपद्रकान्तर्गत—.

[9] Read सीमन्यचाटभटप्रावेश्यं.

[10] Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं.

[11] It would be better to read काल उदका—.

[12] Read क्षेत्रमाचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं. The text is very incorrectly written here and in the following two lines.

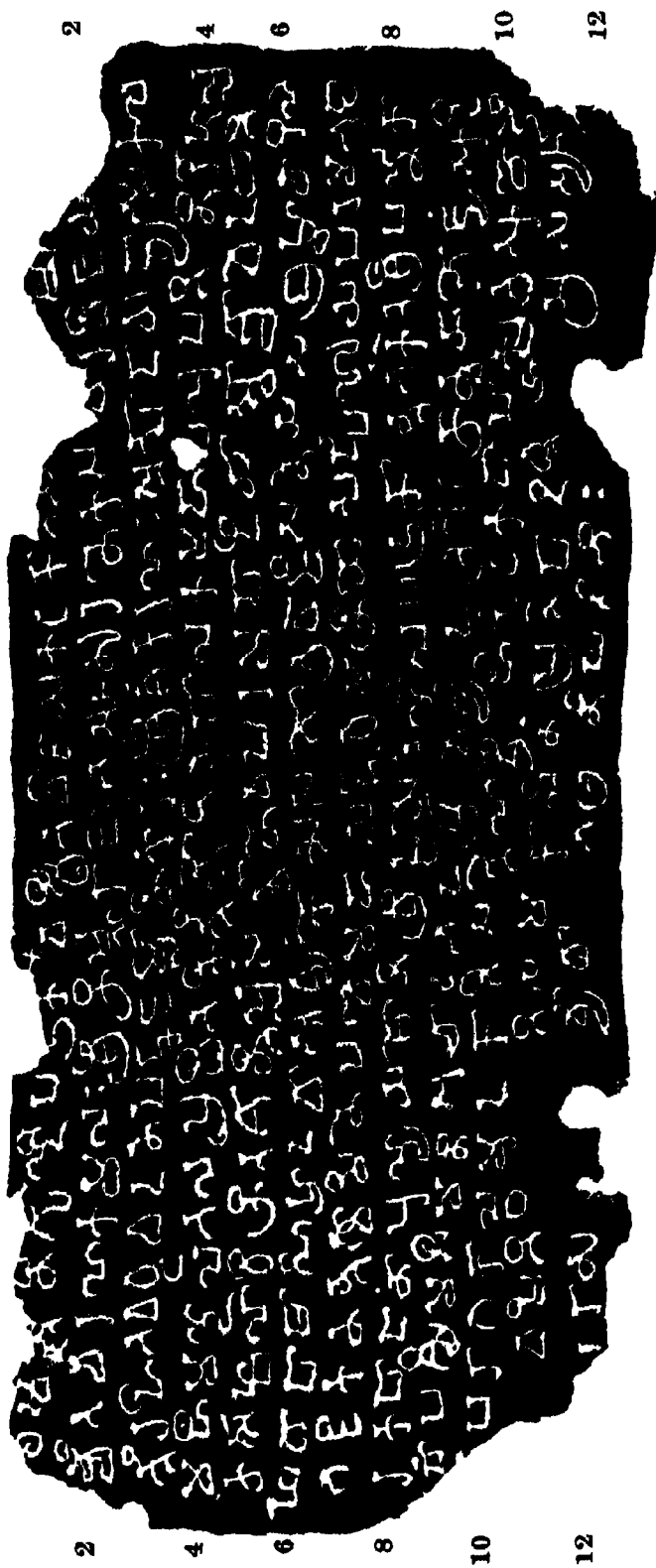
[13] Read प्रतिपादितम्. The following *akshara* is redundant.

[14] Read अतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा.

[15] भद्रनृपतिभि:. The second plate, which is lost, must have contained the concluding words of this sentence such as अयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पालयितव्यश्च । (See Ābhōṇa plates, No. 12, above)

[16] *Piṭaka* (lit., a basket) is a measure of capacity.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

B. CH. CHHABRA. ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36 -778 50

(L. 11) Therefore [this gift should be consented to and preserved] by good kings [whether born in our family[1] or others]—

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

No. 14; Plate VIII

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

These **copper-plates**, two in number, were found in the possession of one Nānā valad Ahilāji Tiḍkē of Vaḍnēr in the Chāndvaḍ *Tālukā* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Y.R. Gupte, who has edited them, with lithographs and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

Mr. Gupte has given the following description of the plates[2]—'The plates are substantial. The first of them measures from 10⅛" to 10⅝" long by 8" broad including the rims......The second measures about 10⅝" long by from 8¼" to 8$\frac{5}{16}$" broad including the rims....The plates have two holes from ⅝" to ½" in diameter for the insertion of the two original rings, which have been lost. Whether there was any seal or not, I cannot confidently say. There are, however, no traces of one, just as is the case with Sarsavṇī plates. When the grant came under my notice, the Vaḍnēr plates were held together by two thin rings recently made. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. Either of them bears writing on the inner side only. The second plate is a little broken at the right rim where line 28 ends. The weight of the plates is 129 tolas, without the rings. The letters are very deeply and well cut. They do not show through on the reverse side at all. Some are, however, damaged and some have been completely destroyed by verdigris.' As the text of the inscription is for the most part identical with that of the Ābhōṇa and Sarsavṇī plates, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. There are thirty-four lines in all, seventeen being inscribed on either plate. The average size of letters is .2".

The **characters** resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—There appear more wedges than knobs at the top of letters; the former are, again, in some cases, especially when the sign for medial *ā* is added, replaced by short horizontal strokes. The superscript curve in the sign for initial *i* appears like that for *ṇ* in *iva* and *idaṁ* in ll. 17 and 34 respectively. See also the sign for the superscript *ñ* in *chañchalaṁ*, l. 24. The sign for initial *ī* in *īsha*, l. 19, slightly differs from that used in the Ābhōṇa plates. The medial *ī* is generally shown by a slanting vertical stroke, curved at the top, see *varsīt*, l. 28; but see *sarvvān=īva*, l. 17, where it appears as a curve encircling the letter *n* on the left. *N* everywhere appears in its northern form. *L* has in all places a short vertical stroke. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that for the *upadhmānīya* in ll. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25 and 31. Punctuation is indicated by a dot in ll. 19, 30 and 31 and by two vertical strokes in ll. 27-30. The **numerical symbols** for 300, 60, 10 and 3 occur in l. 34.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may

[1] As the grant was made by a military officer, this statement is inappropriate here. It seems to have been blindly copied from royal charters.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, p. 31.

note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated as in *durllaṅghē*, l. 2, *vibhav-ārjjanaṁ*, l. 8 etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y* in *-ānuddhyāta*, l. 14, *-Māddhyandina-*, l. 21. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *pradhvansa-*, l. 16. In *sētu sthitīnām*, l. 16, the *visarga* is dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36. The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in some cases, especially at the end of lines, see *e.g.*, *cha anumantā*, ll. 27-28 where *ch=ānumantā* is required by the metre. A case of wrong *sandhi* occurs in *yān =iha*, l. 30.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Buddharāja** of the **Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri)** dynasty, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his victorious **camp at Vidiśā**. He is described as the son of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The latter was himself the son of the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja** who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati. The epithets of Kṛishṇarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa are here copied *verbatim* from earlier charters of the dynasty (*e.g.*, the Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa). The description of all the three princes is quite conventional and yields no historical information.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village **Koṇiyānām** (*vāṭaka?*) adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** in the *bhōga* (subdivision) of **Vaṭanagara** for augmenting the religious merit of himself and his parents. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasanēya, Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vaṭanagara**. The gift was intended, as usual, to provide for the performance of the religious rites such as *bali*, *charu*, *agnihōtra* and *vaiśvadēva*. The record was written by Anāphita, the Great Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī** of the Pāśupata faith. The *dūtaka* was the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Prasahyavigraha.**

The inscription is **dated** in words in l. 32 and in numerical symbols in l. 34, on **the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 360.** This date, like that of the Ābhōṇa plates, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 360, to the 8th August 610 A.C.[1] It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Vidiśā** is modern Besnagar near **Bhilsā** in Central India. That the Kalachuri empire once comprised the province of **Eastern** Malwa is also shown by the discovery of some coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, during excavations at Besnagar.[2] **Vaṭanagara,** the headquarters of the *bhōga* (sub-division) in which the donated village was situated, and the place of the donee's residence, is obviously identical with Vaḍnēr where the plates were discovered. It may be noted in this connection that the Vaṇī-Diṇḍōri plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III[3] mention the Vaṭanagara *vishaya* (district) as situated in the Nāsika *dēśa*. Vaṭanagara was thus the chief town of both the *bhōga* and the

[1] If the year 360 is applied as current, the date would correspond to Tuesday, the 19th August 609 A. C. Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillay gives two other equivalents, *viz.* Friday, the 11th August 607 A. C. and Thursday, the 29th August 608 A. C. Of these the first is impossible as the Kalachuri year did not begin in Bhādrapada. Though Kielhorn held that view at first (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215), he gave it up later on. (See his article entitled 'Die Epoch des Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53ff.) The second date also is improbable because the epoch 247-248 A. C. on which it is based, does not suit other early dates of the era which admit of verification.

[2] *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

vishaya named after it. I identify Bhaṭṭaurikā with Bhāṭōrā about 11 miles north-west of Vaḍnēr and about 2 miles north of Vaṇī.[1] Kōṇiyānām[2] (*vāṭaka ?*) may be Kanhuvāḍī, about 5 miles north by east of Bhāṭōrā.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[4] [स्व]स्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वैदिशवासकात्स्फुरदुपगमप्रसन्नमनसतविमलविपुल-विविधपुरु-

2 [ष]र[त्न]गुणकिरण[निक]रावभासिते महासत्वा(त्वा)पाश्रयतुल्यङ्के गाम्भीर्य्यवति स्थित्यनुपाल-नपरे महो[दधा-]

3 [वि]व [कट]च्चुरीणा[मन्वये सकलजन]मनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या [भु]वनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन [एव पशु-]

4 [पतिसमा]श्रयपरःकलङ्क[दोष]रहितःकुलकुमुदकानन[लक्ष्मी]विबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव[श्री]कृष्णराजो[यः]

5 [संश्रय]विशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सकलप्रकि(कृ)तिमण्डलो यथा[वद्]

6 आत्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्य्येन च रुचिरवंशशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा

7 वनवारणयूथपेनेवाविसङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता द्विषो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्न-

8 त्रा[णा]य विग्रहःपराभिमानभंगाय विभिस्तं विनयाय विभवार्ज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्म्मा[य]

9 [धर्म्म]श्श्रेयो[वा]प्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्रःपृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरु-णेन्द्रान्त[क-]

10 [सम]प्रभावस्स्वबाहुबलोपार्ज्जितराजश्रीःप्रतापातिशयोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल:

11 परस्परापीडितधर्म्मार्त्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालना[धि-]

12 गतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्म्मकिर्त्तिरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयिता अत्युच्छ्रितानां

13 उ[न्मू]लयिता दीनान्ध[कृ]पण[5]समभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदःपूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादि-देशस्वामी

14 [मातापि]तृपादानुध्यातःपरममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगण[6]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातस्सक[ल]महीमण्डलैक-

15 तिलकस्सातिशयप्रथि[त]नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य[शौ]र्य्य[प]रोपकार[गुणसमन्वि]त:

16 प्रबलरिपुबलोद्भूतदर्प्पविषमप्रध्वन्स[7]हेतुस्सेतु स्थितीनामा[यतनं सि]द्धेरवलिर्हृ[8][तपक:]

17 चक्रधर इवा[र्त्ति]प्रशमनकरःप्रजानां परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्ध[राज]स्सवनिव राज-

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[1] Mr. Gupte identifies Bhaṭṭaūrikā with Bhātgaon about nine miles from Vaḍnēr; but its name does not exactly correspond to Bhaṭṭaūrikā, and we have, therefore, to suppose that *urikā*, the second part of the name has been omitted. Bhāṭōrā, on the other hand, is clearly derived from Bhaṭṭaūrikā.

[2] Mr. Gupte says that *Kōṇiyānām* means a village of the Kōṇiyas who correspond to the modern *Kōḷīs*. He does not, however, state which village of the Kōṇiyas is meant here. Perhaps a word like *vāṭaka* has been omitted here. *Kōṇiyānām vāṭaka* may be identical with Kanhuvāḍī.

[3] From the photo-lithographs facing pp. 34 and 35 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read कृपण-.

[6] Read श्रीशंकरगण: । तस्य.

[7] Read प्रध्वंस.

[8] The lithograph shows a clear *repha* on *ha*. Read -रवलिहतपातक.

Second Plate

18 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु[1] वो विदितमस्माभिः

19 वटनगरभोगे भट्टडरिकाप्रत्यासन्नकोणियाणां ।[2] एष ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्गस्सो[प]रिकरस्सर्व्वादान-

20 संग्राह्यस्सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य[3] आचन्द्रा[र्क्का]-
र्णव-

21 [क्षि]तिस्थितिसमकालीनष्पुत्र[4]पौत्रान्वयभोग्यो वटनगरवास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिन-

22 [स]ब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबोधस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं मातापित्रोरात्म-
नश्च

23 [पुण्याभिवृ]द्धये उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
प्रेरितो[दधि]-

24 जल[तर]ङ्गचञ्चलं[5] जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्ग्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य
सामान्य-

25 भोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यःपालयित-
व्यश्च [।*]

26 [यो] वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमाने वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयु-
क्तस्स्या[त्]

27 इत्यु[क्त]ञ्च[6] [भ]गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
आच्छेत्ता च

28 अनुम[न्ता][7] च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[8] ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णा-
हयो हि जाय[न्ते]

29 भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

30 फ[लं](लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यात्नाद्रक्ष[9] युधिष्ठिर । महिं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ
दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् [॥४॥*] यानिह[10]

31 द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुःपुनराद-

32 दीत[11] [॥५॥*] इति ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके भाद्रपदशुद्धत्रयोदश्यां पाशुपतराज्ञीराज्ञी[12]-

33 अनन्तमहायीविज्ञापनया महाबलाधिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं [लिखितं]

34 इदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतानाफितेनेति॥ सं ३०० ६० [भा]द्रपद शु १० ३ [॥*]

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[1] Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

[2] The sign of punctuation is superfluous here. Read कोणियानां.

[3] The usual reading of this word is प्रावेश्यः.

[4] Read कालीनः पुत्र-.

[5] Mr. Gupte reads चण्चलं, but that the superscript letter is *ñ*, not *ṇ*, is shown by the curve added to the subscript *cb*.

[6] Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

[7] Read चानुमन्ता.

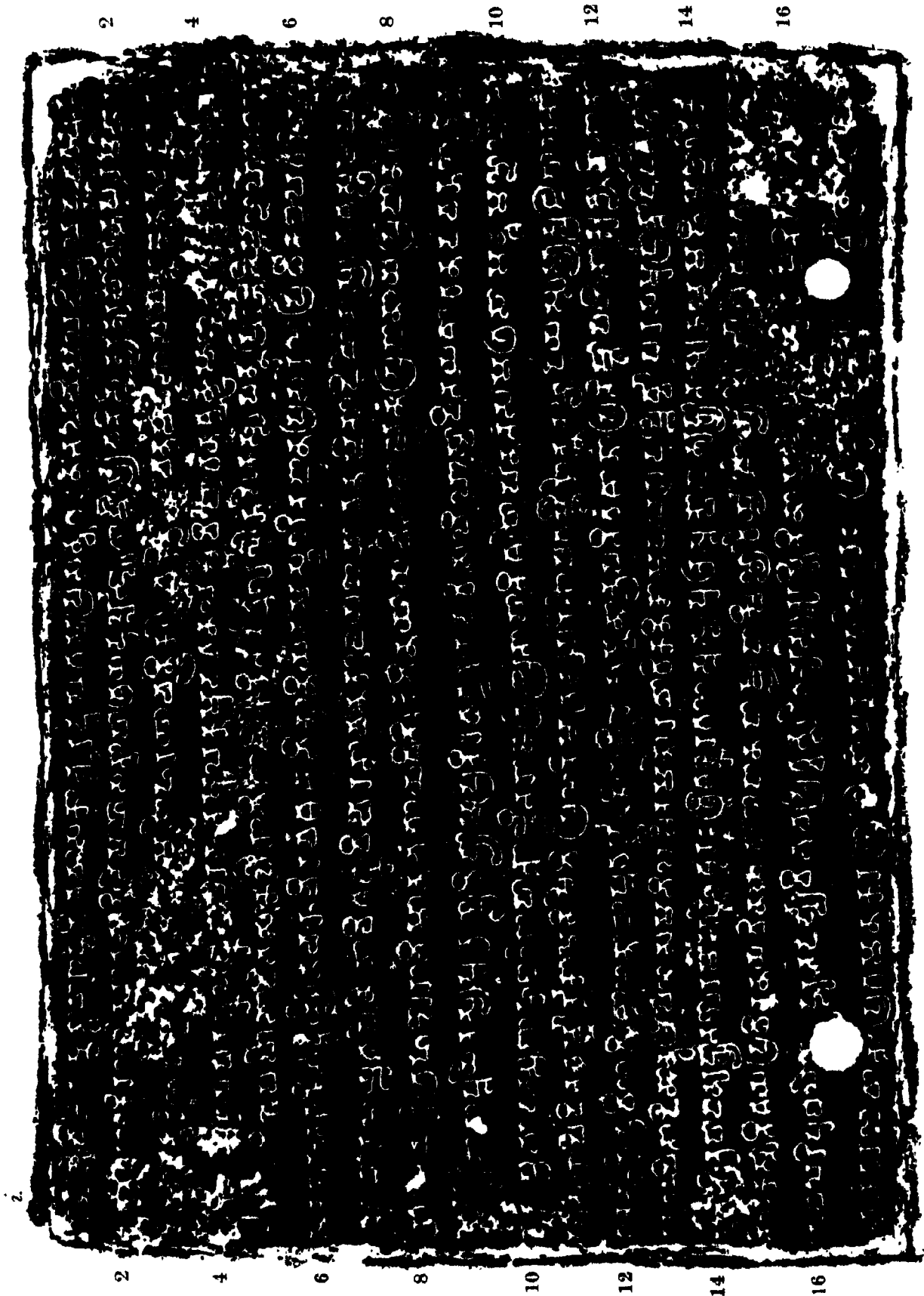
[8] Metre of this and the three following verses : *Anushṭubh.*

[9] Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

[10] Read यानीह.

[11] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[12] This word is superfluous.

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No 3977 E'36 778'51

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at **Vidiśā**—

(For a translation of lines 1—13, see above, pp. 42 f.)

(Line 14) His son, the illustrious **Buddharāja**—who meditates on his feet; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the sole ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is the endowed with all the well-known excellences such as political wisdom, modesty, compassion, liberality, dexterity, courtesy, courage, bravery, firmness and others; who causes the destruction of the supreme arrogance, due to power, of mighty foes; who is a dam to safeguard all established customs, (*and*) a resting place of success; who, with his unimpeded army, allays the sufferings of the people even as Vishṇu does with his irresistible discus,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *bhōgas*[1] and *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* and villages, officials and others :—

(L. 18) 'Be it known to you ! For the increase of religious merit of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water the village (*called the hamlet*) of **Kōṇiyas** adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** (*situated*) in the **Vaṭanagara** *bhōga*, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vaṭanagara** for the maintenance of *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of lines 23-27, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 27) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 32) **In the year three hundred increased by sixty on the thirteenth** (*lunar day*) **of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada,** this (*order*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahā-balādhikṛita*, the illustrious **Prasahyavigraha**, has been written by **Ānāphita**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī**, a devotee of Paśupati.

The **year** 300 (*and*) 60, (*the month*) **Bhādrapada**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 3.

No. 15; Plate IX

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

These plates were found in the possession of Patel Karsan Dāji of **Sarsavṇī** (Sarasavaṇī), a village four and a half miles south of Padrā in the Padrā subdivision of the Baroda District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with photolithographs and a translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

'These are **two copper-plates**, either of which measures 10⅜" broad by 7⅝" high and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2⅛" and 2¼" in diameter. There is no seal and no indication of one having been attached to the plates. The writing is well-done and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$".[1]' The

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 294.

record consists of thirty-five lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first and eighteen on the second plate.

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates.[1] We may notice here the following peculiarities:—Most of the letters have wedges at the top as in the Vaḍnēr plates;[2] the medial *ā* is indicated in many cases by a curve rising above the line and coming down lower than in the Vaḍnēr plates, see *e.g.* *pratāp-ātiśay-*, l. 10 and *dayā-dāna-*, l. 15; *th* appears in two forms, the ordinary one as in *yathāvad-*, l. 5 and the cursive one as in *prathita-*, l. 6, *sthiti-*, l. 16 etc; *y* has a loop in its left member in *yūtha* l. 6; *kh* shows two slightly different forms in *askhalita-*, l. 6 and *likhitam=*, l. 34; the forms of the initial *ō* in Kumārivaḍaō, l. 20 and of *ph* in *phala* ll. 13, 26 and 31 are also noteworthy. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and the *upadhmānīya* four times in ll. 7, 24, 27 and 32. The **numerical symbols** for 300, 60, 10, 5 and 1 occur in line 35. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography,** we may note that *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *prithivyām-*, l. 9; the consonant following *r* is correctly reduplicated in such cases as *durllaṅghī*, l. 2, *siddhir=yyēna*, l. 6, etc., but incorrectly in *varshsha-*, l. 28; similarly *dh* is doubled before *y*, see *ānuddhyāta* twice in l. 14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used for *anusvāra* in *vaṅśa*, l. 6, *vaṅśānāṁ*, l. 12, etc., and the dental one in *pradhvansa*, l. 16. There are a few mistakes of *sandhi* and some wrong forms as pointed out in the notes to the text.

The plates were issued by the king **Buddharāja** of the **Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri)** dynasty, from the victorious camp at **Ānandapura.** He was the son of **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who was himself the son of **Kṛishṇarāja.** The description of these kings is given here exactly as in the Vaḍnēr plates. In fact, the text of the whole inscription, except for certain particulars such as the donee, the village granted, and the date, is exactly identical with that of the Vaḍnēr plates. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village **Kumarīvaḍaō** situated near **Bṛihannārikā** in the **Gōrajjā** *bhōga* which was included in the **Bharukachchha** *vishaya.* The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who belonged to the Pārāśara *gōtra.* He was a student of the Vājasanēya Kaṇva *śākhā* and a resident of **Ḍēbhaka.** The purpose of the grant was as usual to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* and *agnihōtra.* The grant was made at the request of **Gōkulasvāmin** who may have been the king's family-priest. The *dūtaka* was the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Prasahya-vigraha** who is mentioned in the same capacity in the earlier Vaḍnēr plates.[3] The royal order was written by **Śivarāja,** the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.[4]

The inscription is **dated,** in words (l. 33) and numerical symbols (l. 35), on **the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the year 361.** This date must, obviously, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early verifiable dates of the era, the date of the present plates would fall in 609 A.C. if the year 361 was current, and in 610 A.C. if it was expired.[5]

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[1] Above, No. 12.

[2] Above, No. 14.

[3] See line 33 of No. 14, above.

[4] The office was held by a different person at the time of the Vaḍnēr plates which, as shown below, was made only about two and a half months before.

[5] Prof. Kielhorn has stated (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 295, n. 6) that according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) would correspond to

The present date is one of the few early Kalachuri dates falling in a dark fortnight, but in the absence of the mention of a week-day or a *nakshatra*, it is not possible to say if the month Kārttika to which it belonged was *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. If considered in connection with the date of the Vaḍnēr plates, it affords some basis for conjecture. The Vaḍnēr plates were granted at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā) on Bhādrapada śu. di. 13 towards the end[1] of the Kalachuri year 360, while the present grant was made at **Ānandapura** (which, as shown below, is either Ānand in the Kairā District or Vaḍnagar in the Mēhsānā District on Kārttika va. di. 15 in the beginning of the next Kalachuri year 361. Supposing that the years of the Vaḍnēr and Sarsavṇī plates were both current, or both expired, there would be an interval of about one month and sixteen days between the dates of the two grants, if the months were *pūrṇimānta*. The distance between Vidiśā and Ānanda is about 320 miles as the crow flies and that between the former place and Vaḍnagar is about 340 miles. This distance would be considerably increased, if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into account. Whichever identification of Ānandapura we accept, we shall have to suppose (if the dates are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months) that Buddharāja had to reach Ānandapura from Vidiśā by forced marches.[2] There is, however, nothing in either of the grants to support such a view. On the other hand, if we take the dates of both the inscriptions as recorded in *amānta* months[3] there would be the reasonable interval of about two months and sixteen days between the two campaigns.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, Kielhorn identified **Ānandapura** with the modern Ānand, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Kaira District. Dr. Altekar has, however, adduced very cogent reasons to prove that the ancient Ānandapura is identical with the modern Vaḍnagar in the Mēhsānā District.[4] The former view is supported by the fact that the village granted by the present charter is situated much nearer to Ānand than to Vaḍnagar, but this cannot be regarded as a decisive argument. **Ḍēbhaka** is probably **Dabkā**, 8 miles west of Padrā, as suggested by Kielhorn. **Gōrajjā** is Gōraj, 11 miles south of Halol in the Panch Mahals, and **Kumārivaḍaō** (which is probably a Prakrit form of Kumārīvāṭaka) Kawarwārā, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from Gōraj.[5] I identify **Brihannārikā** (the larger Nārikā) with Nāriā, 7 miles south of Kawarwārā.

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the 3rd October 609 A. C. In this he evidently took the year as expired. According to the epoch which suits early verifiable dates of the era, he found by calculation that (for the expired year 361) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October 610 A.C., as Kārttika was then intercalary.

[1] As I have shown in the Introduction, the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu. di. 1.

[2] Taking the distance to be approximately 400 miles on account of the windings of the road we find that the army of Buddharāja must have marched on an average 9 miles per day. According to Yuan Chwang a *yōjana* (which was 30 or 40 *li*, *i.e.*, from 6 to 8 miles) was a day's journey for a royal army. (See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 141, and compare Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, second ed. by Shama Sastri, p. 365). So it was not impossible for Buddharāja's army to cover the distance in one month and sixteen days, but this leaves no time for actual fighting if there was any.

[3] For another early Kalachuri date in an *amānta* month, see No. 22, below.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, Suppl., pp. 14-15.

[5] These identifications of Gōrajjā and Kumārivaḍaō were first suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 297. He identified Bṛihannārikā with Banaiyā, 4½ miles south of Kawarwārā, but this does not seem to be correct. The place-name, which means 'the larger Nārikā', would assume the form Moṭā Nāriā, or simply Nāriā, in modern Gujarātī and is, therefore, probably identical with Nāriā as suggested above.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति [।।*] विजयस्कन्धावारादानन्दपुरवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले विविधपुरुषरत्नगुण–
2 किरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्वा[3]प्याश्रयदुर्ल्लंङ्घे गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कट[च्चु–]
3 रीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्र–
4 यपरXकलङ्कदोषरहितXकुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशे–
5 षलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेत: संपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्ति–
6 सिद्धिर्य्येन च रुचिरवङ्कश[4]भिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथ–
7 पेनेवाविशङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहXप[रा]–
8 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्ज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्म्माय धर्म्मश्श्रेयोवाप्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्र:
9 प्रिथिव्या[5]मप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभाव: स्वबाहुबलोपा–
10 त्तोर्ज्जितराजश्री: प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डल: परस्परापीडितधर्म्मार्त्थकामनिषेवी
11 प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदय: सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणना–
12 वाप्तधर्म्मश्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवङ्कशानां[6] प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध–कृपण[स]–
13 मभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रद: पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादा–
14 नुद्धयात: परममा[हे]श्वर: श्रीशङ्करगण:[।*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयात: सकलमहीमण्डलैक–तिलक:
15 सातिशयप्रथितनयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्य्यंशौर्य्यस्थैर्य्याद्यशेषगुणसमन्वित: प्र[ब]–
16 लरिपुबलोद्धूतदर्प्पविभवप्रध्वन्स[7]हेतु: सेतु: स्थितीनामायतनं सिद्धेरप्रतिहतचक्रश्चक्रध–
17 र इवार्त्तिप्रशमनकर: प्रजानाम् परममाहेश्वर: श्रीबुद्धराज:

Second Plate

18 सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादि[8] समाज्ञा–
19 पयत्यस्तु[9] वो विदितमस्माभि: भरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतगोरज्जा[10]भोगे बृहन्नारिकाप्रत्यासन्न–
20 कुमारिवडओ ।[11] एष ग्राम: सोद्रङ्ग: सोपरिकर: सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्य: सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्राति[भे]दिका–
21 परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन[12] अचाटभटप्रावेश्य आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन: पुत्रपौ–

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[1] From the lithographs between pp. 298 and 299 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read महासत्वा–.

[4] Read वंश—.

[5] Read पृथिव्या—.

[6] Read वंशाना.

[7] Read प्रध्वंस–.

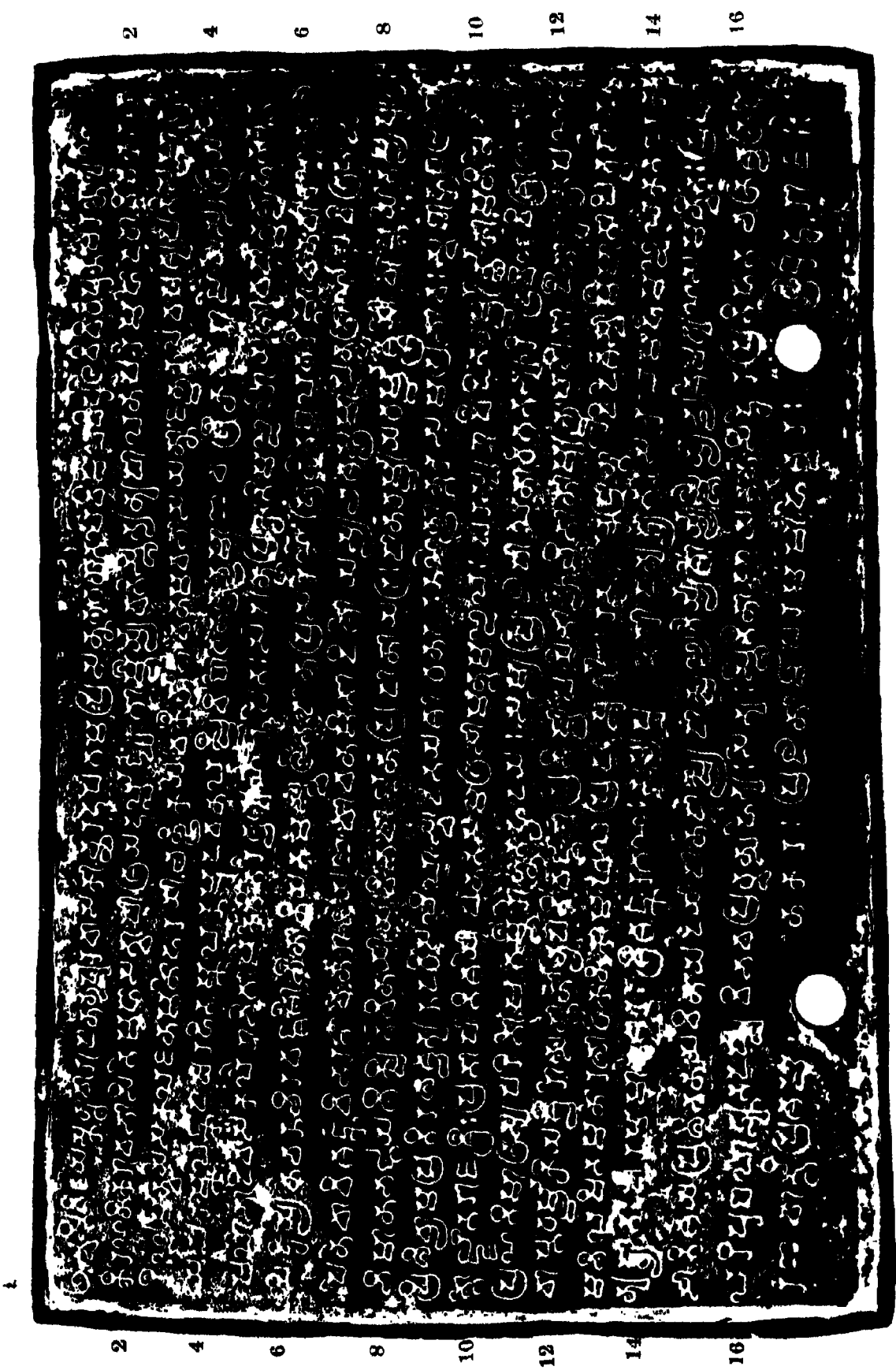
[8] Read कारिकादीन्.

[9] Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु वो विदितम्.

[10] The name may have been originally inscribed as गोरुज्जा, but the sign for medial *u* is now very indistinct.

[11] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[12] Read –न्यायेनाचाट–.

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: NINE-TENTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'38-778'50.

ii.

22 ग्राम्नयमोन्य[1] हैन्नकवास्तव्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयकव्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टपुत्र–
23 बप्पस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये[2]
24 उदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टो[3] यतोस्मद्वंश्यै[4]रन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितो–
25 दधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विषयान्धीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणा–
26 नाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभि[5]रयमस्मद्दायोनु–
27 मन्तव्यःपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि–
28 र्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्त स्यादित्युक्तञ्च[6] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्ष्व[7]सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
29 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[8] ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जाय–
30 न्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
31 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] मही[9] महीम[तां] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [४॥*] यानीह द–
32 त्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै[र्दा]नानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि [को] नाम साधुःपुनराददीत(त)[10] ॥ [५॥*]
33 संवत्सरशतत्रये[11] एकषष्ट्यधिके कार्त्तिकबहुलपञ्चदश्यां गोकुलस्वामिविज्ञापनया महाबला–
34 धिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतशिवराजेनेति ॥
35 सं ३०० ६० १ कार्त्तिक ब १० ५ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at **Ānandapura**—

(For a translation of lines 1—18, see above, pp. 42-3 and 51.)

(Line 19) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water this village (*viz.*) **Kumāri-vaḍaö** (*situated*) near **Brihnnārikā** (the larger Nārikā) in the **Gōrajjā** *bhōga* included in the **Bharukachchha** *vishaya*—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu of the Pārāśara *gōtra*, who

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[1] Read भोग्यो.
[2] Read वृद्धय.
[3] Read सृष्टः.
[4] Read –वंश्यै–.
[5] Read यशश्चिचीषुभि–.
[6] Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.
[7] Read वर्ष–.
[8] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh.*
[9] Read महीं.
[10] Metre : *Indravajrā.*
[11] Read शतत्रय.

is a student of the Vājasanēya Kaṇva (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Ḍēbhaka**, for the maintenance of *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(*For a translation of lines 24-28, see above, p. 44.*)

(L. 28)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L. 33)—In the **year three hundred increased by sixty-one**, on the **fifteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark fortnight of Kārttika**, this (*charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahābalādhikṛita* the illustrious **Prasahyavigraha**, has been written by **Śivarāja**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of **Gōkulasvāmin**. The **year** 300 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) **Kārttika**, the **dark** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GURJARAS

No. 16; Plate X

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380.

THIS set of two copper-plates was found about 1827 together with three others[1] in the town of Khēḍā or Kairā, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gujarat, Bombay State. "The river 'Watrua' runs close to the walls of Khēḍā on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth."[2] The plates were brought to notice ten years later by Dr. A. Burn who sent transcripts and facsimiles of them to Mr. James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As three of them contained dates both in words and in figures, Mr. Prinsep first published facsimiles and explanations of date-portions of the grants, in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, p. 348, and later on a mixed transcript of two of them, which were cognate grants of Dadda II, on pp. 908 ff. of the same volume. When Dr. Burn returned home, he presented the Royal Asiatic Society with three of the sets, *viz.*, two containing this and the following grant of Dadda-Praśāntarāga and the third a grant of Vijayarāja.[3] The grants were subsequently published together with facsimile plates and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S.* (New Series) (1865), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. The original plates of the two grants of Dadda II have since been lost. When Dr. Fleet edited them finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff., he had to depend on the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit them here from the same facsimiles.

The facsimiles show two plates, each measuring about $11\frac{1}{4}''$ broad and $9\frac{3}{8}''$ high. It is not possible to say whether their edges were smooth or were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The lower proper left corner of the first plate is broken off, resulting in the loss of from one to six *aksharas* in ll. 21-29. Besides, a small portion of the upper proper right corner of the second plate is lost, causing a partial destruction of the first six *aksharas* of l. 31. The missing *aksharas* can, however, be supplied from the corresponding portion of the following grant. The plates seem, otherwise, to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles are fairly good, though it is not unlikely that some letters which were legible on the original plates, have not come out in them.[4] In making the subjoined transcript I have, however, taken Prof. Dowson's lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates have each two roundish holes about $\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. The lithograph shows, however, only one ring with a round seal about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The surface of the seal is divided into two fairly equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains in relief 'some symbol of sun-worship', while the lower has the legend *Sāmanta-Dadda* in the same characters as those of the record on the plates.

The characters of the inscription, except the sign-manual, belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs on the tops of letters. The

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[1] Two of these were another grant of Dadda II of the year 385 (No. 17, below) and a grant of Vijayarāja of the Chālukya dynasty (No. 34, below). No information about the third set is available.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 908.

[3] No. 34 below.

[4] For instance, the superscript *ch* in *āchchhidyamānakaṁ*, l. 46, which must have been incised on the original plate, does not appear in the lithograph.

forms of the initial *ī* in *Īśvara*, l. 40 and *ē* in *ēsha*, l. 33 are noteworthy; the medial *u* is formed by a loop in *rūp-ānu-* l. 5; its long form in the case of *rū* is indicated by turning the curve of the letter to the right or by adding two curves to the vertical, see *rūpaṁ* ll. 6 and 24; *k* shows a loop on the left in *prakīrṇṇa*, l. 5 and *kamala-*, l. 27; *j* and *ñ* show a notch on the top, see *paṅka-janma-tayā*, l. 11; the rare *jh* occurs in *nirjjhara*, l. 9; *ḍ* shows a loop in some places and a tail in others[1] see *e.g.*, *nibiḍa-*, l. 16, and *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 38; *ṇ* appears throughout in its southern form; *b* is flat at the bottom, its upper part which consists of a curve generally showing a notch as in *prabala-*, l. 20, but contrast *bōdhita-*, l. 25; the subscript *th* in *sthita-*, l. 5 has neither a notch, nor a ringlet; *v* is triangular in form. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, while punctuation is shown by a dot in some places and by vertical strokes in others. The **sign-manual** of the donor is in northern current hand characters. In it *y* has an archaic form, *n* in some cases appears without a loop, while the forms of *s* and *h* are in advance of these used in other contemporary records.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The eulogistic part of it is written in a style of high flourish which is well-known from the works of the contemporary Sanskrit author Bāṇa. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the close similarities in the wording of both the eulogistic and formal parts of the present plates and the earlier Sarsavṇī plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince Buddharāja[2]. From this he inferred that the family of the Gurjara princes rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja. The **orthography** calls for few remarks. Instead of the *anusvāra*, the guttural nasal is used before *ś* in *vaṅśa*, l. 2 and *nistriṅśa*, l. 27; the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *sthairyya-*, l. 2, *nirjjhara*, l. 9, etc. and the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri*, in *tṛivargga*, l. 24, and *yam=aśṛitāḥ*, l. 21.

The plates were issued from **Nāndīpurī** by the illustrious **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara Dynasty** who had won the *pañchamahāśabda* and who calls himself **Praśāntarāga** in his sign-manual. On the seal he has the title *Sāmanta* (feudatory prince). The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the village **Śirīshapadraka** situated in the *vishaya* of **Akrūrēśvara** to forty Brāhmaṇas, of whom thirty-five belonging to the Ṛigvēda, (White) Yajurvēda and Sāmavēda had emigrated from **Jambūsaras** and were then residing at Śirīshapadraka itself, while the remaining five, all of whom belonged to the Atharvavēda, had emigrated from **Bharukachchha** and were then residing at **Bhērajjikā**. The purpose of the grant was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*,

[1] In *saudāmaṇinā*, l. 21, the letter *d* also shows a tail like that of *ḍ*, perhaps by mistake.

[2] Cf. 'In his opening sentence he (*i.e.*, the author of the present Kairā grant) compares the family of Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhi*) and in describing that ocean, he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *guṇaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilaṅghitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya* and the phrase *mahāsattvatay-ātiduravagāhē* which to the reader of the present (*i. e.*, Sarsavṇī) grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishṇarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita ēva*) worship the sun. He, moreover, just as in the case of the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna*....*yāṁ cha*..*yasya cha*, etc.) and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyanag-ōpatyakāḥ* in line 10 he imitates and labours to improve on the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *diśō* in line 7 of the present grant.' Kielhorn then proceeds to point out the similarities in the wording of the formal parts of the grants. 'We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed ...., the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted....; with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and with the omission of one verse the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 296-97.

etc. **The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika. The scribe was Rēva,** the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols in ll. 50-51, on the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year** 380. Though the era is not specified, the date, on the evidence of palæography, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch 248-49, A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year[1] 380, to the 6th November 629 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription mentions two ancestors of Dadda II, *viz.*, his grandfather **Dadda I** and his father **Jayabhaṭa I** who had the *biruda* **Vītarāga.** About the former we are told that he was a *Sāmanta* or a feudatory prince, though his suzerain is nowhere named, and that from his very birth he was a devotee of the sun. The epithet *ākrishṭa-śatru-nāga-kula-saṁtati* (ll. 3-4) applied to him was interpreted to mean that he exterminated his enemies of the Nāga race[2]; but as Kielhorn has shown, the description contains no such historical allusion, the sense being simply that 'Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuḍa destroys the snakes.' The description in line 10, that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, seems to suggest that he extended his kingdom to or raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain.

About Jayabhaṭa I the present inscription gives no information except that he obtained victories over the forces of his powerful foes, and that he had the *biruda* Vītarāga. The description of his son Dadda II, the donor of the present grant, is also conventional, the only historical information that we can glean from it being that he had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*, and had the *biruda* Praśāntarāga.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nāndīpurī** was identified by Dr. Bühler[3] with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhaḍēśwar gate to the east of Broach. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, however, suggested that Nāndīpurī was identical with Nāndōd in the Broach District.[4] The statement in the Añjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III[5] that Nāndīpurī *vishaya* included the village Tōraṇaka (modern Tōraṇ 2 miles to the north of Nāndōd) proves the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal's suggestion. The absence of any word like *vāsakāt* after Nāndīpurī indicates that it was probably the capital of the Gurjaras. **Akrūrēśvara** is clearly identical with Aṅklēśvar, the chief town of a *tālukā* of the same name, in the Broach District. **Śirīshapadraka** is Sisōdra about 11 miles west by south of Aṅklēśvar. **Jambūsaras** still bears its ancient name and lies about 27 miles north of Broach. **Bharukachchha** is of course Broach, while **Bhērajjikā** is probably Bōrjai in the Broach District, about 12 miles east of Aṅklēśvar.

TEXT[6]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[7] स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीपुरीतो(तः) [।*] विविधविमलगुणरत्नसंपा(प)द्दुद्भास(सि)-
[तसकलदिङ्मु]खे परित्रातास(शे)षसपक्ष[महा*]महीभृति

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[1] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 18th October 628 A. C.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 82.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 62

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

[5] Below, No. 22, lines, 17-18.

[6] From the facsimiles prefixed to Prof. Dowson's article in *J. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

2 सततमविलङ्घितावधी स्थैर्य्यंगाम्भिर्य्यं[1]लावण्यवति महासत्वतया[2][लि]दुरवगाहे गुर्ज्जरनृपतिवंकश[3]–
महह(हो)दधा(धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृ–

3 ष्णहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रु–

4 नागकुलसंततिरुत्पत्तित एव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनीताशेषदुरितनिवहः सामन्तदद्दः [।*]
प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्कं येन

5 स्थितमचलगुणनिकरकेसरि(र)विरा[जि]तवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलो(ल)–
च्छलप्र[की]र्ण्णविमलयशोवितानेन रूपा[नु]–

6 रूपं सत्व[4]मुद्वहता केसरिकिशोरकेणेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां[ताम्] [।*] यं चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर–
चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यन्यस्पर्द्धयवा[5]–

7 ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्रमानीतमदविलासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च [।*] यस्य
चाविरतदान–

8 प्रवाहप्रीणितार्त्थिमधुकरकुलस्य रुचिरकीर्त्तिवशासहायस्य सतंत[6]मस्खलितपदं प्रसरतः सद्वंक्षा[7]-
हितशोभागौरवस्य

9 भद्रमतंगजस्येव करघातविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरुहस्य रेवानिर्ज्झरसलिलप्रपातमधुरनिनदस्य भगो–
[त्तू–]

10 वाः समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यका[8] यश्चोपमीयते शशिनि सौम्यत्व–
वैमल्यशोभाकला–

11 भिर्न्न कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदायाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया सत्वो[9]–
त्साहविक्रमैर्मृगाधिरा–

12 जे न कु(क्रू)राशयतया लावण्यस्थैर्य्यगंभीर्य्य[10]स्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधो(धौ) न व्यालाश्रयतया
सत्कटकसमुन्नतविद्याधरावा–

13 सतया हिम(मा)चले न खष(श)परिवारतया [।*] यस्य च स[द्भो]गः शेषोरगस्येव विमल–
किरणमणिशतावि[ष्कृ]तगौरवः सकलजगत्साधार–

14 णो[11] यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शीलेन प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया शस्त्रमरातिप्रणिपातेन कोपो निग्रहेण प्रसादः
प्रदानैर्धर्म्मो देवद्विजातिगु–

15 रुजनसपर्य्ययेति [।।*] तस्य सूणुः (नुः) प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिव(वा)विरतमभि–
क(रु)चितफलप्रदः सततमृतुगणस्येव

16 वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्य(स्ये)व प्रविकसितनिबिडचूततरुवनाभोगः सरस इव कमलनिवहः
कमलनिवहस्येव

17 प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिर्म्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरिवामृतकलशोमृतकलशस्येवा–
मरणदायित्व–

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[1] Read गाम्भीर्य–.
[2] Read महासत्वतया.
[3] Read वंश–.
[4] Read सत्व–.
[5] Read –मन्योन्यस्पर्द्धयेवा–.
[6] The *anusvāra* is misplaced here. Read संतत–.
[7] Read सद्वंशा–.
[8] Read नगोपत्यकाः ।
[9] Read सत्वो–.
[10] Read स्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य–.
[11] Read साधारणः ।

Second Plate

18 प्रभवः कलित्य इव मदः प्रमदाजनस्येव विलासो विभवस्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्म्मस्येव क[तु:] क[तो]रिव स्वद–

19 क्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियतमलंकारभूतः सकलनिशाकरवि–रूप[1]–

20 नयनः शक्तो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापरनामा श्रीजय–भटः [।*] कलि–

21 प्रतिपक्षभयाक्षरणार्त्थिन[2] इव यमश्रुताः[3] सविनया गुणाः [।*] स्फुरितविमलकीर्त्तिसौ[दा]–मणिना येन सकलजीवलो[का–*][4]

22 नन्दकारिणा कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं[5] गर्ज्जता प्रणयिनामपनीतास्तृष्णासंतापदोषाः [।*] यश्च शूरो[पि] [संतत*]–

23 भयशोभिरूरुपगततृष्णोपि[6] गुणार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्षः सर्व्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपर(रा)–ङ्मुखः [पटुरपि पर*–]

24 परिवादाभिधानजडधीः [।*] यस्य च न विरोधि क्षमं शीलस्य यौवनं सद्वृत्तस्य विभवः प्रदानस्य त्(त्रि)वर्गसेवा प[रस्परापीडन*–]

25 स्य प्रभुत्व क्ष(क्षा)न्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति [।।*] तस्य सूनुः सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकर–करावबोधितक(कु)[मुदधवल–*]

26 यशःप्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू[प्र][भातसम*–]

27 यरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश[7]प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो[द्घृष्टवज्र*–]

28 मणिकोटिरुचिरदीधितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्त्थिजना[क्लि][8]ष–(ष्ट)[परिपूरि*–]

29 तविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्म्मस(सं)चयः प्रणयपरिर(कु)[पित*–]

30 मानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्व्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरक–

Second Plate

31 [स्वभावो विमल[9]]गुणकिरणपंजराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः [श्री] दद्दः

32 कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुबोध–

33 यत्य[10]स्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्कु(क्कू)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्ग्गतशिरीषपद्रकं एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः

34 सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यः सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आच–न्द्रार्कार्ण्णव–

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[1] Read निशाकरानिरूप—.

[2] Read प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणा—.

[3] Read यमाश्रिताः.

[4] The *aksharas* in rectangular brackets at the end of ll. 21-29 have been lost owing to the breaking off of the lower proper left corner of the plate. They are supplied from the following record (No. 17) of the same king.

[5] Read कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं.

[6] Read —भयशोभीरुरपगततृष्णोपि.

[7] Read निस्त्रिंश—.

[8] The horizontal bar of *k* does not appear here.

[9] The corner of the plate being broken off here, only the lower portions of the first six *aksharas* appear in the lithograph.

[10] Read समनुबोधयति । अस्तु वो.

35 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जंबूसरोविनिर्गताक्कु(क्कू)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत-
[शि]रीषपद्रकवासिबह्वृचच-

36 त्ससगोत्राश्वलायनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टृघाध्यापक[1] । तथा गोपादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाख ।
अग्निशर्म्म । द्रोण । काश्यपस-

37 गोत्रभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वय्यु[2]वाजसनेयकौण्डकीयसगोत्र ।[3] कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणता-
पिशम्म(र्म्म) । द्वितापिशर्म्म ।

38 दत्तस्वामि । भागिस्वामि । पितृशर्म्म । भट्टि । द्रोण । धूम्रायणसगोत्रकक्काध्यापक । आबुक ।
कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रवाटशर्म्म । शैल ।

39 घोष । महादेव । बाव । माठरसगोत्रधर । विशाख । नन्दि । रामिल्ल । हारितसगोत्रधर्म्मधर ।
छान्दोग्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रकौथुम-

40 सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणइन्द्रशर्म्म । आदित्यरवि । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । धर । दामधर ।
द्वि ईश्वर । भरुकच्छविनिर्गतभेरज्जिका-

41 निवासि अ(आ)थर्व्वण[4]चौलिसगोत्रपिप्पलादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वायुशर्म्म । द्रोणस्वामि ।
रुद्रादित्य । पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतु-

42 श्चरणब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चातुर्व्विद्यपरिकल्पनापूर्व्वं बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपंचमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प्प-
णार्त्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु-

43 ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कार्त्तिक्य(क्या)मुदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो[5] यतोस्मद्वंश्यै[6]रन्यैर्व्वागामिभोगपतिभिः
प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरं-

44 गचंचलं जीवलोकमभावानुगनानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोग-
भूप्रदानफलेप्सु-

45 भिः शशिकररुचिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो
वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-

46 राच्छिन्द्याद(दा)[च्छि]द्या(द्य)मानकं वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः
स्यदुक्तं च[7] भगवता वेदव्यासेन

47 व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक
वसेत्[8] ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु-

48 शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य य-

49 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि
धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-

50 नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतेति[9] । संवत्सरशतत्रयेशीत्यधिके कार्त्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहा[10]धिक-

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[1] Read भट्टघध्यापक-.

[2] Read अध्वर्य्यु-.

[3] This mark of punctuation is a mistake.

[4] Read निवास्याथर्व्वण—.

[5] Read –तिसृष्टः ।

[6] Read –स्मद्वंश्यै—.

[7] Read स्यात् । उक्तञ्च.

[8] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushtubh.*

[9] Read –ददीत । [।४॥*] इति.

[10] The *aksharas* ग्र and हा are engraved over others which were beaten in, but traces of which can still be seen in the lithograph.

51 रणाधिकृतरेवेण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति ॥ सं ३०० ८० कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [।*]
52 दिनकरचरणार्च्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं प्रशान्तरागस्य ॥

Seal

सामन्तदद्द[:।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nāndīpurī—

In the family of the **Gurjara kings** which resembles the ocean; which has brightened the faces of all regions with the abundance of its manifold and spotless excellences as the ocean does with its varied and stainless jewels; which has protected all great kings who are its allies, as the ocean has saved all the great mountains possessed of wings (*that sought refuge in it*); which always refrains from transgressing the limits (*of proper conduct*), as the ocean abstains from overflowing its shores; which is possessed of firmness, serenity and beauty, as the ocean has stability, depth and saltness; which, on account of its great courage, is difficult to be attacked, as the ocean, on account of its having large animals, is difficult to be plunged into;—there (*was*) the *Sāmanta* **Dadda [I]**, who, possessing the goddess of (*royal*) fortune since his birth and occupying a (*royal*) position hostile to the evil-minded (*krishṇa-hṛidaya*[1]), destroyed (*the influence of*) the Kali age by the mass of his spotless fame, as the Kaustubha jewel which was produced together with Lakshmī,[2] and has found a resting place on Kṛishṇa's breast, dispels a mass of darkness with the multitude of its rays; who, having good allies, has uprooted the descendants of the families of his adversaries even as Vainatēya (*Garuḍa*), possessing excellent wings, destroyed the progeny of the hostile families of serpants; who, even from his birth, had all his calamities[3] removed by bowing to the lotus-like feet of the sun. He,[4] who had a body adorned with a multitude of steady excellences and a canopy of white and spotless fame in the guise of pearls falling from the frontal globes of the elephants of (*his*) enemies that were slain (*in battles*), and who was possessed of courage suitable to his (*majestic*) form, stood always fearlessly at the head of kings, even as a young lion, with his body adorned with a mane, and a canopy of his bright and spotless fame spread over him in the guise of pearls from the frontal globes of hostile elephants slain by him, stands fearlessly on the top of mountains. Accomplishments such as (*proficiency in*) a number of fine arts, (*and*) troops of the elephants of his enemies, walking slowly on account of rut, that were captured by his valour, and young and beautiful women walking languidly owing to the gracefulness (*of their gait*) caused by intoxication, who were attracted by his prowess, day after day, as if in mutual rivalry, resorted to him who was the moon (*dispelling*) the darkness of the extremely sinful Kali age. Like young women obtained by good fortune[5] and rendered beautiful by their plump breasts, the regions at the feet of the Vindhya mountain created by Bhaga[6] and adorned by high clouds, delighted him, who pleased

[1] According to Prof. Kielhorn this word *krishṇa* in addition to denoting the god Kṛishṇa, may perhaps denote the Kaṭachchuri Kṛishṇarāja. The expression may, therefore, signify that Dadda I was a favourite (or, feudatory) of Kṛishṇarāja. He concedes, however, that it may also be taken to mean he whose actions (*āspada*, *kritya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.

[2] *I. e.*, churned out of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmī.

[3] For the use of *durita* in the sense of calamity, misfortune, cf. *Apatyē yat=tādṛig=duritam=abhavat*, etc. *Uttararāmacharita*, Act. IV, v. 3.

[4] This and the following sentences descriptive of Dadda I figure as relative clauses in the original. The construction has been changed for the sake of convenience in translating.

[5] Dr. Fleet translates: 'as if they were wives productive of married happiness.' The original does not, however, contain any such *utprēkshā*.

[6] *Bhaga* is a name of Rudra.

a multitude of supplicants by the incessant flow of his charity, as an excellent elephant pleases swarms of bees by the unceasing flow of his rut; who was attended by splendid glory as the elephant is attended by his charming mate;[1] who always walked with an unfaltering step and whose great excellence was due to his noble descent, as the elephant's splendid form is due to his excellent back-bone; who had his body horripilated when he struck down (*hostile*) kings by the blow of his arm (*and*) whose voice was sweet like (*the sound of*) the falling of the water of the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā). He was compared with the moon in respect of gentleness, purity, beauty and (*proficiency in*) arts,[2] but not in that of any stain,—with an assemblage of lotuses in respect of having overcome the troublesome members of (*his*) family (*as lotuses get over thorns*) by the mass of (*his*) splendour on account of his being the abode of royal fortune (*Srī*) (*as the lotuses are the abode of Lakshmī*), but not in respect of being produced from sin,[3]—with the lord of beasts (*i.e., the lion*) in point of courage, energy and valour, but not in that of having a cruel heart—with the great ocean in respect of beauty, stability, serenity and maintenance of the bounds of morality,[4] but not in that of giving shelter to wicked persons,[5]—with the mountain Himālaya, in respect of being the resort of noble men of learning in his excellent capital[6], but not in that of being surrounded by degraded warriors.[7] His excellent wealth, which, like the excellent hood of the serpent Sēsha, had its magnificence manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, was shared by the whole world.[8] His noble birth was revealed by (*his*) character,—his power, by (*the implicit obedience of his*) commands,—his (*skill in the use of*) weapons, by the submission of (his) foes,—his wrath, by the punishment (*inflicted on his enemies*),—his favour, by (his) gifts,— (*and*) his piety, by the worship of gods, Brāhmaṇas and elderly persons.

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa [I]**, who had the other name of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who was resplendent like heated glittering gold; who, like the wish-fulfilling tree, incessantly granted the desired objects (*of supplicants*), who was always and invariably an ornament (*to his family*) as the vernal season is to the cycle of seasons, as a grove of blossoming and densely growing mango trees is to the vernal season, as an assemblage of lotuses is to a lake, as blooming is to an assemblage of lotuses, as a jewel is to a great serpent, as spotless radiance is to a jewel, as the pot of nectar was to the ocean, as the power of conferring immortality is to the pot of nectar, as rutting is to an elephant, as dalliance is to a young lovely woman, as conferment on a worthy person is to wealth, as a sacrifice is to religion, as the time of distributing the sacrificial fee is to a sacrifice, as good nature is to love, (*and*) as a collection of spotless digits is to the moon; whose face was lovely like the full moon; who was affable (*and*) liberal and who had won the goddess of victory in fighting with the armies of his powerful foes. To him all virtues together with humility resorted as if seeking his protection from fear of their foe, the Kali (*age*). He, who had shining and spotless fame as a dark cloud has a bright flash of lightning, and who delighted the whole living world, removed the evils of avidity and worry of supplicants as a dark cloud roaring, not in vain, removes the thirst and heat

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[1] Dr. Fleet's translation 'who reduced (*even*) those who were not (*his*) adherents to submission by (*his*) brilliant fame' has little connection with the original.

[2] In the case of the moon, (*kalā*) means 'a digit.'

[3] The lotuses, however, are produced from *paṅka* (mud).

[4] The ocean also keeps within bounds.

[5] The ocean, however, gives shelter to serpents in its water.

[6] The Himālaya has the prosperous *Vidyādharas* (demi-gods) residing on its excellent slopes (*kaṭaka*).

[7] See *Manusmṛiti*, ch. X, v. 22. The Himālaya, however, is girt by the Khaśa tribe.

[8] The serpent Śesha's hood supports the whole world.

of those who long (*for rain*). Though brave, he was always apprehensive of (*incurring*) infamy; though free from avarice, he had an unceasing thirst for the acquisition of virtues; though he was in the habit of giving everything, he was averse to giving his heart to others' wives[1]; though eloquent, he was dull-witted in abusing others; His handsome form was not opposed to good character; (*nor*) his youth, to good conduct; (*nor*) his wealth, to charity; (*nor*) his pursuit of the three (*aims of life*), to the absence of mutual conflict (*among them*)[2]; (*nor*) his power to forgiveness; (*nor his living in*) the Kali age, to (*his possession of*) virtues.

(L. 25) His son, the illustrious **Dadda** [II] who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,[3]—who has covered the expanse of the sky all round with the shoots of his fame as white as the night-lotuses which are made to bloom by the rays of the moon as she emerges from a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (*always*) being loudly celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring princes, who were slain (*by him*) when they opposed him in many dangerous battles; whose head is radiant with a crown shining with the bright rays of the tips[4] of diamonds (*set in it*) which are scratched in making obeisance to the lotus-like feet of gods, Brāhmaṇas and elderly persons; the store of whose religious merit—the sole companion in heaven—is being increased by the unwearied[5] fulfilment of the desire for wealth of the poor, the helpless and the sick, guests and supplicants; who shows himself as a cultured man of the town by winning (*again*) by means of sweet words preceded by obeisance, the favour of proud ladies who are made angry by (*their*) love (*for him*); who has cast the mass of the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of his spotless virtues—(*he*), being in good health, thus informs all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas* and heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* (provinces) and villages, officials and others—

(L. 33) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water, fixing first (*the immunities*) in the case of the community of the Chāturvēdins,[6] on the full-moon day of **Kārttika**, this village (*viz.*,) **Śirīshapadraka** situated in the *vishaya of* **Akrūrēśvara**—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will en-

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[1] Dr. Fleet translates: 'He was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men' and remarks 'The play is on the two meanings of *dāna* 'giving' and 'cutting or destroying.' The idea of cutting the hearts of others' wives is not met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. The contrast intended here is between his readiness to give everything to supplicants and his aversion to give his love to others' wives.

[2] As Dr. Fleet has pointed out, the words joined here are *paraspara* and *apīḍana*. The sense intended to be conveyed is that the king practised *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, avoiding all conflict among them.

[3] *I. e.*, the right to use five musical instruments. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. I., pp. 23 f.

[4] Fleet translates *vajra-maṇi-kōṭi* by 'a crore of diamonds.' But the idea that tips of diamonds are brightened by rubbing in the act of salutation is common in Sanskrit literature.

[5] Fleet translates *klishṭa* by 'people in distress', but the word is *aklishṭa* and its position after *jana* shows that it is used here as an adverb modifying *paripūrita*.

[6] *Parikalpanā* is derived from *pari-kḷip*, to fix or to settle. *Chāturvvidya-parikalpanā-purvvaṁ* corresponds to *Chāturvidy-āgrahara-maryādā* which generally occurs in Vākāṭaka records and probably refers to the fixing of immunities in the case of *agrahāra* villages granted to Chāturvēdins. Fleet, however, translates it as 'preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chāturvēdis.'

dure,—to the Brāhmaṇas of the four *charaṇas*[1], *viz.*, the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi, the teacher (*adhyāpaka*) who has emigrated from **Jambūsaras**, and is (now) a resident of **Śirīshapadraka** situated in the district of **Akrūrēśvara**, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra* and a student of the Āśvalāyana (*charaṇa*) of the Ṛigvēda, and also Gōpāditya, and also Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Bhaṭṭidāman of the Kāsyapa *gōtra*, and also Vatra, —the Brāhmaṇa Tāpiśarman of the Ḍauṇḍakīya *gōtra*, a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*) of the Vājasanēya (*vēda*) of the Adhvaryus, (*and*) the second Tāpiśarman, (*and*) Dattasvāmin, (*and*) Bhāgivsāmin, (*and*) Pitṛiśarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Karka, the *adhyāpaka*, of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, (*and*) Ābuka,—Vāṭaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, (*and*) Saila, (*and*) Ghōsha, (*and*) Mahādēva, (*and*) Bāva;—Dhara of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāmila,—Dharmadhara of the Hārita *gōtra*,—the Brāhmaṇa Indraśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Kauthuma (*charaṇa*) of the Chhāndōgya (*i.e.*, Sāmavēda) (*and*) Ādityaravi, (*and*) Tāpiśūra, (*and*) Indraśūra, (*and*) Īśvara, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) the second Īśvara,[2]—the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Chauli *gōtra*, a student of the Pippalāda (*charaṇa*) of the Atharvavēda, who emigrated from **Bharukachchha** and is now a resident of **Bhērajjikā**, (*and*) Vāyuśarman, (*and*) Drōṇasvāmin, (*and*) Rudrāditya, (*and*) Pūrṇasvāmin,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 43) Wherefore, future rulers whether of Our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost and worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time and desiring to share in the reward of (*this*) donation of land, which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely a moon-beams, should consent to this Our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 46) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 50) In the year **three hundred increased by eighty**, on the **fifteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Kārttika**, (*this charter*) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth, by **Rēva**, (*the officer*) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The **year** 300 (*and*) 80, (*the month*) **Kārttika**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the **sign-manual** of **Praśāntarāga**, the son of **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The *Sāmanta* **Dadda**.

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[1] The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are arranged according to the *charaṇas* and according to *gōtras* under the same *charaṇa*. Where no *gorra* is mentioned, the one mentioned last preceding is to be understood. The four *charaṇas* mentioned here are those of Āśvalāyana (l.36), Kaṇva (l.37), Kauthum (l.39) and Pippalāda (l.41)

[2] Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara appear to be mentioned here as of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. In the next inscription their *gōtra* is mentioned as Lākshmaṇya.

No. 17; Plate XI

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385.

This set of two copper-plates was discovered together with the preceding one in the town of Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Gujarat, Bombay State, under circumstances already described.[1] A mixed transcript of the two records was first published by Mr. J. Prinsep in the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. The plates were subsequently edited with facsimiles by Prof. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (New Series), pp. 247 ff., and finally by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 88 ff. As the original plates had been lost, Dr. Fleet's transcript was made from the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit the inscription here from the same facsimiles.

From the facsimiles they appear to be two plates each being inscribed on one side and measuring 10½" by 7¼". It is not possible to say if their ends were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. They appear to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's lithographs are fairly good, though it is likely that some letters, which appear in them to be imperfectly formed, may not have been so on the original plates. In making the subjoined transcript I have taken the lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates seem to have each two roundish holes .4" in diameter for the rings which held them together. One of the rings has a circular **seal**, about 1$\frac{3}{16}$" in diameter, closely resembling that of the preceding grant. It has in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same symbol of solar worship and the same **legend**, *Sāmanta-Dadda*. Again this inscription was, like the preceding, written by **Rēva**, the head of the Department for Peace and War. The characters, therefore, closely resemble those of the preceding grant. It will suffice to call attention to the different forms of medial *ū* seen in *rūp-ānurūpam*, ll. 5-6, *-abhirūpa-*, l. 20, and *krūr-āśayatayā-*, l. 12, the *prishṭha-mātrā* denoting medial *ē* in *mṛig-ādhirājē*, ll. 11-12, the curled curve of *ṭ* in *Jayabhaṭaḥ*, ll. 20-21, the cursive *s* in *satata*, l. 16 and the tailed *h* in *-āhita*, l. 10 and *saṅgrāhya*, l. 34. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for some changes in the names of donees and the date, and the omission of the expressions *chatuś-charaṇa-* and *chāturvvidya-parikalpanā-pūrvam*, the present grant is an exact copy of the preceding. As regards **orthography**, we may state, in addition to what has been noticed above, that the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll. 11 and 32, *y* is doubled after an *anusvāra* in *saṁyyukta*, l. 45 and *k* before *r* in *yajñādi-kkriyā-*, l. 41.

The plates were issued from **Nāndīpurī** by the illustrious **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara Dynasty**. He and his ancestors are described here exactly as in the preceding grant. The inscription is **dated**, both in words and in numerical symbols, on **the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 385**. The date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 385, to the 12th October 634 A.C.[2] It does not admit of verification. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the same village **Śirīshapadraka** situated in the **Akrūrēśvara** *vishaya*, which he had donated only five years before by the preceding charter. Most of the Brāhmaṇa donees were also the same; for out of the forty Brāhmaṇas who received the former grant, as many as thirty-two[3]

[1] See above, p. 57.

[2] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 22nd October 633 A. C.

[3] Cf. 'The first grant was made to forty Brāhmaṇas; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vāpaśarmā and Mahādēva of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* (No.

figure in the present charter. The reason for making this new grant—which in effect cancelled the previous one, though it is not said so explicitly—is not known; but it may be noted that of the forty Brāhmaṇas to whom the first grant was made, thirty-five were residents of the donated village **Śirīshapadraka**, while the remaining five were dwelling at **Bhērajjikā**. In the present grant all the five names of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhērajjikā have been omitted. It may, therefore, be conjectured that there was some dispute between the Brāhmaṇa donees of the two villages Śirīshapadraka and Bhērajjikā, which eventually led to the cancellation of the first grant.[1] It may again be noted that all the five Brāhmaṇas, whose names are omitted here, were students of the Atharvavēda which, as is well known, was looked with disfavour in ancient times. The reason for omitting three out of the other thirty-five names may be the death of the donees, without leaving any issue.

The geographical names occurring in the present grant have already been identified.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[3] स्वस्ति [।*]नान्दीपुरि(री)तो(तः) ॥ व(वि)विधविमलगुण[र]त्न[स]म्पदुद्भा-
सितसकलदिङ्मुखे परि[श्राताशेष]स[पक्ष]महामहि(ही)भृति [स]ततमव(वि)लङ्घि-

2 [तावधौ स्थैर्य्य]गाम्भि(म्भी)य्य(र्य्यं)लावण्यवति महासत्व(त्त्व)तयातिदुरवगाहे गुर्ज्जरनृपति-
वङ्श[4]महोदधौ श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहिता-

3 [स्प]दः [कौस्तु]भमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरदि(वि)निहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वै[न]तेय इ[वा]कृष्टशत्र(त्रु)ना[ग]कुलसन्तत(ति)-

4 [रु]त्पत्तित ए[व] दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनि(नी)ताशेषदुरितनिवहस्सामन्तदद्दः [।*] प्रति-
दिनमप(पे)तशङ्कं येन[5] स्थितमचल-

5 गुणनिकरकेस[रि(र)विरा]जितवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफल[च्छ]लप्रकीर्ण्ण-
विमलयशोवितावे(ने)न रूपानुरू-

6 [पं] सत्व(त्त्व)मुद्वहत(ता) केसरिकिशोरकेणेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां(ताम्) [।*] यस्यातिमलिन-
कलियुगतिमिरचन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्या(न्यो)न्य[स्प]र्द्धये-

7 [वा]ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणाः विक्रमानीतमदति(वि)लासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च
[।*] यस्य चाविरत-

CXXXIX l.38-9), Indraśarmā of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (*id.* l. 40) and Bhadra, Vāyuśarmā, Drōṇasvāmī, Rudrāditya and Pūrṇasvāmī of the Chauli *gōtra* (*id.* l. 41); and two new names are introduced, *viz.*, (l. 37) Vāḍa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, and (l. 40) Indraśūra of the Dhūmrāyaṇa or Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l. 40. The names are arranged,—not according to *charaṇas*, as in No. CXXXIX—but according to *gōtras*; and three persons—Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara—who, according to No. CXXXIX l. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, are here said (l.38-9) to belong to the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra*' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 88.) No. CXXXIX referred to in this passage is the Kairā inscription of Dadda II., dated K. 380 (No. 16, above).

[1] The thirty-two Brahmaṇas of Śirīshapadraka, whose names are repeated in the present grant, were no longer living at Śirīshapadraka. They had removed to Jambūsaras their original home.

[2] From the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read वंश-.

[5] Between ये and न, a letter like य was incised by mistake and then cancelled.

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385

First Plate

(From a photograph)

B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36 – 763' 51.
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Second Plate

8 दाना[दि?][1]प्रवाहक्षीणितार्थिमधुकरकु(र)कुलस्य रुचिरकीर्त्तिवधूसहायस्य स[त]तमस्खलितपदं प्रसरत: सङ्कथाहित[2]शोभा–

9 गा(गौ)रवस्य भद्रमतङ्गजस्येव करघातविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरु[हस्य] रे[वा]निर्ज्झरसलिल– प्रपातमधुरनिनाद[स्य][3]

10 भगाङ्गवा[4]स्समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यरा(का): [।*]य[श्चो]प– मीयते शशिनि सौम्य[त्व*]वैमल्यशोभाक–

11 लाभिर्न कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया । सत्वो(त्वो)त्साहविक्रमे(मै)र्मृ –

12 गाधिराजे न क्रूराशयतया । लावण्यस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्यालाश्रयतया । सत्कटकप(स)–

13 मुन्नतविद्याधरावासतया हिमाव(च)ले न खष(श)य(प)रिवारतया । यस्य च सङ्गोग: शेषोर– गस्येव विमलकिरणमणिशताविष्कृत–

14 गौरवस्सकलजगत्साराररणो[5] । यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शि(शी)लेन । प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया । शस्त्र– मरातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपा(पो) निग्रहेण ।

15 प्रसाद: प्रदानैर्द्धर्म्मो देवद्विजातिगुगु(रु)जनसपर्य्ययेति । तस्य सूनु: प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदात: कल्पतरुरिवाविरतम–

16 भिरुचितफलप्रद: सततमृतुगणस्येव वस[न्त]समयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसित[6]निबिडचूततरु– बनाभोग: सरस इव

17 कमलनिवह: कमलनिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिर्म्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधे– रिवामृतकलशोमृतक–

18 लशस्येवाभरणदायित्वप्रशा(भा)व: करिण इव मद: प्रमचा(दा)जनस्येव विलासो विभ[व]स्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्म्म–

19 स्येव ऋतु: क्रतोरिव स्वदक्षिणाकाल: प्रेम्ण इव सद्भाव: शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियत– मलङ्कारभूत: सकल–

20 निशाकराभिरूपवदन: शक्लो वदान्य: प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्री: श्रीवीतरागापर– नामा श्रीजर(य)भ–

21 [ट:] कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणार्त्थिन इव यमाश्रिता: सविनया गुणा: स्फुरितदि(वि)मलकीर्त्ति– सौदामणिना येन सकल[जी–]

22 वलोकानन्दकारिणा कालव(ब)लाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं गर्ज्जता प्रणयिनामपही(हृ)तास्तृष्णासन्ताप– दोषा: [।*] यश्च गू(शू)रोपि सतत–

23 मयशोभीरुरपगतत[ष्णो]पि गुणार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्ष: सर्व्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपरा– ङ्मुख: पटुरपि प–

24 रपरिवादानि(भि)धानजडधी:[।*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप(पं) शीलस्य यौवनं सद्वृत्तस्य दि(वि)भव: प्रदानस्य तृ(त्रि)वर्गसे[वा] परस्परा–

25 पीडनस्य प्रभुत्वं क्षान्ते: कलिकालो गुणानामिति । (।।) तस्य सूनु: सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकर– करावबोधि–

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[1] Read दानप्रवाह–.
[2] Read सङ्कथाहित–.
[3] The preceding inscription reads –निनदस्य here.
[4] Read भगोङ्गवा–.
[5] Read –जगत्साधारण:.
[6] Fleet's proposed reading प्रविकासित is unnecessary.

26 तकुमुदधवलयश:प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसो(सा)मन्त–

27 कुलवधूप्रभातसमयरु[दि]तच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्कश[1]प्रतापो देवद्विजा[ति]गुरु–

Second Plate

28 चरणकमलप्रणामोद्धृष्टवज्रमणि[कोटिरुचिरदीधिति*][2]विराजितमुकुटोद्भासित[शि]रा

29 दि(दी)नानाथातुराभ्यागतार्त्थिजनाक्लिष्टप[रिपूरितविभव*]मनोरथोपचि(ची)यमा[न]त्रिविष्ट–
पैकस–

30 हायधर्म्मसञ्चय: प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनि(नी) [जनप्रणा*]मपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी–

31 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणप[ञ्जराक्षि]प्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचयस्समधिगत–
पञ्च–

32 महाशब्द[:*] श्रीदद्दxकुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविस(ष)यपतिरा[ष्ट्र]ग्राममहत्तराधि–
कारिकादीन्स–

33 मनुबोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्र(क्रू)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्ग्गत ।[3] शिरीषपद्रक ।[4] एष ग्राम–
स्सोद्रङ्गः

34 सोपरिकर: सर्व्वादानसङ्ग्राह्य[:*] सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहि(ही)णो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना–
चाटभटप्रा–

35 वेश्य आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णद(व)क्षितिस्थितिसमका[लीन]: पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जम्बूसरोवास्तव्यभर–
द्वाजस–

36 गोत्रकण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरवि । तथा तापिशुर[5] । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । तथा वत्ससगोत्र–
भटिघ(ट्टघ)

37 ध्यापक [।] गोपादित्य । वाड । विशाख । अग्निशर्म्म । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माढ(ठ)र[6]सगोत्र–
विशाख । धर । नन्दि ।

38 राम । दौण्डगी(की)[य*]सगोत्रतापिशर्म्म । द्वितापिशर्म्म[7] । द्रोण । भट्टि । पितृशर्म्म । भागि–
स्वामि । दत्तस्वामि । लाक्ष्म–

39 ण्यसगोत्रधर । दामधर । ईश्वर । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रबाव । घोष । [शै]ल । काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टि–
दामि(म) । वात्र[8][।*]

40 हारीतसगोत्रधर्म्मधर[।] धौम्रयन[9]सगोत्रकर्क्काध्यापक । आवुक । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतु–
स्त्रिङ्कश[द्रू घो][10]

41 बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्थं माशा(ता)पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो–
शि(भि)वृद्धये कार्त्ति –

42 क्यामुदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टो[11] यतोस्मद्वङ्श्यै[12]रन्यैर्व्वागा[13]मिभोगपतिभि: प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिज–
लतरंग–

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[1] Read निस्त्रिंश–.

[2] The *aksbaras* in the rectangular brackets in this and the following three lines are not distinct in the facsimile and were probably damaged by rust on the original plate.

[3] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] Read शिरीषपद्रकम्. The following mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[5] Read तापिशूर as in the preceding grant.

[6] Fleet read माफ(ठ)रसगोत्र–.

[7] Read –शर्म्म.

[8] In the preceding inscription, this name is written as वत्र.

[9] Read धौम्रायण.

[10] Read चतुस्त्रिंशद्रूपो.

[11] Read –तिसृष्ट: ।

[12] Read –स्मद्वंश्यै–.

[13] The *aksbaras* are quite clear here in the facsimile.

43 चञ्चलं जि(जी)वलोकममायानुगतानसारान्विभवा[1]न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्य-
भोगभू-

44 प्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दासो(यो)नुमन्तव्यः पालयित-
व्यश्च । यो वाज्ञा-

45 नतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयु(यु)-
क्तास्स्यादित्युक्तं[2] च भग-

46 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भु(भू)मिदः [।] आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१॥][3].

47 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्त(न्ते) भु(भू)[मिदा]यं
हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्स-

48 गरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] यानि(नी)ह
द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थ[4]यशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्त-

49 माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा[धु:]: पुनराददि(दी)त ॥ [४॥*] इति [॥*] संवत्सर-
शतत्रये पञ्चाषि(शी)त्य[धिके] कार्त्तिकपौर्ण्णमास्यां

50 लिखितं सन्धी(न्धि)विग्रहाधिकरणाधिक्रि(कृ)तरे[वे]ण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति । सं [३००] ८० ५
कार्त्तिक भु(शु) [१० ५] [दि]नकरचरणा-

51 च्चंनरतस्य श्रीवीतराग[सूनो]: [स्वहस्तोयं] प्रशा[न्त]रागस्य[5] ॥

Seal

सामन्तदद्द [:।*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From **Nāndīpurī**—

(For a translation of lines 1—33 see above, pp. 63-65.)

(Line 33)—'Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted, with a libation of water on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village, (*viz.*,) **Śirīshapadraka** situated in the *vishaya* of **Akrūrēśvara**—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the thirty-four Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*,) the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaravi, who is a resident of Jambūsaras, who is of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*), and also Tāpiśūra, (*and*) Indraśūra, (*and*) Īśvara; and also Bhaṭṭi, the teacher, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra*, (*and*) Gōpāditya, (*and*) Vāḍa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (*and*) Drōṇa; Viśākha of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāma; Tāpiśarman of the Dauṇḍakīya *gōtra*, (*and*) the second Tāpiśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Pitṛiśarman, (*and*) Bhāgisvāmin, (*and*) Dattasvāmin; Dhara of the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra*, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) Īśvara; Bāva of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*,

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[1] Fleet reads विभ(च)वा-, but the second letter is clearly भ.

[2] Read -स्स्यादिति । उक्तं.

[3] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Read धर्म्मार्थ-.

[5] This sign—manual is in current-hand characters.

(*and*) Ghōsha, (*and*) Saila; Bhaṭṭi Dāma of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*and*) Vātra; Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*; Karka, the teacher, of the Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*, (*and*) Āvuka, (*and*) Indraśūra —for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and such other (*religious*) rites.

[*For a translation of ll.* 42-45, *see above, p.* 66.]

(L. 45) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 49) In the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of Kārttika, (*this charter*) has been written at the command of (*Our*) own mouth by Rēva, (*the officer*) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 5, (*the month*) Kārttika, (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Praśāntarāga, the son of Vītarāga, who is devoted to worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The *Sāmanta* Dadda.

No. 18 ; Plate XII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 391.

This copper-plate measuring 9.5" by 4.5" was apparently found at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is the last plate of its set, and contains ten lines of well-executed writing. The average size of letters is .15" The plate has at the top two round holes .3" in diameter for the rings which must have connected it with other plates of the set. No ring or seal has however been found.

The characters of the inscription including the sign-manual of the donor Raṇagraha belong to the western variety of the South Indian alphabets. The sanction[1] of the gift by the reigning king Dadda is, however, like his sign-manual in the other Saṅkhēḍā and Kairā grants, in the northern characters. The only palæographical peculiarities that call for notice are that (1) the curve for medial *i* is turned to the right in *āchchhindyamānam*, l. 2; (2) the notch of *b* is at the top; (3) the right-hand hook of *ñ* is added to the subscript *ch* in *uktañ=cha*, l. 3. The language is Sanskrit, and except for four customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the extant portion of the record is in prose. The text is very incorrectly written; see, for instance, *Ādityaśarmmāya* for *Ādityaśarmmaṇē*, and *uchchhrishṭaṁ* for *utsṛishṭaṁ*, both in l. 1; *asmādāyō* for *asmad-dāyō*, l. 2, etc. The *visarga* is wrongly omitted in many places, as *e.g.* in *-bhōgapatibhi*, l. 1, *-numantavya*, l. 2, *mahāpātakai*, l. 3, and the final consonant in *syā*, l. 3 and *vasē*, l. 4. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *sarggēṇa* and *anyair=vvā*, l. 1, *pañchabhir=mmahāpāṁtakai*, l. 3, etc; *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *krishṇ-āhayō*, l. 5, *-dhikrita* and *Mātribhaṭēna*, l. 10, etc; and *n* occurs in place of *ṇ* in *sarggēna*, l. 1 and *yaśaskarāni*, l. 6.

[1] The expression *Śrī-Dadda-pādānta*(*nu*)*jñā* [*taṁ*] conveying the sanction is in characters resembling those of the sign-manual of Dadda II, in the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā grants (Nos. 16-17, 19-20), but the addition of the word *pāda* to the royal name and the use of the personal name *Dadda* instead of the *biruda* *Praśāntarāga* shows that it is not in the handwriting of Dadda II.

The plate contains the last part of a grant of **Raṇagraha,** the son of **Vītarāga,** who describes himself in his sign-manual as devoted to the worship of the sun. The grant was sanctioned by the illustrious **Dadda.** In the absence of the previous plates of the set, all details about the object, occasion and purpose of the gift are lost. Only the name of the Brāhmaṇa donee Ādityaśarman has been preserved on the present plate. It is possible, however, to conjecture that the object of the gift was a field[1] as in the case of the other complete Saṅkhēḍā grants of Dadda II. The *dūtaka* was the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna and the writer Mātṛibhaṭa, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 391 of an unspecified era. The palaeography of the grant makes it certain that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in the expired[2] year 391 would correspond to the 15th May 641 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

We know from two complete sets of Saṅkhēḍā plates[3] that Dadda II-Praśāntarāga continued to reign till the Kalachuri year 392. The date of the present grant, therefore, falls in his reign. As Dadda II also was a son of Vītarāga, Raṇagraha, the donor of the present grant, must have been his brother. It seems that he was placed in charge of some part of his kingdom and had the status of a feudatory chief, but as he was not completely independent, his grant had to be sanctioned by his liege-lord, Dadda II. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has, however, suggested that Raṇagraha was another name of Dadda II himself[4], but the duct of the latter's sign-manual is different in the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates.[5] Secondly, the early Gurjara kings are known to have assumed only one *biruda* in addition to their personal name and the *biruda* of Dadda II, known from his Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates, was *Praśāntarāga*, not *Raṇagraha*. Thirdly, his minister for peace and war was Rēva during the period from K. 380 to K. 392.[6] The latter would, therefore, in all probability, have been mentioned in that capacity in the present grant of K. 391. But the officer mentioned here as *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* is Māṭṛibhaṭa, not Rēva. For these reasons, I prefer to follow Mr. Dhruva[7] and Dr. Bühler[8] in taking **Raṇagraha** to be a **brother of Dadda II.**

TEXT[9]

1 ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया[10] उदकातिसर्ग्गेनोच्छ्रिष्टं[11] [।*] यतोस्याप्मद्वज्यो[12]रन्यैर्व्वागामिभोगपति-
भि[:*] अय–

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[1] The expression *udak-ātisarggēn(ṇ)=ōchchhri(tsṛi)shṭaṁ* in l. 1 evidently qualifies some word like *kshētram* (a field).

[2] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 26th April 640 A. C. For the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha the dates would correspond to the 16th April, 641 A. C. and the 28th March 640 A. C. respectively.

[3] Below, Nos. 19 and 20.

[4] *I. N. I.*, p. 161, n. 3.

[5] Its wording here is also slightly different; for it contains *dinakara-kiraṇ-ābhyarchchana-ratasya* in place of *dinakara-charaṇ-ārchchana-ratasya* which occurs in the sign-manual of Dadda II in all his grants.

[6] See No. 16, l.51; No. 17, l.50, No. 19, l.28 and No. 20, l.27.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 21.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 38.

[9] From the facsimile accompanying Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article, facing p. 21, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

[10] Read –शर्म्मणे.

[11] Read –सर्ग्गेणोत्सृष्टम्.

[12] Read यतोस्मद्वंश्यै–.

2 मस्मादायो[1]नुमन्तव्य[:*] पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावित[2]राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्य-
मानं[3] वा-

3 नुमोदेत[4] स पञ्चभिर्म्महापां[5]तकैं[:*] संयुक्तः स्या इत्युक्तञ्च[6] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन
[।*] षष्ठिवरिष[7]-

4 सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदा(दः) [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्[8] ॥१॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क-

5 कोटरवासिन[: ।*] क्रिष्णाहयो[9] हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[: ॥*२॥] यानीह दत्तानि
पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि

6 धर्म्मात्यायशस्करानि[10] [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम[11] साधु[:*] पुनरादधीति[12]
[॥३॥*] स्वदत्ता[13] परदत्तां वा

7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] मही[14] महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाता तु च्छेयो[15]नुपालनमिति[16][॥४॥*]

8 संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये[17] वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३०० ९० १ वैशाख ब १० ५ [।*]

9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकदुज्जान[18][: ।*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्च्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो

10 रणग्रहस्य [।*] श्रीदद्दपादान्तज्ञा[तं][19] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)त[20]मात्रिभटेन[21] [॥*]

TRANSLATION

(*The field.....*) has been granted (*by us*) with a libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarman. Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(Line 3) And it has been declared by the holy Vyāsa who arranged the Vēdas—

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[1] Read -मस्मद्दायो.

[2] Read -पटलावृतमति-.

[3] Read -दाच्छिद्यमानं.

[4] Read वानुमोदेत.

[5] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[6] Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

[7] Read षष्टिं वर्ष-.

[8] Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[9] Read कृष्णाहयो.

[10] Read धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि.

[11] Read नाम.

[12] Read पुनराददीत. Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[13] Read स्वदत्तां.

[14] Read महीं.

[15] Read दानाच्छ्रेयो-.

[16] Read -नुपालनम् ॥ इति. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[17] Read एकनवत्यधिके.

[18] Mr. Dhruva read भोगिकपालकदुज्ञान [:*], but the correct reading given above was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 39.

[19] These eight aksharas are in current-hand characters. Mr. Dhruva read them as श्रीदद्दपादान्तज्ञप्ति and proposed the emendation—पादान्तज्ञाते:. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed to read. -पादान्तज्ञप्ति[ना*] and to construe it as an epithet of Māṭṛibhaṭa. (See his *Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3). I would suggest श्रीदद्दपादानुज्ञातम्. Compare श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजानुज्ञातेन in the Goā plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X (Old Series), p. 365.

[20] The usual expression is सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृत-.

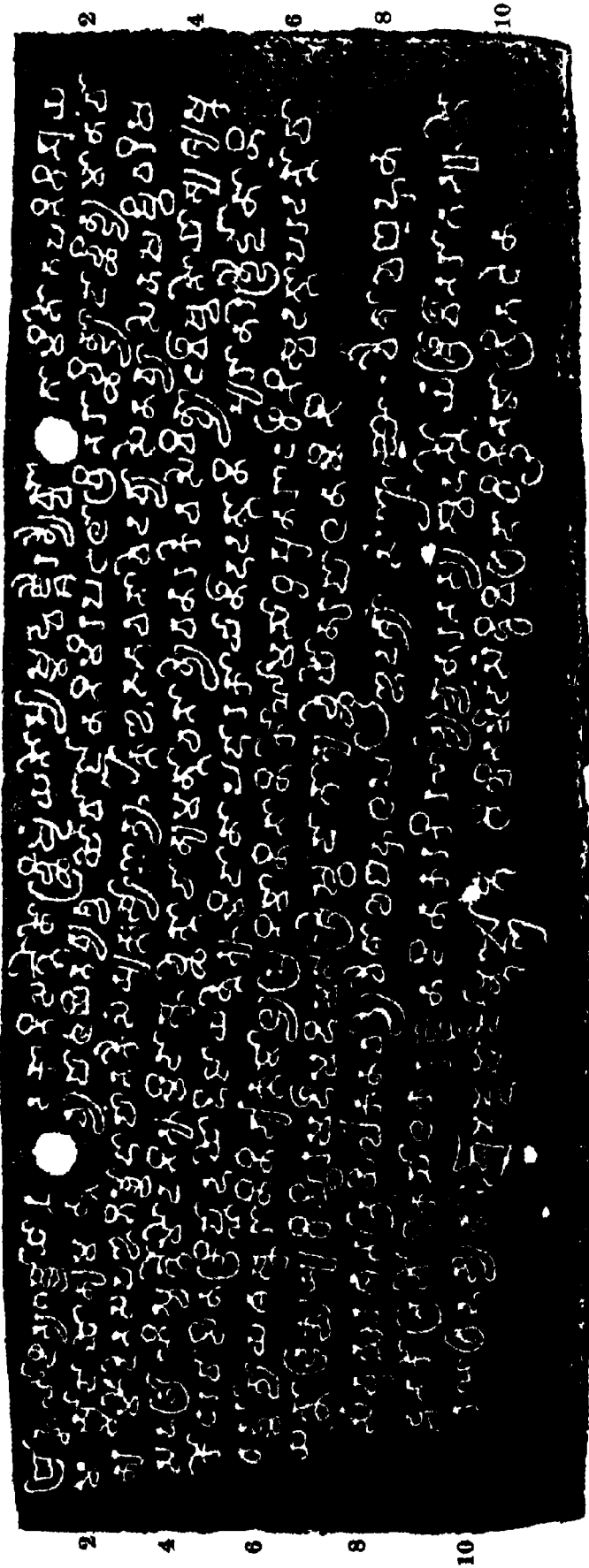
[21] Read मातृभटेन.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 391

B. CH. CHHABRA.

ACTUAL SIZE.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-763'51.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

[*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*]

(L. 8) In the **year three hundred** (*increased by*) **ninety-one**, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha**, (*in figures*) the **year** 300 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) **Vaiśākha**, the **dark** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

The *dūtaka* of this (*grant*) is the *Bhōgikapālaka* **Dujjāna**.

This is the sign-manual of **Raṇagraha**, the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the worship of the sun.

(*As*) sanctioned by the feet of the illustrious **Dadda (II)**, this (*order*) has been written by **Matṛibhaṭa** who is in charge of (*the Department of*) Peace and War.

No. 19; Plate XIII A

SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRAŚANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392.

These **copper-plates** were discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at **Saṅkhēḍā** in the Baroda District Bombay State. Dr. G. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp., 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

They are **two plates** inscribed on one side only, each measuring 10″ by 5¼″, and contain at the top two holes ¾″ in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. No ring or seal has, however, been found. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are incised on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15″.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets as in the two cognate sets of Kairā plates. The letters except those of the sign-manual contain small knobs at the top. The letters of the **sign-manual**, on the other hand, which are in the northern current-hand characters have short horizontal (often curved) strokes at the top. As the present inscription was written by the same officer Rēva who wrote the earlier Kairā grants,[1] its characters, as might be expected, closely resemble those of the latter. Some peculiarities may, however, be noticed here. The medial *ī* is generally cursive as in *dīdhiti*, l.4 and *māninī*, l.6, but its other form consisting of two circles one inside the other occurs in *sīmā-*, l.11. The form of medial *ū* in *vadhū*, l.2, *paripūrita*, l.5, *pūrvva*, l.6, the like of which rarely occurs in the earlier Kairā grants, that of *h* in *mahattar-*, l.9 and of the triangular *b* in *bahala*, l.7, *brahmadēya*, l.12, etc. are also noteworthy. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal stroke at the top, see *vasēt*, l.24. Punctuation is denoted by single or double dots and in some cases by single or double vertical strokes. The **symbols** for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 2 occur in l.29.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The text of the inscription, so far as it goes, is almost[2] an exact copy of that of the earlier Kairā grants except, of course, in such details as the name and description of the donee, the object of the grant, its date, etc. As regards **orthography**, we may note in addition to what has already been noticed in

[1] Above, Nos. 16 and 17.

[2] There are some minor differences *e.g.*, *samanuvarṇṇya* in l. 9 of the present record occurs in neither of the Kairā grants.

connection with the Kairā grants, the doubling of *th* after an *anusvāra* in *paṁtthāḥ*, l. 12 and of *k* before *r* in *yajñādikkriy-*, ll. 17-18.

The plates were issued from **Nāndīpura** by **Dadda** who had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*. As in the Kairā plates, he calls himself **Praśāntarāga,** the son of **Vītarāga,** in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara dynasty.** Unlike the Kairā plates, the present inscription does not contain any eulogy of his two predecessors—his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhaṭa I-Vītarāga.

The plates record the grant of a field in the village **Suvarṇārapalli** which was situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka,** requiring for its seed grains one *piṭaka* of paddy by the measure prevalent in that *vishaya,* together with the usual rights and exemptions. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina *śākhā,* who had previously emigrated from **Daśapura** and was then residing at the village **Kshīrasara.** The grant was made for the purpose of providing for the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donated field was bounded on the east by the junction with the boundary of the village **Kshīrasara,** on the north by the junction with the boundary of the village **Kukkuṭavallikā,** on the west by an *agrahāra* field, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank ?) and on the south by the way leading to the village **Suvarṇārapalli** and the junction with (the boundary of) **Aṭavīpāṭaka.** The plates were written by **Rēva,** the head of the Department of Peace and War.

The grant is **dated** both in words and in numerical symbols on the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 392.** This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C.[1] It does not admit of verification.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Nāndīpura** which is clearly identical with Nāndīpurī of the Kairā grants, has already been identified with Nāndōd in the Broach District. **Daśapura** is Mandasōr in Western Malwā. **Saṅgamakhēṭaka,** the headquarters of the *vishaya* named after it, is clearly modern Saṅkhēḍā where the plates were discovered. As Dr. Bühler says, 'Saṁgamakhēṭaka means etymologically 'the village at the confluence (of two rivers), and the Unchh and the Or[2] join near Saṅkhēḍā. The *vishaya* or province of Saṁgamakhēṭaka probably included the Saṅkhēḍā Prānt of the Gaikwāḍ's possessions, as well as the neighbouring portion of Rēvākānṭhā Agency, still called Saṅkhēḍā Mēvās'. Of the villages mentioned in the present grant, only two can be identified. **Kukkuṭavallikā**[3] is apparently identical with Kukaḍ, about 8 miles west-south-west of Saṅkhēḍā. **Kshīrasara** may be Khariākuā, about a mile to the east of Kukaḍ.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलयशः–

2 प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभा–

[1] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 30th April 641 A. C.

[2] This is called Orsāng in the Survey maps.

[3] Dr. Bühler identified this village with Kukreli which, according to him, lies to the east of Saṅkhēḍā ; but I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map, No. 46 F.

[4] From the photo-lithographs accompanying Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

3 तसमयवद्वितलक्षमोपूर्णीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशा[1]प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणा–
4 मोद्घृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदीधितिविराजितमकुटोद्भासितशिरा:[2] दीनानाथातुराभ्या–
5 गतार्थिजनक्लिष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्म्मसं–
6 चय: प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्व्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी–
6 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणपंजराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचय:
8 समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दकुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्र–
9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्श्य बोधयत्य[3]स्तु वो विदितमस्माभि: सङ्गमखेटकविष–
10 यान्तर्म्मतसुवर्णारपल्लिग्रामे पूर्व्वसीम्नि ।[4] तद्विषयमानेन व्रीहिपिटकवापं क्षेत्रं
11 यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वत: क्षीरसरग्रामसीमासन्धि:[5] उत्तरत: कुक्कुटवल्लिकाग्रामसीमासन्धि:
12 अपरत: ब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं वटवृक्षो[6] । तलाट्ठका च । दक्षिणत: सुवर्णारपल्लिग्रामगामी पंस्था:[7]
13 अटवीपाटकग्रामसन्धिश्च ।। एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्धं क्षेत्रं सोद्रङ्गं
14 सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं

Second Plate

15 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं
16 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दा(द)शपुरविनिर्ग्गतक्षीरसरग्रामवास्तव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)स–
17 नेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्य्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रि–
18 योत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेद्य वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यामुदकातिसर्ग्गेणा–
19 तिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा ।[8] गामिभोगपतिभि: प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजल–
तरङ्गचञ्चलं
20 जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्ग्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्र–
21 दानफलेप्सुभि: शशिकररुचिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पालयितव्यश्च[9] ।
22 यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकै: संयुक्त:
23 स्यादित्युक्तञ्च[10] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।*]
आच्छेता चानुम–
24 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[11] ।। [१।।*] वन्ध्याटवी[12]ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर–
25 न्ति ये ।। [२।।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं(लम्) ।। [३।।*] यानीह तादा[13]
26 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु:
पुनराददीत[14] ।। [४।।*] स्वद–

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[1] Read निस्त्रिंश–.
[2] This *visarga* should have been dropped.
[3] Read बोधयति । अस्तु.
[4] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[5] Read सन्धिरुत्तरत:. *Sandhis* have not been made in several other places also.
[6] Read वटवृक्षस्तलाट्ठका च. The marks of punctuation in this and the next line are superfluous.
[7] Read पन्था:. The superscript letter of the second *akshara* is clearly *r*.
[8] The mark of punctuation is superfluous here. Read. –अन्यैर्व्वागामि–,
[9] Read पालयितव्यश्च.
[10] Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.
[11] Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anushṭubh.*
[12] Read विन्ध्याटवी–.
[13] Read दत्तानि.
[14] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

27 स्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति[1] [॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये

28 द्विनवत्यधिके वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां स्वमुखाज्ञया लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहकरणाधिकृतरेवेण

29 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [।*] दिनकरचरणाच्चंनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य [॥*]

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-8, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 9) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water to-day, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright fortnight of Vaiśākha**, the field on the eastern boundary of the village **Suvarṇārapalli** situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**, requiring a *piṭaka* of paddy for its seed grains, whose boundaries are—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Kshīrasara**, on the north the junction with the boundary of the village **Kukkuṭavallikā**, on the west a field donated to a Brāhmaṇa, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank ?), (*and*) on the south the way leading to the village **Suvarṇārapalli**—the field marked clearly with these four boundaries, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara* inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour (*and*) special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the occean, (*and*) the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina (*śākhā*), who, having emigrated from **Dāśapura**, (*now*) resides in the village **Kshīrasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* (*and*) *agnihōtra*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of ll. 19-23, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 23) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 27) In the **year three hundred increased by ninety-two**, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha**, this (*charter*) has been written, at the command of our mouth, by **Rēva** who is in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The **year** 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) **Vaiśākha**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. This is the **sign-manual** of the illustrious **Praśāntarāga**, the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

No. 20 ; Plate XIII B

SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) : (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

These plates were, like the preceding, discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroḍā District of the Bombay State. Dr. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

[1] Read –नुपालनम् ॥५॥ इति. Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

A.—SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

i.

ii.

R. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-763'51.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B.—SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

They are **two copper-plates**, each being inscribed on one side only and measuring 10" by 6". They contain at the top two round holes, about ¼" in diameter, for the rings which must have held them together. But no ring or seal, if there was any, was discovered. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the last grant which, as we shall see, was written by the same writer and on the same day. Still, curious as it might appear, there are some minor differences in their characters. For instance the medial (long) *ī* is generally cursive in the preceding record, while its prevailing form in this grant consists of two circles one inside the other; see *prakāśīkṛita*, l. 6, *Kshīrasara*, l. 9, etc.; in the former record *th* was marked by a notch in the base in all cases, while in this it generally appears with a ringlet in its loop, though the notched form also occurs sporadically; as instances of the former type, see *dīn-ānāth-*, l. 4, *manōrath-*, l. 5, etc., and of the latter, see *dharm-ārttha-*, l. 24; *b* was generally triangular in the preceding grant, but is rectangular almost everywhere in this; see *e.g.*, *kar-āvabōdhita*, l. 1, *bahala*, l. 7, etc. The **sign-manual** is in the northern current-hand characters as in other inscriptions of Dadda II. The **language** is Sanskrit and the text is almost[1] an exact copy of the preceding record, differing chiefly in respect of the object of the grant. The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the preceding grant, for both the records were written by the same scribe. One additional peculiarity may, however, be noticed here, *viz.* the doubling of the sibilant *ś* after *r* in *samanudarśśayaty-*, against Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued from **Nāndīpura** by Dadda who had acquired the *pañchamahāśabda* and who calls himself **Praśāntarāga**, the son of **Vītarāga** in his **sign-manual**. He is, therefore, identical with **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara dynasty**. The inscription records the grant of a field requiring as seed grains ten *prasthas* of paddy by the larger measure. The field was situated on the south-western boundary of the village **Kshīrasara** in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**. The donee was the same as in the preceding grant, *viz.* the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya-Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who had emigrated from the town of **Daśapura** and was then residing at Kshīrasara. The present grant was made for the same purpose and on the same day as the preceding and as stated already, the scribe was also the same, *viz.*, the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Rēva**. One additional detail which does not occur in any other grant of Dadda II is the mention of the *dūtaka* **Karka** who, like the *dūtaka* of Raṇagraha's grant, bore the title *Bhōgikapālaka*.

The **date** of the record, *viz.*, **the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 392 is given both in words and in numerical symbols.** It would correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C. as stated before.[2] It does not admit of verification.

The **geographical names Nāndīpura, Daśapura, Saṅgamakhēṭaka** and **Kshīrasara** have already been identified.[3]

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[1] As minor differences may be noted *samanudarśśayaty=astu* of the present record in place of *samanuvarṇya bōdhayaty=astu* etc. in line 9 of the last grant, and *sa-śībarasa* in line 12, nothing corresponding to which occurs in the last grant. The present inscription again mentions a *dūtaka* who does not figure in any other grant of Dadda II.

[2] See above, p. 76 and n. 1.

[3] See above, p. 76.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्ग्गतरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलयशःप्रता-
नास्थगि-
2 तनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलो-
3 द्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्कश[3]प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्घृष्टवज्रमणिका(को)-
4 टिरुचिरदीधिति[4]विराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्त्थिजनाक्लिष्टपरिपूरित-
5 विभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्म्मसंचयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनी-
6 जनप्रणामपूर्व्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमल-
7 गुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दxकुशली
8 सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकाधिकादी[5]न्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
9 वो विदितमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविषयान्तर्ग्गतक्षीरसरग्रामा[6]परदक्षिणसीम्न[7] बृह-
10 न्मानेन व्रीहिदशप्रस्थवापं क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्व्वतस्सन्धौ अङ्कोल्लवृक्षः उत्तरतः शाकवृक्षः
11 वटवृक्षश्च ॥ अपरतः खदिरबदरिवृक्षौ[8] । दक्षिणतः श[ल्म[9]]ली । भूतवटश्चैवमेतच्चतु-
12 राघाटनविशुद्धं सशीबरं[10] सोद्रङ्गसोपरिकरं सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रा-
13 तिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिस-
14 मकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दशपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरनिवासिभरद्वाज-

Second Plate

15 सगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्य्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदे-
16 वाग्निहोत्रहवन[11]पञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं(र्त्थं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
17 वैशाखपौर्ण्णमास्यामुदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिभोगपति-
18 भिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्वीभवा[12]-
19 न्दीर्ग्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानं[13] फलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं
20 यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
21 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्सयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्त[14]-
22 ञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता

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[1] From the photo-lithographs accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 57 ff.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read निस्त्रिंश-.

[4] The engraver at first incised *ni* which was later on altered to *ti*.

[5] Read –धिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

[6] The engraver at first incised ग्रामो, but later on altered it to ग्रामा– by cancelling the *mātrā* on *mā*.

[7] Read सीम्नि.

[8] Read –बदरीवृक्षौ.

[9] The subscript *m* of *lma* is not completely incised. The mark of punctuation, which follows, is superfluous.

[10] I am not certain about the correct form of this technical term which so far as I know, occurs only in the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasēna I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 107) in the form, *sa-śaibaram*. There also it is an adjective of some word like *kshētram* which is omitted by mistake. M. Williams gives *śibira* in the senses of a royal camp, a tent, an entrenchment for the protection of an army, a kind of grain, but none of these meanings would suit here. Perhaps it means 'a farm-house'.

[11] The word हवन does not occur in the corresponding portion of the last grant.

[12] Read विभवा–.

[13] Read प्रदानफलेप्सुभिः.

[14] Read –स्संयुक्तस्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

23 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[1] ॥ [१॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य

24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थ-यशस्कराणि [।*]

25 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत[2] ॥ [३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्र-

26 क्ष युधिष्ठिर । महिं(हीं) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्)[3]॥ [४॥*] इति [।*] संवत्सर-शतत्रये द्विनवत्यधि-

27 के वैशाखपौर्ण्णमास्यां भोगिकपालककर्क्कदूतकं लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति [॥*]

28 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [॥*] दिनकरचरणार्च्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशा-

29 न्तरागस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(*For a translation of lines 1-7, see above, p. 65.*)

(Line 8) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the field on the south-eastern border of the village **Kshīrasara** situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka,** requiring for its seed-grains ten *prasthas*[4] of paddy by the larger measure—on the eastern boundary of which (*there is*) an Aṅkōlla tree,[5] on the north a Sāka tree[6] and a Banyan tree, on the west a Khadira[7] and a Badarī (jujube) tree, on the south a Sālmalī[8] (*tree*), and a haunted Banyan tree—(*the field*) marked clearly with these four boundaries together with *śībara* (a farm-house?), *udraṅga* and *uparikara,* inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour, (*and*) special rights—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvaja *gōtra,* a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who, having emigrated from **Daśapura,** (*now*) resides in the village **Kshīrasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* (*and*) offerings in *agnihōtra,* and other (*religious*) rites.

(*For a translation of ll. 17-21, see above, p. 66.*)

(L. 21) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 26) In the **year three hundred increased by ninety-two** on the **full-moon** day of **Vaiśākha,** (*this charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Bhōgikapālaka* **Karka,** has been written at the command of Our mouth by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Rēva.**

The **year** 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) **2,** (*the month*) **Vaiśākha,** the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10, (*and*) 5. This is the **sign-manual** of the illustrious **Praśāntarāga,** the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga,** who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

[1] Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] *Prastha* is a measure of capacity, being equal to four *kuḍavas.*

[5] 'Alangium Hexapetalum' (M. W.)

[6] 'Acacia Sirissa' (*Ibid*).

[7] 'Acacia Catachu' (*Ibid*).

[8] The Seemul or Silk-cotton tree.

6

No. 21; Plate XIV

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

These plates were found during excavation of some foundations at **Navsāri,** the chief town of the Navsāri *Prānt* of the Surat District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Shariarji Dadabhai Bharuch of Navsāri, who sent them to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The latter edited them with photozincographed plates and a translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

They are **two copper-plates** each measuring 12″ by 9″. Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. A small piece at the top of the proper right-hand side and a large triangular piece with its sides measuring about 4″, 3″ and 4¾″ at the bottom of the same side of the second plate have been broken away and lost. This has resulted in the loss of one *akshara* in l. 23 and from one to six *aksharas* in ll. 36-43. All the missing letters except those in l. 42 can, however, be conjecturally supplied. The plates are otherwise in a state of good preservation. They have two round holes about ⅜″ in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together, but the rings and the seal, which must have been on one of them are lost. The record consists of forty-four lines, twenty-two being inscribed on each plate. The average size of letters is .15″.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Dadda II. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *ḍ* as in the Kairā plates of K. 380[1]—one with a loop and the other with a tail, see *taḍāka-*, ll. 24 and 28, and to the triangular *th* in *pathak-*, l. 22. *Dh* appears round in *-ādhirōhaṇa*, l. 10 and elongated elsewhere as in *dhārā-*, l. 6; *b* is square in *bahubhir-*, l. 37, round in *bandhu*, l. 15, *bal-ādhikṛita-*, l. 42 and almost triangular like *v*, in *bali-*, l. 21; *ś* shows, instead of the usual horizontal bar, a notch in its right limb, see *mahā-śabda* and *kuśalī*, both in l. 17. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt* l. 36, or by curve as in *nibaddham* l. 43. Punctuation is expressed by single and double dots as well as by single and double vertical strokes. The **numerical symbols** for 400, 50 and 6 occur in l. 42. Others for 10 and 5, which must have occurred at the beginning of l. 43, have been lost. The **sign-manual** at the end is in the northern current-hand characters. Unlike the sign-manual of Dadda II, it shows the bipartite Nāgari form of *y*.

The **language** is high-flown Sanskrit, containing long compounds and puns and other *alaṅkāras*. The eulogistic portion is composed on the model of that of the earlier grants of Dadda II (see *e.g.*, the Kairā plates). Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The Prakrit word *satka* occurs thrice in the formal part defining the boundaries of the donated field. As regards **orthographical peculiarities,** we may notice the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* as in *vaṅśa* and *nistriṅśa*, both in l. 6 and the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *vinirggata* and *chāturvvidya*, both in l. 19, *pūrvvōttara*, l. 22 etc. The marks of punctuation appear redundant in many cases in the prose portion of the text.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa,** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his camp at **Kāyāvatāra.** He was born in a family descended from the *Mahārāja* **Karṇa** and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The **object of the inscription**

[1] See above No. 16.

is to record the grant, by Jayabhaṭa, of a field measuring sixty *nivartanas* on the north-east boundary of the village **Śamīpadraka** situated in the **Kōrillā** *pathaka* (sub-division). Two villages **Golikā** and **Dhāhaddha** are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the religious rites such as *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra,* (the reception of) guests etc. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin of the Prāgāyaṇa[1] *gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda, who had emigrated from **Girinagara** and was at the time of the grant residing at the *agrahāra* village **Śraddhikā.** The grant was made on the occasion of **a lunar eclipse on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright half of Māgha.** It was written by the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Kēśava,** the son of a *Bhōgika* whose name is lost. The *dūtaka* was the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla**[2].

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor—

The record does not furnish much historical information about these princes. The last two—the second Dadda and the second Jayabhaṭa—were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The former is also said to have attained the biruda of *Bāhusahāya* (he whose arm is the sole helper) by the might of his arm, which he exhibited in the wars with the eastern and western supreme rulers. As these rulers are not mentioned by name, it is not possible to identify them definitely, but the former may be the ruler of Valabhī and the latter the king of Malwa. In connection with the first Dadda in the above list, we have the interesting information, which is supplied for the first time by the present grant, that he attained great fame by giving protection to **the lord of Valabhī** when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious **Harshadēva.**

Though the present grant does not specify the dynasty to which these princes belonged, there is no doubt that they belonged to the **Gurjara** lineage; for as Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out, these names do not occur in any other dynasty.[3] In the present record their family is, for the first time, said to have descended from the *Mahārāja* Karṇa. This is evidently in accordance with the tendency of the age to trace the origin of royal families to some mythical or legendary eponymous hero. This *Mahārāja* Karṇa is, therefore, probably identical with the epic hero of that name, the staunch supporter and friend of Duryōdhana, who distinguished himself in the Mahābhārata war.

As shown below, the present grant was made in the Kalachuri year 456. Dadda, the first prince mentioned in it who was the great-grand-father of the donor Jayabhaṭa, was, therefore, probably ruling in the Kalachuri year 381. He is consequently identical with Dadda II—Praśāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392, *i.e.*, from 629-30 A.C. to 641-42 A.C. This is again confirmed by the statement in the present plates that he was a contemporary of the Emperor Harshadēva who is none other than Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A.C.). The Gurjara princes mentioned in the present

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[1] See below, p. 86, n. 3.

[2] He is the *dūtaka* mentioned in the Anjanēri plates also of the same king. See line 39 of No. 22, below.

[3] One Dadda is mentioned in the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91). As shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, he was probably identical with Dadda I and flourished about 575 A. C.

grant are, therefore, **Dadda (II)**-Praśāntarāga, his son **Jayabhaṭa (II)**, his son **Dadda (III)**-Bāhusahāya, and his son **Jayabhaṭa (III)** who made the present grant.

As stated above, the grant recorded on the present plates was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Māgha. The year is given in words in l.41 as 456 of an unspecified era. There is, however, no doubt that like the dates of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras, this date is to be referred to the Kalachuri era. The charter was written on the same day on which the grant was made. The date of its recording was expressed by numerical symbols in ll.42 and 43. The symbols which occur at the end of l.42 give the year 456 as the year of recording, but the name of the month, and the lunar fortnight as well as the symbols for the *tithi*, which were incised in the beginning of l.43, are lost owing to the breaking off of the left-hand corner of the second plate. The name of the week-day is also lost, as only the letters *vāre* can be read with certainty in the beginning of the preserved portion of l.43. The *akshara* which preceded *vā* of *vāre* is also partially broken away, but what remains of it shows that it was *ma* and, therefore, the day was either *Sōma* Monday or *Bhauma* Tuesday. Assuming that the charter was made *nibaddha* on the same day on which the grant was made as in the case of the Kāvī plates[1] of Jayabhaṭa IV, Bhagvanlal and Fleet conjectured that Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday (or Tuesday) of the year 456 was the date of the grant. Cunningham found by calculation that with the epoch of 249-250 A.C., the full moon day of Māgha of the Chēdi (or Kalachuri) year 456[2] fell on **Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C.**, on which day there *was* a lunar eclipse[3] as stated in the grant. This is, therefore, the date of the grant.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, Pandit Bhagvanlal[4] identified **Kāyāvatāra**, the site of the royal camp, with Kāvī in the Jambusar *tālukā* of the Broach district; but, as pointed out by Bühler[5], Kāvī does not phonetically correspond to Kāyāvatāra; besides, the old name of Kāvī was Kāpikā which is mentioned in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Gōvinda[6]. Dr. Bühler at first took the place-name to signify the incarnation of a son or descendant of *Ka* or Prajāpati, and thought that Kāyāvatāra was a place of pilgrimage on the Narmadā[7]. Later on he identified it with Kārwān (lat. 20° 3′ N. and long. 73° 10′ E.) which he connected philologically with Kāyāvatāra (the village possessing the Kāya manifestation[8]). It seems better to derive Kārwān from Kāyāvarōhaṇa[9] which conveys the same sense as

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[1] See below No. 23.

[2] Cunningham did not state in this connection whether the year was current or expired, but from his remarks in *A. S. I. R.* Vol. IX, p. 111, it is clear that he took it to be an expired year. Later on, Kielhorn clearly showed in his article 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi Era' that the year was expired according to the epoch A. D. 248-249. (See *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. XVII, p. 220). This is one of the few verifiable early dates of the era, which come from Western India. It shows that the epoch A. D. 247-248, which Kielhorn deduced later from Kalachuri dates found in the Madhya Pradesh and Central India, does not suit these early dates.

[3] 'According to Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was a lunar eclipse on February 2, 706, 16 h. 37 m. Greenwich time or at Laṅkā, 9 h. 40 m. P. M.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

[6] *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 147.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 176. In this case also Dr. Bühler derived *Kāya* from *Ka*, Brahman, and supported the derivation by stating that in 'Kārwān the chief deity is Brahmēśvara Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because *ka* and Brahman are synonyms.'

[9] There is metathesis here as in Achalapura (Ellichpur) and Vārāṇasi (Benares). Bühler later on accepted the derivation. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 274.

Kāyāvatāra, *viz.*, 'the descent in the bodily form' of Śiva and refers to his incarnation as Lakuliśa, the founder of a Pāśupata sect.[1] **Girinagara** is the well-known Girnār in Kathiawad. **Śraddhikā** is Sādhi, 5 miles south by west of Padrā, the head-quarters of the Padrā taluka in the Baroda District. **Kōrillā**, the headquarters of the *pathaka* (sub-division), in which the donated village was situated, is probably Kōral on the northern bank of the Narmadā 10 m. north-east of Broach. **Samīpadraka** is, as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[2], identical with the village of the same name which was given away by the Navsāri plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha, for two of the surrounding villages **Gōlikā** and **Dhāhaddha** are the same[3] in both the grants. In Karka's grant the village is said to be situated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.[4] From the boundary villages mentioned in it, Samīpadraka seems to be identical with Sōndām, seven miles south-west of Kārwān and about twelve miles north of the Narmadā. Dhāhaddha is probably Dhāwaṭ two miles to the north of Sōndām. Gōlikā cannot be identified.

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[6] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीकायावतारवासकात् सतत[ल]क्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।[7] तृष्णासन्ताप-हारिणि[7] । [दि]ननाथवि-

2 स्तारितानुभावे । द्वि[ज]कुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि । महति महाराजकर्णान्वये । कमला-कर इव रा-

3 जहंस: प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित[8]विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरोदारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपा-

4 लमानस: परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोपजातभ्रमदभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रम-

5 यशोवितान: श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसञ्चयोपचीयमानमनो-

6 निर्वृतिक(र)नेककष्टकवङ्श[9]संदोहदाहदुर्ल्ललितप्रतापानलो निशित(त) निस्त्रिङ्श[10]धारादा[रि]-तारातिकरि-

7 कुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका[11]वगुण्ठितदिग्वधूवदनसरसिज: श्रीजयभटस्तस्या[त्म]जो म-

8 हामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधर्म्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि[12] वर्ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसक-

9 लकलिकालावलेप: प्रणयिजनमनोरथविषय[13]व्यतीतविभवसंपादनापनीताशेषपार्त्थिवदाना-

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[1] The place is called *Kāyāvatāra* in the *Liṅga-purāṇa* and *Kāyārōhaṇa* in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. (*J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 154). See also the Ekaliṅgji stone inscription (*loc. cit.* pp. 151 ff.) which mentions it as *Kāyāvarōhaṇa* and Cintra *praśasti* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 281) in which it is called *Kārōhaṇa*.

[2] *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 149.

[3] Dr. Bhandarkar read the name of one of them as *Dhāhadva* instead of *Dhāhaddha*. In the present grant the subscript letter of the last *akshara* is clearly *dh*. For the form of the subscript *v* see *tachchāturvvidya-* l.19, *pūrvvatō* l.23 etc.

[4] See *Mahī-Narmmad-āntarāladeśa-varti-Samīpadraka-nāmā grāmō* etc. in the Navsāri plates of Karka, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

[5] From the facsimile accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary here and in lines 2-34, below.

[8] The sense requires a reading like विलसितानाकुलित–.

[9] Read वंश–.

[10] Read निस्त्रिंश–.

[11] Read यशोंशुका–.

[12] Read –प्रवीणो.

[13] Bhagvanlal read this word as विषय. The horizontal stroke over the top of the middle *akshara* shows that it is *sha*. The reading *vishaya* is clear in l.7 of the Anjaneri plates (No. 22 below).

10 भिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्रभावो [वि]पत्प्रपात–

11 पतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्यप्र[ती]च्याधिराज–

12 [वि]जृम्भितमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकु(क)टितभुज[वीर्य्य]वि–

13 ख्यातबाहुसहायापरनामा । परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुर–

14 नेकसमरसंघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाटनपटु[र]सहिष्णुवन[ग]हनदावानलो दीनाना[था]–

15 तुरसुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनि[शा]करः भागीरथीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः [शान्तनु]–

16 रिव समुद्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिः आदिवराह इव स्वभुजबलपराक्रमोद्धृतध[राधरः प–][1]

17 रममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीजयभटः कुशली । सर्व्वानेव राजसाम[न्त]भोगिक[वि]षय–

18 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु[2] वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्म–

19 नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । गिरिनगरविनिर्गतश्रद्धिकाग्रा(ग्र)हारवास्तव्यतच्चातुर्व्विद्यसा–
मान्य–

20 प्रावायन[3]सगोत्रवाज[स]नेय[4]माध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिब्राह्मणदत्तपुत्र[ब्रा]ह्मणदेवस्वामिने ।
अस्मत्कृ–

21 तप्रकाशनामकल्लुम्बराय । बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञा[दि]क्रियोत्सर्प्पणा–

22 र्थं । कोरिल्लापथकान्तर्गतशमीपद्रकग्रामे [पू]र्व्वोत्तरसीम्नि । चतुष्षष्टिभूनिवर्त्तनप्रमाणं

Second Plate

23 [क्षे*][त्रं] । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो गोलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः[5] दक्षिणतो यमलखल्लराभिधा–

24 नतडाकं । तथा महत्तरमाहेश्वरसत्कक्षेत्रं ।। नापितदेवकसत्कवापकक्षेत्रञ्च । अपरतः शमी–

25 पद्रकग्रामादेव धाहद्धग्रामयायी पन्थाः उत्तरतो वरुटखल्लराभिधानं तडाकं । तथा

26 कोरिल्लावासिब्राह्म[ण]नम्मंसत्कब्र[ह्म]देयक्षेत्रञ्च । एवमिदं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्रं ।
सोद्रङ्गं । सोप–

27 रिकरं । सभूतपातप्रत्यायं[6] । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशाप[रा]धं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी(ष्टि)–
कं । गृहस्थावरचल–

28 क । रथ्या । प्रवेश । निर्गम । सं[च][7]र । चतुष्पदा(द)प्रचार । वापी । कूप । तडाक ।
पद्रोपजीव्यसमेतं ।। सर्व्वरा–

29 [जकी]यानामहस्तप्रक्षेप[णी]यं पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्ण–

30 वक्षितिस[रि]त्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यमद्य माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां । चन्द्रोप–

31 रागे । पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया । ब्र–
[ह्मदा]–

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[1] The letters in the bracket are very indistinct. Pandit Bhagvanlal read them as –रणिः प, but the space is certainly too much for three *akshara*s. Read –राधरः प– as in the Anjaneri and Prince of Wales Museum plates. (Below, Nos. 22 and 24).

[2] Read –न्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

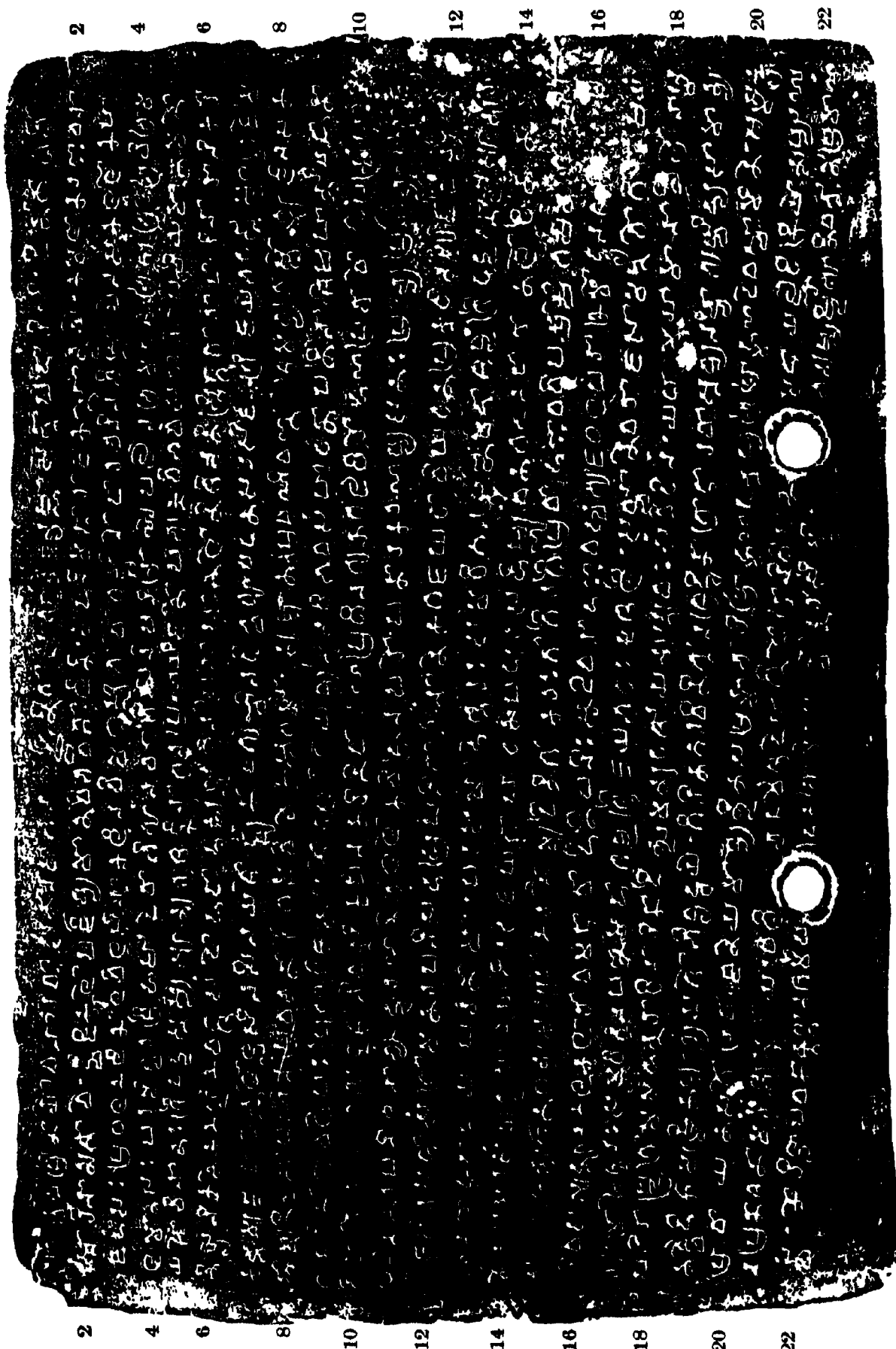
[3] Pandit Bhagvanlal read *Shrāvāyana* and proposed to alter it to *Brādhnāyana*. The *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* gives *Prāgāyaṇa* as a *gotra*, which is perhaps the nearest substitute that can be adopted here. For the confounding of *v* and *g*, see *gahana* in l. 14 which appears to have been incised as *vahana*.

[4] The engraver first omitted *sa* of *Vājasanīya*. As there was then no space between *ja* and *nī* for engraving the akshara *sa*, he incised another *ja* between *vā* and *ja* and tried to correct the original *ja* into *sa*.

[5] Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[6] This expression generally occurs as सभूतवातप्रत्यायं in inscriptional records.

[7] Pandit Bhagvanlal read *sagara* which gives no satisfactory meaning.

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-763'51.

32 मस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृ–

33 पतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला–

34 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत । स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्या–
दित्यु[1]–

35 क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता
चानुमन्ता

36 [च*][2] तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[3] [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदा–

37 [यं ह*]रन्ति ये । [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्तां(क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ[लं](लम्) ॥ [३॥*]

38 [अग्नेर*]पत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां

39 [च महीञ्च*] दद्यात्[4] ॥ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि ।
निर्म्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा–

40 [नि तानि को*] नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [५॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।
महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ

41 [दानाच्छ्रेयोनु*]पालनं(नम्)[5]॥ [६॥*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षट्पञ्चाशदुत्तरके माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
लिखितमिदं

42 [......]भोगिकपुत्रमहाबलाधिकृतके[शवेनेति] ॥ बलाधिकृतबाबुल्लदूतकं ॥ सं ४००
५० ६

43 [माघ[6] शु १० ५ भौ* ?][म]वारे निबद्धम् ॥

44 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the camp at the famous **Kāyāvatāra**—

In the great lineage of the *Mahārāja* **Karṇa** which, like a lake full of lotuses[7], has become the perpetual abode of Lakshmī; which (*by its charity*) allays the suffering caused by desire for wealth (*as the lake does by quenching the thirst for water*); which has its greatness enhanced by the sun; which shines with prosperity which affords support to the families of Brāhmaṇas (*as the lake does by giving shelter to multitudes of birds*), (*there was*), like a swan, the illustrious **Dadda (II)** whose pure disposition was not affected by the freaks of the powerful Kali age ; who by his inscrutable and noble deeds excited the wonder of all the guardians of the world ;[8] who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of **the king of Valabhī** when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious **Harshadēva.**

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[1] Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

[2] The letters in this and other square brackets in the beginning of ll. 36-41 which are broken away have been supplied from the corresponding portions of cognate records.

[3] Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre of this and the next verse: *Indravajrā.*

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] The *aksharas* and numerical figures in the bracket have been supplied conjecturally with the help of the passage in l. 41. The name of the week day must have been either *Sōma* or *Bhauma* as the *akshara ma* is partially visible.

[7] The adjective *trishṇā-santāpa-hāriṇi* shows that *kamalākara* is used here in the sense of 'a lake abounding in lotuses' rather than in that of 'a group of lotuses'.

[8] These are Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubēra and Sōma.

(Line 5) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (II)**, the joy of whose mind was heightened as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by supplicants who fearlessly approached him; whose valour was too much fondled by the destruction of the families of many foes, as fire is by the burning of a mass of thorns and bamboos; (*and*) who covered the lotus-like faces of the damsels that were the regions, with the shining white garment of his fame in the guise of the pearls from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies, cleft by the sharp edge of his sword.

(L. 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Dadda (III)**, who was clever in performing his duty by discrimination acquired by the study of the sacred treatise composed by the great sage Manu and who, by maintaining (*the institutions of*) *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life), completely uprooted the pride of the Kali age; who annihilated the vanity of all kings by (*spending in charity*) the wealth he had acquired[1], in excess of the desires of (*his*) supplicants; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants became well known through (*his*) holding in check infuriated elephants, which, becoming uncontrollable through rut, had grown restive under the goad; whose habit of (*performing*) acts of benevolence was celebrated throughout the world through his deliverance of hundreds of kings who had fallen under the blow of adversity; whose second name **Bāhusahāya** (one whose arm is the sole helper) became renowned through the valour of his arm which he exhibited in routing numerous hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars fought with the supreme rulers of the east and the west; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) attained the *pañchamahāśabda*.

(L. 13) His son, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (III)**,—who is clever in destroying the hosts of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of many battles; who is a wild fire in (*burning*) the forests of the rebellious; who is to the destitute, helpless and distressed people, friends, servants and relatives as the full-moon is to the clusters of lotuses; who is able to confound his adversaries as the current of the Bhāgīrathī (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā) is to undermine the opposite banks; who is the commandant of a large and boisterous army even as Śāntanu was the lord of a great and noisy river (*viz*, the Gaṅgā); who has rescued kings by the might and valour of his arm, even as the primeval Boar rescued mountains; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*—being in good health, addresses (*the following order*) to all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas* the *Mahattaras* and *rāshṭras* and villages:—

(L. 18) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame in this world and the next of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of an **eclipse of the moon** on the auspicious day of **the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha**, granted with a libation of water, as a *brahmadāya*, a field measuring sixty-four *nivartanas* of land on the north-east boundary in the village **Śamīpadraka** situated in the **Kōrillā** *pathaka*—the boundaries of which are (*as follows*)—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Gōlikā**; on the south the tank called Yamalakhallara[2] and the field belonging to the *Mahattara* Mahēśvara and the cultivated field belonging to the barber Dēvaka; on the west, the road that goes to the village **Dhāhaddha** from the village Samīpadraka itself; on the north, the tank called Baruṭakhallara and the

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[1] *Vibhava-sampādana* in the text is equivalent to *sampādita-vibhava* according to the rule '*Bhāvānayanē dravy-ānayanam*.' Pandit Bhagvanlal translates, 'by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (*by him*) etc.'

[2] *Khallara*, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, is a *dēśī* word meaning a pond. *Yamala* means twins. So the expression seems to denote a tank consisting of twin ponds. An analogous expression, *yamala-vāpī*, occurs in l. 25 of the Dhank plates of Śilāditya I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 237 ff.

brahmadēya field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Narma residing at **Kōrillā**—this field thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*[1] and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported (*into the village*),[2] with its income in grain and gold, with (*fines imposed for*) the ten offences[3], with the right to forced labour arising therefrom,[4] with houses, immovables and movables, streets, (*the right to*) ingress, egress (*and*) (*free*) movements, pasture-lands for four-footed animals, step-wells, (*other*) wells, tanks, (*and other*) things necessary for living in the village;[5] free from the interference of all officers of the state ; exclusive of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (*which is*) to be enjoyed according to the maxim of waste land, successively by sons, sons' sons, and their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin, who is known by the name Kallumbara which we have given him; (*who is*) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Datta, who belongs to the Prāgāyaṇa *gōtra* (*and*) is a student of the Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) of the Vājasanēya (*i.e.*, White Yajurvēda); who has emigrated from (*the city of*) **Girinagara** and is *now* residing at the *agrahāra* (*village*) **Śraddhikā** and belongs to the community of the Châturvēdins of the place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 31) Wherefore, none should cause obstruction while he is enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), or causing (*it*) to be cultivated or directing (*others to cultivate it*) in accordance with the rules applicable to *brahmadāya* (*land*). And future gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 34) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six imprecatory and benedictive verses*).

(L. 41) This (*charter*) has been written by the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Kēśava**, the son of the *Bhōgika*....on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright fortnight** of **Māgha** in the **year four hundred increased by fifty-six.** The *dūtaka* of this (*charter*) is the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla.** This is recorded on [Tuesday] the month [Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 10 and 5] in the **year** 400 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6.

This is the **sign-manual** of Me, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (III).**

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[1] As remarked by Bhagvanlal, some of these rights and privileges are hardly appropriate in the case of the donation of a field.

[2] As Dr. Altekar has shown (*Rashtrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 229), *vāta* refers to the articles imported and *bhūta* to those manufactured in the village. The expression sometimes occurs in the form '*bhūt-ōpātta-pratyāya*.' Notice the analogous expression *sa-bāhy-ābhyantar-ādāyaṁ* 'together with external and internal taxes' in the Ichhāwār plates of Paramardideva. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205 ff.

[3] These are probably identical with the ten sins enumerated in the *Śukranītisāra* (*adhyāya* 3, *sl.* 6) *viz.*, murder, theft, adultery, slander, harsh language, lying, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness. The same enumeration occurs in the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. Cf. also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 189, n. 4.

[4] Pandit Bhagvanlal omits *sōtpadyamāna* in the translation.

[5] Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *padr-ōpajīvya-samētam* by 'with those who live on the skirts of the village.' *Padra*, which often occurs at the end of a village-name, seems to mean a village, here, the people living in the village. The expression seems to convey some miscellaneous rights enjoyed by villagers.

No. 22; Plate XV

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

These plates were discovered in 1936 in the possession of the Shid family of **Anjanêri**, a village about four miles to the east of Trimbak, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archœology. I edit the inscription here from the original plates which were kindly sent to me by the Superintendent of Archœology, Western Circle, Poona.[1]

They are **two copper-plates** each measuring 12.8" in breadth and 9.4" in height. At the top of each plate there are two round holes, .6" in diameter, for two rings which must have originally held them together. One of the rings has since been lost. The ends of the other are soldered into the bottom of a ladle-shaped seal. On the face of the latter, which is roundish and measures about 1.8" in diameter, there appears in relief on a countersunk surface a solar symbol similar to that on the seals of the Kairā plates[2] of Dadda II, and below it the legend *Śrī-Jayabhaṭa,* The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, are in a state of good preservation. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. There are thirty-nine lines in all, of which eighteen are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-one on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates. The **sign-manual** of the donor is in the northern characters. As shown below, he is identical with Jayabhaṭa III who granted the Navsāri plates. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the formation of some *aksharas* in the sign-manual of the present grant is different; compare, *e.g.*, the *aksharas ma, ja, bha* and *ṭa* in the two signatures. The grant is written in a careless and cursive hand. Notice, for instance, the cursive form of *li* in *kali* and *-ākulita-*, both in l. 2. Several letters are mis-shapen or incompletely formed owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver. See, *e.g.*, *ś* in *-nistriṁśa-*, l. 5 and *śrī-Jayabhaṭa-*, l. 6; *m in -samudbhūta-*, l. 13 and *kachchhikāmra-*, l. 25, *ṇ* in *-pramāṇaṁ*, l. 27 *etc.* Many letters appear in varying forms; see, for instance, the form of *ch* in *-charita-*, l. 3 and *-pravachan-*, l. 6; of *th* in *-nātha-*, l. 1, *-manōratha-*, l. 7 and *yathā*, l. 15; of *p* in *-vismāpita-* and *-lōkapāla-*, both in l. 3; of *m* in *-muni-* and *-Manu-*, both in l. 6; of *y* in *-yaśō-*, l. 4, *mayā*, l. 15 and *Vijaḍamba*, l. 24; of *r* in *-nivāraṇa-* and *-guru-*, both in l. 8; of *v* in *iva* and *-vilasit-*, both in l. 2, *-vāsinaḥ* l. 34 *etc.* Owing to the similarity of *bh*, *g* and *ś*, as well as of *v*, *b* and *dh* it sometimes becomes difficult to say what exactly was intended to be expressed. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l. 14. Punctuation, which is redundant in several places, is generally indicated by a single dot, but in metrical passages by single or double vertical strokes. The **numerical symbols** for 400, 60, 10 and 1 occur in the last line.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The text of the inscription is *mutatis mutandis* identical with that of the Navsāri plates. It shows generally the same **orthographical peculiarities**. One additional peculiarity noticed here is the doubling of *k* before *t* as in *-saṁyukkta-*, l. 33, and *-nirbhukkta*, ll. 36–37, which is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 47.

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[1] Since this article was written, the plates have been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 292 ff.

[2] Nos. 16 and 17, above.

The plates were issued from **Bharukachchha** by the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Navsāri plates, commencing from Dadda II. He is, therefore, **Jayabhaṭa III of the Early Gurjara Dynasty.** The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhaṭa III, of three pieces of land, measuring sixty *nivartanas* in all, in the village **Tōraṇaka** situated in the *vishaya* of **Nāndīpura.** In connection with their boundaries are mentioned the villages **Jayapura, Viddhēraka,** and **Bhūtishōhī** as well as the river **Karillinī.** The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of Chashṭasvāmin, of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (Sāmavēda), who was then residing at **Brahmapurī.** The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* and others. The grant was made on the occasion of the **Tulā-saṅkrānti on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja.** It was **recorded on the same tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja in the year 460** of an unspecified era. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita* **Sahabhaṭa,** the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Durgabhaṭa.** The *Dūtaka* was the same as in the earlier Navsāri plates, *viz*. the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla.**

The *tithi* on which the grant was made is mentioned in words in l. 30, and that on which it was recorded is expressed by numerical symbols in the last line. The year is mentioned only once, in the last line, and is expressed in numerical symbols only. This makes it doubtful if the dot following the symbol for 60 indicates the number one, or is a redundant punctuation mark. I am inclined to take the latter view, because a similar mark is used throughout in this record to mark punctuation.[1]

According to Kielhorn's final view, the Kalachuri-Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (the 5th September) in 248 A.C. and its months were *pūrṇimānta*. Of the early dates of this era, only two[2] admitted of verification and both of them appeared irregular according to this epoch. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far Kielhorn's conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era is proved or disproved by the date of the present grant. The statement in the present plates that the Tulā-saṅkrānti, on which the grant was made, occurred in the dark half of Āśvayuja shows that the month was *amānta*.[3] According to Kielhorn's final view, the date of the present grant would be expected to fall in 707 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 460 was current, and in 708 A.C. if it was expired. But in neither of these years, did the Tulā-saṅkrānti fall on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina.[4] Again, even if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 249 A.C. (not in 248 A.C.) as was first held by Kielhorn, the date of the present grant would fall in 708 or 709 A.C. according as the year 460 was current or expired. We have seen above that 708 A.C. does not suit. In 709 A. C. also, the Tulā-saṅkrānti did not[5] fall on Āśvina va. di. 11. If, on the other hand, the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 as I have shown elsewhere[6], the date of the

[1] A similar redundant mark of punctuation occurs after the symbols indicative of the *tithi* in the same line. Again, if thus read, the year would be an expired one like those of the Navsāri and Kāvī plates of the same dynasty. If the symbols are interpreted to mean 461, the year would have to be taken as current; but current years are cited only exceptionally.

[2] *Viz*., the dates of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 21) and the Kāvī plate of Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 23).

[3] The month, if *pūrṇimānta*, would have been Kārttika.

[4] In 707 A. C. the Tulā-saṅkrānti fell on the *amānta* Āśvina va. di. 8 and in 708 A. C. on Āśvina śu. di. 5.

[5] In 709 A. C. the Tulā-saṅkrānti fell on Āśvina *paurṇimā*.

[6] See Introduction, above.

present grant, for the expired Kalachuri year 460 would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C., according to the epoch 248-249 A.C. which suits other verifiable early Kalachuri dates. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina commenced 45 minutes after mean sunrise and the Tulā-saṅkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. **Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the present grant.**

As for the **geographical names** in the present record, **Bharukachchha** is, of course, modern Broach. **Nāndīpura** is Nāndōd in the Rājpiplā subdivision of the Broach District. **Tōraṇaka** is still called Tōraṇ or Tōraṇmāl and lies only two miles to the north of Nāndōd. The statement in the present grant that Tōraṇaka was situated in the Nāndīpura *vishaya* proves the correctness of the identification of Nāndīpura with Nāndōd which was first proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The river **Karillinī** is clearly Karjan, on the right bank of which both Nāndōd and Tōraṇ are situated. **Jayapura** cannot be definitely located, unless it is Jesalpur, 3 miles to the north of Tōraṇ. As described in the present plates, it lies on the road passing through Tōraṇ. **Bhūtishōhī** may be Bhuchāḍ, about 1½ miles from Tōraṇ, on the western bank of the Karjan[1]. **Viddhēraka** cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. **Brahmapurī,** where the donee resided, is probably identical with Brahmapura, mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of the Jhar plates of Dharasēna II[2]. It may be identical with Bāmanphaliā, nine miles south-west of Nāndōd.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीभरुकच्छात्सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।[5] तृष्णासन्तापहारिणि ।[5] दिननाथविस्तारितानुभावे ।[5] द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा-

2 लिनि ।[5] महति महाराजकर्ण्णान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित[6]-विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरो-

3 दार[च]रितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीह[र्ष]देवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोप-जातभ्रमद-

4 दभ्रशुभ्रा[भ्र]विभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरश[ङ्क]ितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंच-योपचीयमानम-

5 नोनि[वृ]ति[र]नेककण्टकवङ्श[7]संदोहदाहदुर्ल्ललितप्रतापानलो ।[5] निशितनिस्त्रि[ङ्श][8]धारादारि-तारातिकरिकुम्भ[मु]क्ताफलच्छ-

6 लोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका[9]वगुण्ठितदिग्वधूवदनसरसिजः [श्री]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनु-प्रणीतप्रव[च]नाधिग-

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 292, n. 6.

[2] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 31 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 187.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

[6] Read -विलसितानाकुलित-. It is curious that the mistake has persisted in this record also.

[7] Read -वंश-.

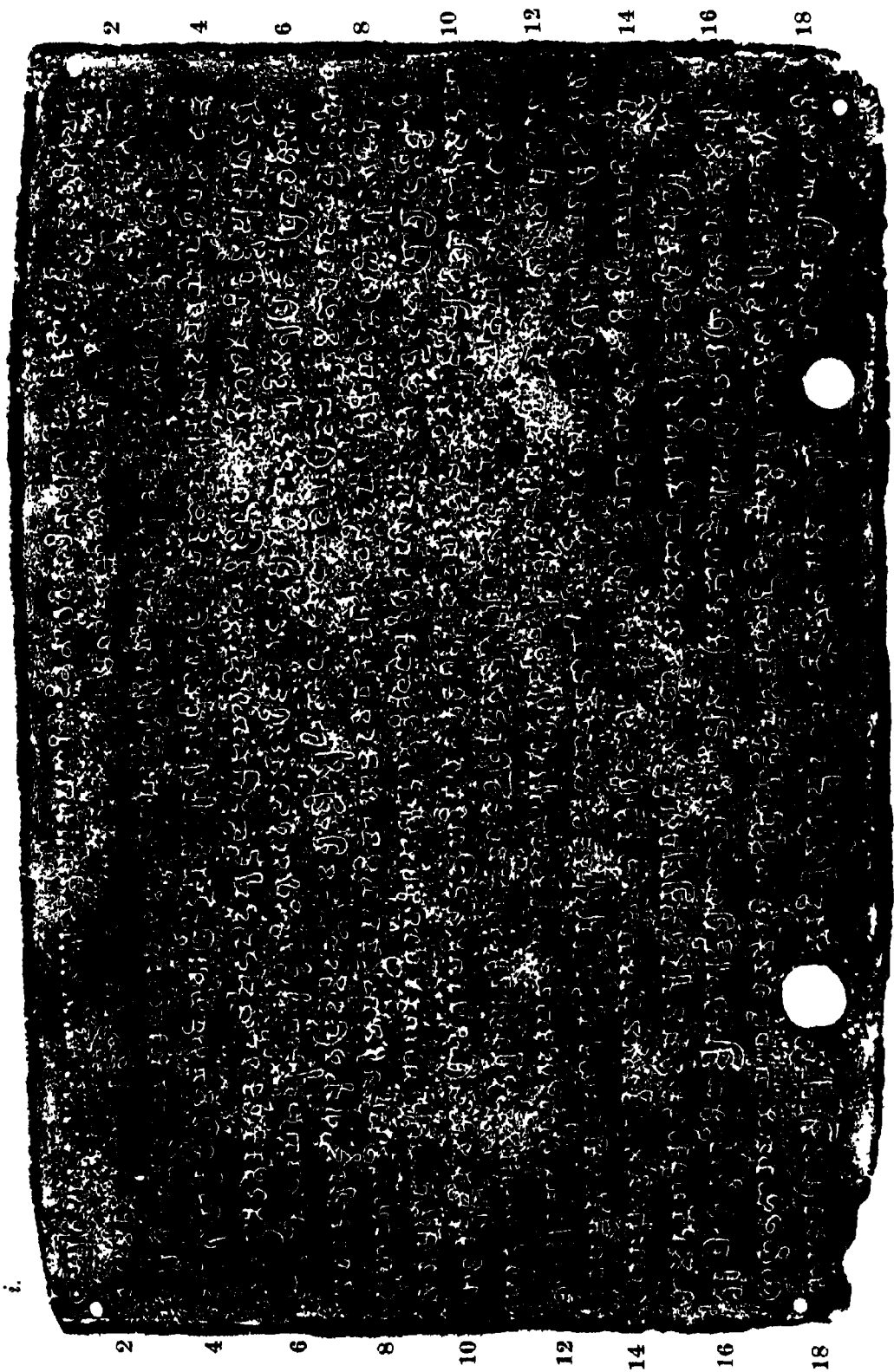
[8] Read -निस्त्रिंश-.

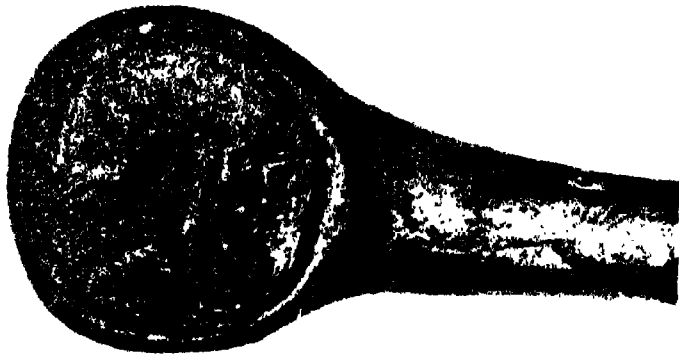
[9] Read -यशोंशुका-.

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: TWO-THIRDS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36—763'51.

ii.

20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38

Seal

(From a photograph)
About actual size

7 मविवेकस्वधर्म्मानुष्ठानप्रव[वि?][1] वर्ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनम-
नोर[थ]विषयव्यतीतविभव-

8 संपादनापनीता[शे]षशेष[2]पार्त्थिवदर्पाभिमानो मदविवशांकुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-
[गु]रुगजाधिरो-

9 हणप्रभावो ।[3] विपत्प्रपातपतितनरपतिव्रातान्मुद्धरणनिखिल[लो]कविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः
प्राच्यप्रतीच्या[धि][4]-

10 राजविजृ[म्भि]तमहासंग्राममरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्य्यविख्यात-
बाहुसहाया-

11 परनामा ।[3] परममाहे[श्व]रस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[:*] श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरण(ने)कसमर-
संघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाट-

12 नपटुरसहिष्णुजनगहनदावानलो ।[3] दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनव(ब)न्धुकुमुदाकर[कौ]मुदीगि-
(नि)[शा]करो ।[3] भागीर[थी]प्रवाह इ-

13 व विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव स[मु]द्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरादिवराह इ[व] स्वभुज-
बलपराक्रमोद्धृतध-

14 राधरः परममाहेश्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्द)[:*] श्री(श्री)जयभटःकुशली सर्व्वा[ने]वे[5]
राजसामन्तभोगिक ।[3] विषयपतिराष्ट्र-

15 ग्राम[म*]हत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदशि(र्शं)यत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया[6] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चै-
हिकामु[ष्मि]कपुण्ययशोभि-

16 वृद्धये ।[3] ब्रह्मपुरीनिवास्येतच्चातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यशा[ण्डि]ल्यसगोत्र ।[3] छन्दोग ।[3] कौठुमसब्रह्म-
चारिब्राह्मणचष्टस्वामिपुत्र-

17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय ।[3] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्र(क्रि)योत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं ।[3]
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत ।[3]

18 तोरणकग्रामस्य पूर्व्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे ।[3] द्वापञ्चाशन्निवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।[3] यस्याघाटनानि ।[3]

Second Plate

19 पूर्व्वत:[7] जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्था हस्तिनिकागर्त्तासंलग्न:[8] स(?)रो दक्षिणतः छेद[की]वृक्षोप-
लक्षितमैरान्तरि-

20 तकुटुम्बिदीपसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।[3] मैरातस्समुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिनु(मु)खो वहश्च ।[3] तथा अपरतः
तोरणकग्रा-

21 मात् विढेरकग्रामयायी पन्थाः तथा क्षेत्रमदिरोस्थितो सुभिक्षारवृक्षः तथा घम्मणगर्त्तागामी वहश्च ।
उत्तरतः घम्माणखट्टा ।[3]

22 एवमे ।[3] [त*]च्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं भूख[ण्डं] ।[3] तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे कच्छे ।[3]
पंचन्निवर्त्तनप्रमाणं[9] भूख[ण्डं] ।[3] यस्याघाटनानि पू-

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[1] Read प्रवीणो.

[2] These two *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated here.

[3] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] *Dh* is imperfectly formed here and appears somewhat like *r*. The reading given above is clear in the corresponding passage of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

[5] The engraver first incised *ni* and then tried to alter it into *ne*.

[6] *Y* has here a cursive transitional form.

[7] Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[8] Read -संलग्नं.

[9] Read पंचनिवर्त्तन-.

23 र्व्वतः बरद(ट)कम[र्य्या]दा[1]न्तरितकुटुम्बिरे[व]ल्लसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।[2] दक्षिणतः करिल्लिणीःनदी ।[2] अपरतः [छ]त्त्वा(त्रा)भ्युपलक्षितबरटकमर्या–

24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिविजडम्बसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।[2] उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं ।[2] राज–
कीयचरिका च । तदेवं चतुराघाट–

25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे ।[2] कच्छे ।[2] कच्छिकाग्र[नि]बद्ध–
निवर्त्तनत्रयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।[2] यस्याघाटनानि

26 पूर्व्वतः करिल्लिणी नदी ।[2] दक्षिणतो(तः) सैव करिल्लिणी नदी ।[2][अ]परतः भूति[षो]हीग्राम–
[गा]मी सीमासन्धिः उत्तरतो[क्लो]ल्लवृक्षोपलक्षित–

27 करिल्लिणीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतु[3]राघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितष[ष्टि]निव–
र्त्तनप्रमा[णं] क्षेत्रं ।[2] सोपरिकरं ।[2] सभूत–

28 पात[4]प्रत्यायं ।[2] सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं ।[2] सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं ।[2] [स]र्व्वराजकीया–
नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं ।[2] पूर्व्वप्रत्त–

29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं ।[2] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवस्थि(क्षि)तिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं ।[2] पुत्र–
पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं ।[2] गृहस्थाव–

30 रक(च)लकसहितमद्याश्वयुजबहुले(लै)कादश्यां तुलासंक्रान्तेरवादु(बु)दकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं–
(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुं–

31 जतः कृषतः कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्क्ति(र्त्ति)तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्म–
द्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा(र्व्वा)यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः

32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[वृ]तमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स
पञ्चभिम्र्म्महापातकैस्सोप–

33 पातकैस्सं[यु]क्त[:*] स्यादित्यु[5]क्तं च भगवा(वता) दे(वे)दव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्ष-
सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता–

34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[6] [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर[वा]सिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते ।[2] भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता

35 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः[7] [त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।३॥*]
नु(अ)ग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*]

36 [लो]क्कत्र[यं][8] तेन भवेतु दत्तं(त्तम्) । यः काच(ञ्च)नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[9][४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि[10] धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । नि–

37 र्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि ।[2] को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ।[।५॥*] सु(स्व)दत्तां परदत्तां वा
यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना–

38 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति ॥[11] लिखितमिदि(दं) बलाधिकृतदुर्ग्गभटसूनुना बलाधिक्ष(कृ)तसह[12]भटे–
नेति ॥ बलाधिकृतबावुल्ल–

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[1] A similar expression occurs in the Dhānk plates of Silāditya I-Dharmāditya. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

[2] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[3] श्चतु is redundant.

[4] Read सभूतवात-.

[5] Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

[6] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[8] Read लोकत्रयं.

[9] Metre of this and the following verse: *Indravajrā*.

[10] Read नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि.

[11] Read -योनुपालनम् ॥६॥ इति ॥ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[12] The *akshara ha* has an unusual form here as in *gaj-ādhirōhaṇa*, ll. 8-9, above.

39 दूतकं ॥ सं ४०० ६० ।[1] आश्वयुज ब १० १ ।[1] निम(ब)द्धम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभ-
टा(ट)स्य ॥

Seal

श्रीजयभट [।*]

TRANSLATION

[*For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.*]

(Line 15) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the eleventh (*tithi*) of the **dark fortnight of Āśvayuja, on the occasion of the sun's entering the Tulā**[2] (*rāśi*), granted with a libation of water, fields measuring sixty *nivartanas* in three pieces of land with their boundaries defined as follows:—a piece of land measuring fifty-two *nivartanas* in the north-east direction of the village **Tōraṇaka** situated in the **Nāndīpura** *vishaya*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the road going to the village **Jayapura** (*and*) the tank adjacent to the pit Hastinikā; on the south, the family-field belonging to the householder Dīpa, separated by the field-boundary marked by the chhrēdakī tree, and a stream flowing from the field boundary[3] towards the south; and on the west, the road going from the village Tōraṇaka to the village **Viddhēraka** and the sumiāra tree growing on the boundary of the field and a stream flowing into the Dhammāṇa pit; on the north, the Dhammāṇa pit,—the piece of land defined by these four boundaries; further, in the marshy region in the southern direction of this very village, a piece of land measuring five *nivartanas*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the family field belonging to the householder Rēvalla separated by the boundary of *baraṭaka*[4]; on the south, the river **Karilliṇī**; on the west, the family field belonging to the householder Vijaḍamba separated by the boundary of *baraṭaka* and marked by an umbrella; on the north, the *brahmadēya* field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and a royal road,—the field marked by these four boundaries; and on the south of this very piece of land, in the (*same*) marshy region, (*another*) piece of land measuring three *nivartanas* and surrounded by mango trees of the marshy region, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the river Karilliṇī; on the south, the same river Karilliṇī; on the west, the boundary leading to the village **Bhūtishōhī**; on the north, the *vitaṭī*(?) of the river Karilliṇī marked by the aṅkōlla tree,—(*the fields measuring sixty nivartanas in all in three pieces of land with their four boundaries defind as above*)—together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on commodities manufactured and imported, with the income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom, free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of the gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas previously made (*and*) including houses, immovables and movables,—which are to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, accord-

[1] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] *Libra*, the seventh sign of the Zodiac.

[3] *Mairā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. But the context shows that the meaning of a field-boundary is probably correct. Even now *mērā* has that sense in Marāṭhī, and *mēre* in Kannaḍa.

[4] Monier-Williams gives *baraṭṭa* in the sense of a kind of grain. It seems to mean here some plant used for the fencing of fields. A similar expressiion *baraṭaka-maryādā-pūrvataḥ* occurs also in line 7 of the Dhānk plates of Śīlāditya I-Dharmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 238 ff.), which Bühler translated as 'to the east of Baraṭaka.'

ing to the maxim of waste land,—to the **Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa**, the son of the **Brāhamaṇa** Chashṭasvāmin, of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Kauṭhuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (*i.e.*, Sāmavēda) who resides at Brahmapurī and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of that place, for the performance of five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites."

[*For a translation of ll.* 30-33, *see above*, p. 89.]

(L. 33) And it is said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 38) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla**, has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* **Sahabhaṭa**, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Durgabhaṭa**.

Recorded in the **year** 400 (*and*) **60**, (*the month*) **Āśvayuja** (*and*) the **dark** (*fortnight*) (*and*) (*on the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 1.

This is the **sign-manual** of me, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa**.

Seal

The illustrious **Jayabhaṭa**

No. 23; Plate XVI

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

This plate was discovered by Rao Saheb Gopalji G. Desai of Broach in 1875.[1] He found it with several other plates in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas of **Kāvī**, an ancient town in the Jambusar *tālukā* of the Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the Mahī. Dr. Bühler, to whom its impressions were sent, made personal inquiries at Kāvī in the course of which he came to know the following history of the plates—'Five or six hundred years ago a small *tāṅk* or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gaṅgeśvara Mahādēva at Kāvī was cleaned, and among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhā, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gaṅgāsāgara in Bengal and took away two of the plates. The others remained at Kāvī.[2]' The present plate is **the second and last plate of its set.** It is still in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas from whom it was recently taken on loan by a medical practitioner of Bombay. The first plate, which was probably one of the two taken to Bengal, is not now forthcoming. The inscription on the second plate was edited with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff. Its photograph was subsequently published in Fleet's *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, Plate 272. Having failed to get a fresh impression of the original plate, I edit the inscription on it from a copy of the photograph in Fleet's book, kindly supplied to me by the Director-General of Archæology in India.

'Originally the plate measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 109.

[2] *Loc. cit.* Of the four other plates shown to Dr. Bühler, three forming a set contained a grant of Gōvindarāja of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa branch (ed. by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.) and the remaining one, a grant of the Chaulukya Abhayapāla.

the latter has assumed a nearly semi-circular shape[1]'. Almost all the lost *aksharas*, except those at the end of l. 25 and the beginning of l. 26, can be supplied with the help of the recently discovered Prince of Wales Museum plates[2] of the same king. 'The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back, some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.'

As said before, this is the **second plate** of its set and contains, therefore, the latter half of the grant. The extant portion consists of twenty-six lines, all of which are inscribed on the same side. The average size of the letters is .2".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III. The royal sign-manual is, however, in the northern characters. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the long *mātrās* denoting medial diphthongs 'which curl over three or even four *aksharas*', the curling stroke for medial *ṛi* in *kṛi* which is attached to the horizontal bar of *k*, instead of to its vertical, (see *krishṇa-* and *-kṛita-*, both in l. 4 and *kṛishṇ-āhayō*, l. 20), and the unlooped *n* in *ndh* of *gandha-*, l. 10 and *-panthā*, l. 12. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l. 22. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for two verses embedded in the eulogistic portion and six benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in other records of the Early Gurjaras.

The extant portion of this grant begins abruptly with the eulogy of the donor, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great *sāmantas* or feudatory chiefs. As already stated, the text of the eulogistic portion, so far as it goes, is identical with that of the Prince of Wales Museum plates. This Jayabhaṭa is, therefore, **Jayabhaṭa IV** of the **Early Gurjara Dynasty**. Much of the praise bestowed on him is conventional, but there is one important reference in v. 2 to **his victory over the Tājjikas or Arabs in the city of the lord of Valabhī**. It is said that by the sharp edge of his sword he put an end to their oppression of the people even as a cloud with its showers extinguishes fire which is troublesome to the people.[4]

The inscription records the grant, by **Jayabhaṭa IV**, of a field measuring fifty *nivartanas* on the south-west boundary in the village **Kēmajju** situated in the **Bharukachchha** *vishaya*. In connection with the boundaries of the field, the record mentions the villages **Chhīrakaha, Jambhā, Gōliavalī** and **Sīhu**. The **object** of the grant was to provide for the supply of the materials of worship and repairs to the temple of the god Āśramadēva in the village Kēmajju.

The grant was made on the occasion of the Sun's entering the **Karkaṭa-rāśi**, *i.e.*, the sign of Cancer, on **the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha**[5]. The **year** was mentioned in words at the end of l. 24, but owing to the breaking away of the

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

[2] No. 14, below.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

[4] This important reference has escaped the notice of all scholars who have subsequently written about this grant; for they adopted Dr. Bühler's translation based on an incorrect reading of ll. 6 and 7, *viz.*, 'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi.' Jayabhaṭa was thus supposed to be an enemy of the contemporary Maitraka king, while, as a matter of fact, he was his friend and deliverer.

[5] The *tithi* is expressed in words in l. 15.

lower right hand corner of the plate, the expression is partly mutilated. The symbols denoting the same year, which have been preserved in the beginning of the extant portion of l. 25, leave no doubt, however, that it was **486**. Like other dates of the Early Gurjaras this must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era.[1] The *tithi*, on which the grant was recorded (*nibaddha*), was also mentioned along with the year in ll. 24 and 25, and like the latter, is partly mutilated. The words *Āshāḍha śu..Ādityavāre* are perfectly clear in l. 25. As regards the symbol following *śu*, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Kielhorn's remarks: 'In l. 25 the numerical symbol following upon *śu* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen both in the impressions and in the photograph is the symbol for 10, as it occurs, *e.g.*, at the end of the Valabhī grant of Dharasēna II...*minus* the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that, therefore, 10 was intended.[2] It is more difficult to say whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2.'[3] The grant was, therefore, recorded on a Sunday, the 10th, 11th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the (Kalachuri) year 486.

With the epoch of 248-249 A.C., which Kielhorn at first fixed for the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and which he found applicable in the case of the date of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III, the date of the present plate should fall in 735 or 736 A.C. 'according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired'. Kielhorn found by calculation that 'in A.D. 735 the Karkaṭa-saṁkrānti took place on Thursday, June 23, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of Āshāḍha had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, *i.e.*, no less than eighteen days before the saṁkrānti. In A. D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkaṭa-saṁkrānti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22; and the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha began 21 minutes *after* mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of June 23. The *tithi*, therefore, in all probability, was a *kshaya-tithi*, but, under any circumstances, the Karkaṭa-saṁkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, because the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise'[4]. **Friday, the 22nd June 736 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the grant, and Sunday, the 24th June of the same year, the date of its recording.**

The **localities** mentioned in the grant were fully identified by Dr. Bühler[5]. 'The village **Kēmajju** is the present Kimōj or Kīmaj. Straight to the west from Kīmaj at a distance of five or six hundred yards, there is the temple Āsamēśvar, Āśramadēva of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient *Linga*, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies Sīgām or Śigām, the **Sīhugrāma** of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of Jāmaḍi, called also Sāmaḍi, which corresponds to **Jambhā**; and to the north we have the ruins of Gōlēl (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galōl), the

[1] Bühler referred it to the Vikrama era and as, according to the calculations of Prof. Bahudēva Śāstrī, in 429 A. C. corresponding to V. 486, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha fell on Sunday when the sun entered the sign of Karkaṭa, Dr. Bühler concluded that it demolished the theory that the Vikrama era was a forgery and was invented after the battle of Kōrur.

[2] The same symbol is used to denote 10 in the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 221.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 112.

Gōliavali of the plate. **Chhirakaha** is not to be traced. Sōlepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.'

TEXT[1]

Second Plate[2]

1 [तुरङ्गमनिकरभङ्गभासुरो*][3] [द्रु]तदलितद्विरदकुम्भस्थलग (ग)लितमुक्ताफलनिक[रदन्तु-राशि*]-

2 [लतामरीचिनिचय*]मेचकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलक्ष[णो न पुनर्ज्ज*]-

3 [लाशयः क्षपा*]कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो[4] न पुनर्द्दोषकर[5][:*] सागर इवान्तःप्रवेशितवि-पक्षभूभृन्मण्ड[लो] [न*]

4 [पुनर्ग्राहाकुलः नारा*]यण इव सुदर्शनचक्रक्षपितविपक्षो न पुनः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृत-भूतिनिचयो [न*]

5 [पुनर्भुजङ्गपरिवृतः।*] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतनूदयेन [।*] प्रणामकामोल्पकरेण लोक[:*] कृतांज[लिः*]

6 [कान्तिमता कृ*][तोयं](यम्)[6] [।।१।।*] असिधाराजलेन शमित[:*] प्रासभं वलभीपतेः पु[रे] यो(ये)नाशेषलोकसं[ता]पकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो [ज*]-

7 [यभटजल*]द एष[7] [: ।।२।।*] स वि[गी]यति[8](ते) देववधूकदम्म(म्ब)कैर्नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिक-(र)णावलिरंजित्त(न)पादपङ्कजा(जः) समधिगतपञ्चम[हाश*]-

8 [ब्दो म*]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकु(क)विषयपतिरा-ष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद(दी)-

9 [न्सम*] नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं(तम्)। यथा मया मातापित्रोका(रा)त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये केमज्जु[ग्रा][म*]-

10 [नि*]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धधूपपुष्पदीपप्रदांतसंशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्मार्ज्जनोदयेन[9] देवकुलस्य खण्ड[स्फुटि][त*]-

11 [विशीर्ण्ण*?][10]संस्कारनवकर्म्मक्ता[11]युत्सर्प्पणार्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमज्जुग्रामे ग्राम-स्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशन्निवर्त्त[नप्रमा]-

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[1] From Plate 272 in Fleet's *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions.*

[2] The first plate is lost.

[3] The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets, which are lost owing to the breaking away of the corners of the plate, have been supplied from the corresponding portions of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king (No. 24, below).

[4] Read सकलकलाकलापान्वितो.

[5] Read –र्दोषाकरः.

[6] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[7] The verse is very corrupt. Its correct reading may be restored as follows:—

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं वलभीपतेः पुरे येन ।
जनसन्तापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥

Dr. Bühler read असिधाराजलेन शमित(तं) प्रासभं वलभीपतेर्युद्दे(द्धे) यो न शेषलोकु(क)समापकलापदस्ताज्जि कानल....फलद. This does not give a satisfactory meaning. Metre: *Gīti.*

[8] Bühler read सविविसयंति and proposed to emend it as सर्व्वगीयते. Our reading विगीयते can be explained as विविधं गीयते 'is extolled in manifold ways'.

[9] Read -प्रभालसंगीतकसत्त्रप्रवर्तनसम्मार्जनोपयेन. Bühler proposed to read प्रवाणसंगीतक–.

[10] The *aksharas* are not clear. Bühler's reading पतित- does not appear to be warranted by the photograph. The last *akshara* appears like *rṇṇa*. I propose to read *viśīrṇṇa* which generally accompanies *khaṇḍa* and *sphuṭita*.

[11] Read -कर्म्मोक्ताद्युत्सर्प्पणार्थं.

12 णं[1] भूखण्ड: यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वट(त:) छीरकहृग्रामगामिपन्था दक्षिणत: अम्भाग्रामसीमासन्धि: अपरत: जम्भाग्रामा[त् गोलिअवलि][2]–

13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरत: केमज्जुग्रामासीह्लुग्रामक्तामी[3] पन्था वटवापी च[।*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर[4]

14 समूतपातप्रत्यायं[5] सधान्या[6]हिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्र–

15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वापरदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनमश्चाषाढशु[द्ध]दश[म्यां][7]

16 कर्क्कटकराशौ[8] संक्रान्ते रवौ पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गेण देवदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं [।*] यतोस्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुंजत: कृ–

17 षत: कर्षयत: प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्य[9]मागामिभद्रनृपतिभि: अस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पा[ल]–

18 यितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमा[न]कं वानुमोदेत ।[10] स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकै:

19 संयुति[11] [स्या]दित्युक्तं [च] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] षष्टी[12] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं–

20 [ता] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [।।३।।*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं[13] हरन्ति ये [।।४।।] बहु[भिर्व्व*]–

21 [सुधा*] भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं–(लम्) [।।५।।*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं [भूर्व्वैष्णवी*]

22 [सूर्यसु*]ताश्च गाव: [।*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं य Xकां[14]चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् । [।।६।।*] यानीह [दत्तानि] पुरा नरें[द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मार्थ*]–

23 [यशस्करा*]णि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु: पुनराददीत [।।७।।*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ना[द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं*]

24 [महिमतां श्रे *]ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति । [।।८।।*] श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ।। संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये ष[डशीत्यधिके आषाढशुद्ध*]–[15]

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[1] Bühler reads प्रमाणो, but the last *akshara* is clearly णं. Read -निवर्त्तनप्रमाणो.

[2] I am not certain about the *aksharas* in brackets, which are very indistinct in the photograph.

[3] Read केमज्जुग्रामात्सीह्लुग्रामगामी.

[4] Read सोपरिकरं.

[5] Read सभूतवातप्रत्यायं.

[6] Read सधान्य–.

[7] The curve for the subscript *y* is faintly seen in the photograph.

[8] Bühler reads कर्क्कटकरशौ, but the mark for medial *ā* is quite clear.

[9] Read वर्त्तितव्य-.

[10] This mark of punctuation is superflous.

[11] There is no superscript *k* here. Read संयुक्त: स्यादिति । उक्तं च ।

[12] The medial vowel is clearly *ī* here. Read षष्टिं.

[13] Read भूमिदायं.

[14] The sign for *jihvāmūlīya*, not noticed by Bühler, is quite clear here.

[15] The *aksharas* in brackets in this and the following line are conjecturally supplied on the analogy of the wording in ll. 49 and 50 of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below).

25 [शताब्दौ सं*]४०० ८० ६ आषाढ सु १० [२][1]आदित्यवारे [निबद्धं लिखितं चैत-] [न्यका*][2]......

26 ....स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट[स्य ।*][3]

TRANSLATION

[His son is the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (IV)**],—[who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of horses....]; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue [with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword which becomes uneven] with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes,[4] [but who, (*unlike a lotus-pool which contains a store of water*),[5] has not an insensible heart]; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all the digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*[6], has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, [but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed]; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army[7] just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark-complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes[8] (*to smear his body with*), [but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men].

(Verse 1) These people are made to fold their hands and to bow to him, who resembles the disc of the crescent moon, [since he is possessed of brilliance], has an increasing splendour of the body, and levies light taxes (*even as the moon looks lovely, increases in size and sheds tender rays*).

(Verse 2) This is that [**Jayabhaṭa**], who, with the edge of his sword, has forcibly vanquished, in the city of the lord of Valabhī, the Tājjikas[9] who greatly oppressed all people, even as a cloud extinguishes with its showers the fire that troubles all people.[10]

(Line 7) He, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa—who is praised in songs by assemblages of the wives of gods; whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the lines of the rays of jewels (*set*) in the diadems of hundreds of kings; who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*, (*and*) is the lord of the great *sāmantas* (feudatory chiefs),—being in good health, addresses the following order to all king, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* and villages, officials (*and*) others:—

[1] For the reading of the *tithi*, see above, p. 98.

[2] The name of the scribe is completely lost. He may have been the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṅgulla who wrote the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king about three and a half months later, see below, p. 107, l. 51.

[3] The plate shows a stroke like that of medial *i* on the *akshara* following *ṭa*. Bühler conjecturally restored the *akshara* as *di* (of *diva*), but none of the sign-manuals of Gurjara kings contains a name ending in *diva*.

[4] There are puns on several words in the eulogistic portion. Here, *e. g.*, *lakshaṇa* (n.) means 'an auspicious mark' and *lakshaṇa* (m.) means 'a crane'.

[5] A pun on the word *jaḍ-āśaya* (read as *jal-āśaya* by the rule *ḍalayōr=abhēdaḥ*).

[6] *Dōshākara* is taken as (1) *dōshā-kara*, 'the maker of the night', and (2) *dōsh-ākara*, 'a store of blemishes'.

[7] Bühler translates 'with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle-array,' evidently understanding *chakra* in the sense of the *chakra-vyūha*, but then, there remains no word meaning 'an army.'

[8] There is a play on the word *bhūti* meaning (1) prosperity and (2) ashes, and another on *bhujaṅga* meaning (1) a dissolute person and (2) a serpent.

[9] *I.e.*, the Arabs.

[10] Bühler translated the passage as follows:—'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world, and (giving them the fruits of their wishes)—is praised........'. This translation misses the important historical reference altogether.

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father as well as of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of **the sun's entering the sign of Karkaṭaka** (Cancer), on the holy day of the **tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha,** granted, with a libation of water as a *dēvadāya*[1], a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* and (*lying*) on the south-western boundary of the village, in the village **Kēmajju** situated in the famous *vishaya* of **Bharukachcha,** the boundaries of which are,—on the east the road leading to **Chhīrakaha,** on the south the junction with the boundary of the village **Jambhā,** on the west the road going from the village **Jambhā** to the village **Gōliavali,** on the north the road going from the village Kēmajju to **Sīhu** and the well near the banyan tree,—the field defined by these four boundaries, together with the *uparikara,* with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*; (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the State; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas ; (*and the grant of which is to last*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the divine (god) Āśramadēva established in the village of Kēmajju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps (*and*) the morning musical service, of the maintenance of an alms-house, of cleaning the temple, and of the repairs of the broken, rent and dilapidated (*portions*), (*and*) of (*building*) new structures."

[*For a translation of ll.* 16-19, *see above, p.* 89.]

(L. 19) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 24) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the illustrious **Kaṇḍakaṇaka,** has been written and recorded by [me]........in the **year four hundred increased by eighty-six** [on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, the year] 400 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) **Āshāḍha,** the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 2, on Sunday.

This is the **sign-manual** of me, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa.**

No. 24; Plate XVII

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV[2]: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

'These **two plates** were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, when the Society's collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known.' They have been edited before by Mr. G.V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, in the *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff. They are edited here from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Acharya.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, measure 12·7" by 10." Each

[1] *I. e.,* a gift made in honour of a god.

[2] Mr. Acharya calls him Jayabhaṭa III, identifying Dadda II-Praśāntarāga of the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates (above, Nos. 16-17 and 19-20) with Dadda-Bāhusahāya. But this view is incorrect. Apart from the difference in their *birudas,* the former was a devotee of the sun and the latter of Mahēśvara. So the two princes were not identical. For some more arguments, see my note on the plates in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

of them has two holes, ·6" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally held them together; but neither the rings nor the seal, which must have been connected with one of them, is forthcoming. Some portion of the upper left-hand corner of each plate has been broken away, which has resulted in the loss of from one to fifteen *aksharas* in ll. 1-14 on the first, and from one to three *aksharas* in ll. 29-33 on the second plate. Besides, a few *aksharas* have become illegible owing to the corrosion of the surface of the plates in some places. The record consists of 51 lines, of which 28 are inscribed on the first, and 23 on the second plate. The average size of the letters is about .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras. It would suffice to draw attention to the following peculiarities of individual letters. The sign for medial (long) *ū* in *-nmūlita-*, l. 8, is added to the top of *m* and not to the bottom as is usually done; the medial *ṛi* of *kṛi* is formed as in the Kāvī plate only in one place, *viz.*, in *Mahābalādhikṛita-*, l. 50-; in other places it appears in its usual form, see, *e.g.*, *-Valadhikṛita-* in the same line; *ḍ* shows a loop in *suchaṇḍa-*, l. 23, but contrast its form elsewhere, *e.g.*, in *-Kauṇḍinya-*, l. 35; *n* has no loop in *kaumud-indu-*, l. 17; *b* is generally rectangular, but in *svabhuja-bala-*, l. 14, it is elongated, and in *bali-*, l. 36, it is roundish. It is generally distinguished from *v*, but in *-Valadhikṛita-*, l. 50, it is indicated by the same sign as that for *v*. Another letter, which is occasionally liable to be mistaken for *v*, is *dh*, see, *e.g.*, the forms of the two occurring side by side in *-ādhirāja-vijṛimbhi-*, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses which occur in the eulogy of the donor and six more expressing benediction and imprecation at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It is carelessly written, especially on the second plate. The eulogy of the first four princes given here closely agrees with that in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates, while a considerable portion of the description of the last prince is the same as in the Kāvī plate. The text of ll. 16-24, however, which describe Ahirōla and his son Jayabhaṭa IV is not known to occur anywhere else. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Early Gurjara grants.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** born in the great family of *Mahārāja* **Karṇa**, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of *Mahāsāmantas* (great feudatory chiefs).[1] The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhaṭa, of the village **Mannātha** situated in the famous **Bharukachchha** district. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Āchchaḍa[2], the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga, of the Hēṭāvuka sub-caste,[3] who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurvēda). He had emigrated from the *pathaka* and *āhāra* of **Lōhikaksha**. The object of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The *Dūtaka* was the illustrious **Dēiyaka** and the scribe the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Saṅgulla**, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Alla**.

The grant was made and written on **the fifteenth day of the dark half** (called *amāvāsyā* in l. 40) **of Āśvina in the year 486**. The year and the *tithi* are expressed in ll. 49-50, both in words and numerical symbols. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As the Kalachuri year according to my view began on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date of the present grant would be later than that of the Kāvī plate by more

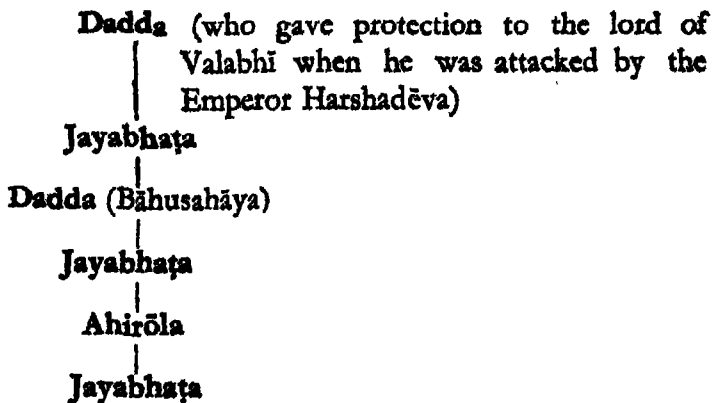
[1] The place of issue is not known, as the first few *aksharas* in l. 1, where we could have expected its mention, are lost owing to the breaking away of the left-hand upper corner of the first plate.

[2] Mr. Acharya reads his name as *Uchchaḍa*, but there is no trace of any *mātrā* on the left of *ṭṭ* in *Bhaṭṭ-Āchchaḍīya*, l. 36.

[3] See below, p. 109, n. 5.

than three and a half months.[1] **Taking the year as expired and the month as *amānta*, the corresponding Christian date would be the 9th October 736 A.C. It does not admit of** verification.

The present inscription gives the following **genealogy** of the donor—

Dadda (who gave protection to the lord of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor Harshadēva)
|
Jayabhaṭa
|
Dadda (Bāhusahāya)
|
Jayabhaṭa
|
Ahirōla
|
Jayabhaṭa

As stated above, the description of the first four princes is exactly as in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III. They must, therefore, be identified with Dadda II (*alias* Praśāntarāga), Jayabhaṭa II, Dadda III (*alias* Bāhusahāya) and Jayabhaṭa III. The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhaṭa, is mentioned in the present plates only. Like his father, he was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great feudal chiefs. His description in other respects is merely conventional. His son Jayabhaṭa is similarly described. He must be called **Jayabhaṭa IV** and distinguished from Jayabhaṭa III, who issued the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates and who was his grandfather. The latter portion of his eulogy in the present inscription occurs also in the Kāvī plate. Its historical importance has already been noticed.[2] The rest is a mere conventional description.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Bharukachchha** has already been identified with Broach. **Mannātha** the donated village is probably Magnāth[3] on the right bank of the Dhādhar about 2 m. south-east of Jambusar, and 25 m. north of Broach. Lōhikaksha I am unable to locate.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 [सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्ति [।*]....सततलक्ष्मी*][5]निवासमृते ।[6] तृष्णासंताप[हारिणि] [दिनना]थवि[स्ता]रिता[नुभावे] द्विज[कु–]

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[1] This is according to the *amānta* scheme. According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, the interval would be about two months and a half.

[2] See above, p. 97.

[3] Both *Mannātha* and *Magnātha* are corrupt forms of *Magnanātha* (the submerged Lord) and evidently owe their origin to the presence, in the village, of a temple, probably of Śiva, which was submerged by the Dhādhar. Mr. Acharya identifies Mannātha with 'Manād, about a mile and a half north-east of Mehegam, on the north bank of the river Narmadā' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

[4] From the photographs kindly supplied by Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

[5] The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and the following rectangular brackets, which are lost, are supplied from the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (Nos. 21 and 22, above).

[6] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

2 [कोपयोव्यमानविभवयालिनि*] ।[1] महति महाराजकर्ण्णान्वये ।[1] कमलाकर(र) इव रा–
[जहं]स: प्रबलकलिकाल–

3 [विलसितानाकुलितविमलस्वभावो गं*][भीरो]दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानस[: प]–
रमे[श्वरश्रीहर्ष]देवाभिभूतव–

4 [लभीपतिपरित्राणोप*]जातभ्रमदभ्रशुभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितान[:*] श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सू[नुरश–
ङ्कि ता]गतप्रणयि–

5 [जनोपभुक्तविभवसं*]चयोपचीयमानम[नो]निर्वृतिरनेककण्टकबंध[2]संदोहदाहदुर्ल्ललितप्रतापा–
नलो नि–

6 [शितनिर्स्त्रिंशधारा*] दारितारातिकरिकुम्भमुक्त[3]मुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोऽंशुका[4]वगु–
[ण्ठि]त[दिग्वधू]वदनसर–

7 [सिज: श्री*]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधर्म्मानुष्ठान[प्रवीणो व]–
र्ण्णाश्रम–

8 [व्यवस्थो*] न्मूलितसकलकलिक(का)लावलेप: प्रणयिजनमनोरथवजय[5]व्यतीतविभवसंपाद–
ना[प] नीतारोज(च)–

9 [पा]र्त्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्र–
[भा]वो विप–

10 [त्प्र*]पातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्र(श्रु)तपरोपकारका(क)रणव्यसन: प्राच्य–
प्रतीच्याधिराजविजृम्भि–

11 [त*] महासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्य्य[वि]ख्यातबाहुसहा–
याप–

12 [र*] नामा ।[1] परममाहेश्वर: समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[:*] श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरनेकसमरसंघट्टघन–
घटितगजघ–

13 [टा*] पाटनपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनवन्ध(बन्धु)कुमुदाकरकौमुदी–
निशाकरो [भागी]–

14 [र*]थीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षम: शान्तनुरिव समुद्भूतका(क)लकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरा–
दिव(व)राह इव स्वभुजबल–

15 पराक्रमोद्धृतधराधर: परममाहेश्वर: समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्दो) महासाम[न्ताधि]पति[:*]
श्रीजयभटस्तस्य सुत: शौ[र्य्य]–

16 दण्डोदयोत्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभूपालमौलिमालाचुम्बितचरणयुगल: सकलाभिगाभिकादिगुणानुरागनि–
[र्भ]रम–

17 नसा स्वयं वृतो राजलक्ष्म्या ।[1] कौमुदीन्दुदीधितिधवलविमलयश:शोकरितमेरुशिखरो रणाङ्गणा–
गतवरवै–

18 रिवारणघ[टा]कोटिकुट्टा(ट्टा)कदोर्द्दण्डश्चतुर्व्विद्या[धिग]मोप[बृ]हित[6]प्रज्ञातिशयसम्यक्प्र–
(क्प्र)व[र्त्ति]तनीतिमार्ग्गानु[रं]जित–

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[1] This mark of punctuation is redundant.
[2] Read -वंश-.
[3] The Navsāri and Anjanēri plates omit मुक्त.
[4] Read -यशोंशुका-.
[5] It would be better to read विफल as in the Anjanēri plates.
[6] Read -पबृंहित-.

19 प्रकृतिः प्रकृतिकल्याणाशयत्वादस्पृष्टः क[लि]कालकालिम्ना ।[1] सन्निहितयौवनोपनतानन्तविष-
योपभोगसौख्ये

20 सहजयानुसया वशीकृ[तेन्द्रि]यग्रामः षा[ड्गुण्य]प्रयोगनिपुणः शक्तिला(त्र)योपचितमहिमा ।[1]
परममाहेश्वरः सम-

21 [धि*][ग]तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त(न्ता)धिपति श्री[मद]द्दिरोलस्तस्य सकलभुवनतिलकस्या-
त्मजो निजगुणगणमालालं-

22 कृतोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दितचरणा[र]विन्दद्वयः कुन्देन्दुसितसिन्दुवार[कुसु]मधवलयशःसुधाध-

23 वलितसकलध[रा]मण्डल[:*] सुचण्ड[2]सु(प्र)ताप(पा)नलकवलिताखिलजगदुपप्लवो दुर्व्वार-
शरासारसमुसो(त्सा)[रित]-

24 सक[ला]रातिचक्रवालः प्रधानप्रधनप्रध(धा)वितप्रकटकरिघटापाटनपटुः चटुलरणाङ्गणावङ्गण-
(न)रव[3]-

25 णतुङ्गतु[रङ्ग]म[नि]करभङ्गभासुरो ।[1] द्रुतदा(द)लितद्विरदमुक्त[4]मुक्ता[फ]लनिकरदन्तुरा-
सिलतामरीचिनिच[य]-

26 मि(मे)चकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इ[व*] प्रकटाण(ने)कलक्षणो न पुनर्ज्जलाशयः
क्षपाकर [इव]

27 सकलकला[क]लापान्वितो न पुनर्द्दोषाकरः सागर इ[वा]न्तःप्रवेशितविपक्षभू-

28 भृन्मण्डलो न पुनः ग्राहाकुलः नारायण इव सुदर्शनचक्र-

Second Plate

29 [क्षपित*] विपक्षो [न पु]नः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिच[यः] न पुनर्भुजङ्गप-

30 [रिवृत*][: ।] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धम(मा)नस्वतनूदयेन । प्रणामकामोल्पकरेण लो-

31 [कः कृ*] तांजलिः कान्तिमता कृतोयं(यम्) ।।[5] [१।।*]सुसिधाराजलेन शामितः प्रसभं वल-
[भी]पतेः पुरे योनाशेषलोकसं-

32 [ताप*]कलापदतज्जिकानलः जरा(य)भटजलद एष[6][: ।।२।।*] स विगीयते देववधूकद[म्बै]-
र्नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिरण[ा*]वलि-

33 [रं*]जितपादपं[क]जः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्व्वानेव
राजसा-

34 मन्तविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-

35 रा[त्मन]श्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।[1] लोहिकक्षपकथाहार[7]विनिर्ग्गततत्रैविद्यसाम(मा)-
न्यकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-

36 वाजि[मा]ध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिहेटावुक[ब्रा]ह्मणादित्यनागपुत्रभट्टाच्चडाय[8] । बलि ।[1] चरुवैश्व-
देवाग्निहो[त्रा]तिथिपञ्च-

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[1] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

[2] Read प्रचण्ड-.

[3] Mr. Acharya read here -रङ्ग-.

[4] The corresponding passage in the Kāvī plate reads द्विरदकुम्भस्थलद(ग)लितमुक्ताफल-.

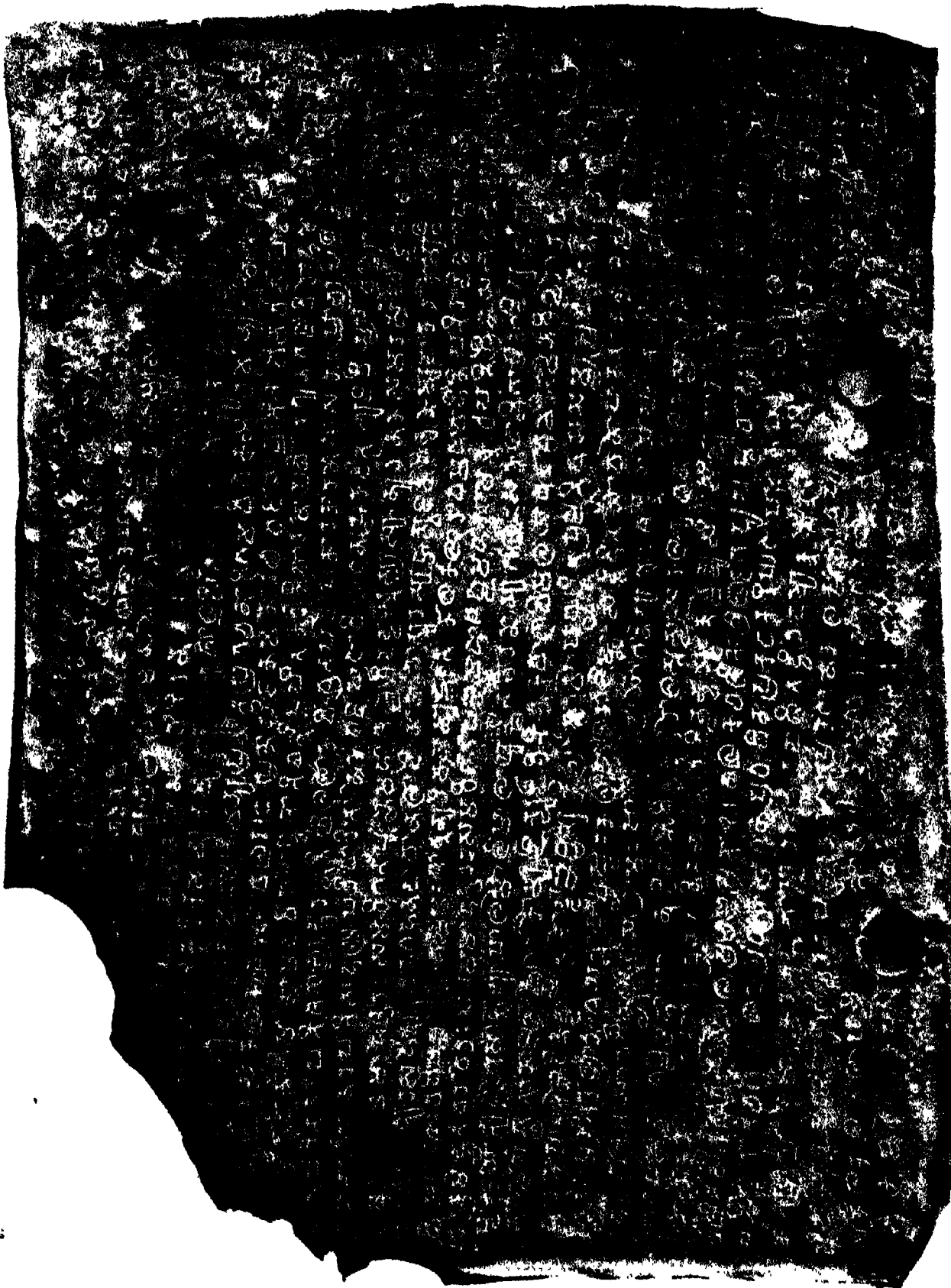
[5] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[6] Read the whole verse as follows :—

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं वलभीपतेः पुरे येन ।
जनसंतापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥ Metre : *Gīti.*

[7] Read —पथकाहार—.

[8] See above, p. 103, n. 2.

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

37 वि(म)हा[यज्ञा]दिक्रिया(यो)त्सप्रा(र्प)णा[र्थं] श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतमखावग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः समूतपातप्र[1]त्या(त्या)य[:*]

38 सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदशापर(रा)धः सोत्पद्यम(मा)नविष्टिकः अचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्र[क्षे]पनी(णी)-

39 यः पु(पू)[र्व्व]प्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदा(दा)यरहितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्र(न्द्रा)र्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्व-
तसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा(त्रा)न्व[य]-

40 क्रमोप[भोग्यो]श्चाश्वयुजमसामुवास्या[2] उदक्या[3]तिसर्गेण ब(ब)ह्मदायत्वे[न*] प्रतिपादितो
या(ऽ)तोस्योचितयाब्र(ब्र)ह्म-

41 दा(दा)यस्थित्या भुजतः कृषतः कर्ष(र्ष)यतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्य(द्व्या)सेधे वर्त्तितव्यम-
(मा)गामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्म(स्म)द्वंश्यै-

42 [र*]न्यैर्व्व(र्वा) यमस्मा(स्म)द्दायोनुमन्तव्यः प(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिम(मि)रपट-
[ला*]वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यम[मा]नकं [वा]नुमे(मो)दे[त] स

43 [प*]ञ्चभिर्महाप(पा)तकैस्सोपप[पा]तका(कै)श्च संयुक्त[:*] स्य(स्या)दित्युक्तं[4] च भगवता
वेदव्यासेन व्य(व्या)सेन । षष्टिवष(र्ष)सहस्र(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे ति-

44 [ष्ठति*] भू[मि]द[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चा(चा)नुम[न्ता] च त(ता)न्ये(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्[5] [॥३॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु[6] शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णा[हयो] हि

45 [जा*]यन्ते मु(भू)[मि]दायं हरन्ति ये । [।४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*]
सगरादिभि[: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [त]दा फलं(लम्) [॥५॥*]

46 अग्नेरपत्यं प्र[थ]मं सुवर्णं(र्णं) भूर्व्वैष्णवी सू(सू)र्य्य(र्य्यं)सुताश्च शा(गा)वः[।*] लोकत्रयं
त(ते)न भवेद्धि दत्तं ॥[7] यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च [महीं]

47 च दद्यात् [॥६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि धर्म्मर्थ्व[8]यशस्कराणि ।[7] नि[र्भु]क्त-
मल्यप्रतिमनि[9] तानि को नाम सा-

48 धुः पुनराददीत ।[10] [।७॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा या(य)त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठ(ष्ठि)र । महीं महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पलनमिति](पालनम्[11] ॥८॥ इति।)

49 भट्टश्रीदेद्दकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडशीत्यधिके ।[7] आश्वयुज[illegible]द[श्यां]

50 संम्व[त्*] ४०० ८०. ६ आश्वयुज ब १० ५ [।*] लिखि[illegible] ब(ब)ल[ला]धिकृता-
ल्लसुतमहाब[लाधिकृत-]

51 संगुल्लेन ॥

स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

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[1] Read सभूतवात–.

[2] Read -श्चाश्वयुजमासामावास्यायां.

[3] Read उदका–.

[4] Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

[5] Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Read विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु.

[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[8] Read धर्म्मार्थ–.

[9] Read निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि.

[10] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[11] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

TRANSLATION

[*For a translation of lines* 1-15, *see above, pp.* 87 *f.*]

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Ahirōla**,—the pair of whose feet was kissed by the crest-wreaths of kings who held their heads on high by reason of (*their*) valour and army; who was freely chosen by the goddess of fortune, her mind being overpowered by love for all his attractive royal qualities and other excellences; who provided the peaks of the Mēru (mountain) with the crest of (*his*) fame, spotless like the mass of lunar rays on the full-moon day; whose staff-like arm was wont to destroy crores of excellent elephant hosts of the enemies on the battlefield; who delighted his subjects with the paths of moral conduct properly laid by his great wisdom enhanced by the acquisition of the four lores; who, noble-minded as he was by nature, was not affected by the blackness of the Kali age; who, being naturally averse to pleasures (*derived*) from the enjoyment of innumerable objects close at hand (*which were*) presented by (*his*) youth, controlled all his sense organs; who was adept in the use of the six measures of policy[1], whose greatness was increased by the triad of powers (*śaktis*)[2], who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of the great feudatories.

(L. 21) The son of him, who was an ornament of the whole world, is the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (IV)**,—who is adorned with the wreaths of his numerous virtues; the pair of whose lotus-like feet is saluted by many hosts of eminent kings; who has white-washed the whole orb of the earth with his fame, which in brightness resembles *kunda*[3] flowers, the moon and white *sinduvāra*[4] flowers; whose extremely terrible fire of valour has put an end to the troubles of the whole world; who with the showers of his irresistible arrows has routed the hosts of all his foes; who is clever in piercing the crowds of elephants that are openly made to charge in great wars; who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of swift and tall horses that trot and prance about on the battlefield; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword, which becomes uneven with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks[5], as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes, but who, (*unlike the lotus-pool which contains a store of water*), has not an insensible heart; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*), has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus, Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity just as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes (*to smear his body with*), but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men.

[*For a translation of ll.* 30-34, *see above, p.* 101.]

(L. 34) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today on the new-

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[1] These are *sandhi* 'peace,' *vigraha* 'war' *yāna* marching, *āsana* 'sitting encamped,' *dvaidhībhāva* 'duplicity' and *saṁśraya* 'alliance with a more powerful king.'

[2] These are *prabhutva*, 'power derived from one's royal position', *mantra*, 'the power of good counsel' and *utsāha*, 'personal energy'.

[3] *Jasminum multiflorum.*

[4] *Vitex Negundo.*

[5] For the explanation of the puns in this and the following clauses, see above, p. 101, notes 4—8.

moon day of the month **Āśvina** granted with a libation of water as a *brahmadāya*,[1] the village **Mannātha** situated in the famous *vishaya* of **Bharukachchha**,—together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*; (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land;—to Bhaṭṭa Āchchaḍa[2] the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga of the Hēṭāvuka[3] (sub-caste) of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya, who has emigrated from the *āhara* and *pathaka* of Lōhikaksha and belongs to the community of the Trivēdins of that place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*and the reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.

[*For a translation of ll.* 40-43, *see above*, *p.* 89.]

(L. 43) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 49) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the Bhaṭṭa, the illustrious Dēiyaka, has been written by me, the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Saṅgulla**, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Alla**, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **dark fortnight** of **Āśvayuja** in the **year four hundred increased by sixty**,—the **year** 400 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) **Āśvayuja**, the **dark** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the **sign-manual** of Me, the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa**.

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[1] *I.e.*, a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. Villages or lands so granted had special privileges.

[2] See above, p. 103, n. 2.

[3] In later times *Hēṭābuka* came to signify 'a horse-dealer'. The *Mitākshard* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 30 mentions the Hēṭābukas together with betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers as persons who formed guilds, and the commentary *Bālambhaṭṭi* explains that the Hēṭābukas are dealers in horses. They sell them either personally or through their agents in different places. The commentary adds that the word is well-known in the *Gurjara-dēśa*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENDRAKAS

No. 25; Plate XVIII

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

THESE plates were discovered in 1937 at **Kāsārē**, a village thirty-four miles almost due west of Dhulia in West Khandesh, Bombay State. They are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. I edit the inscription here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Maṇḍala.[1]

They are **two copper-plates** measuring 7·7" in length and 5·5" in breadth. At the top of each there is a roundish hole about .4" in diameter for two rings which hold them together. One of them carries a conical seal with a circular face measuring 1·5" in diameter, which has the legend *Srī-Allaśakti*. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 108 *tolas*. The record consists of thirty-three lines, of which fourteen and fifteen are incised on the inner sides of the first and the second plate respectively, and the remaining four on the outer side of the first plate turned upside down. The writing is in a state of good preservation almost throughout. The size of the letters varies from .1" to .2".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the grants of the Early Gurjaras. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are of uneven size and are carelessly formed; those on the outer side of the first plate are more than double the average size of the rest. Besides, the *aksharas* originally engraved in ll. 20 and 21 were subsequently beaten in, and others much larger in size incised over them. The earlier *aksharas* have, however, been left over through inadvertence between ll. 19 and 20. Some more can be read with patience and perseverance here and there from the traces left behind. It is not possible to say definitely when the record was thus tampered with, or altered by authority; but the form of the letters subsequently engraved indicates that the alteration must have been made in the same period, to which the rest of the inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds.[2] As regards individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded *v* and *b* in some places, see *prabhabati*, l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27. The cursive subscript *m* occurs in *brāhmaṇa-* and *-brahmachāri-*, both in l. 22. Both the forms of *l* have been used,—the northern with a shortened right limb as in *lōkānāṁ*, and *lōkapālaḥ*, both in l. 9, and the southern with the right limb bent to the left as in *prithivīvallabha* and *kuśalī*, both in l. 18. A peculiar form of *ḍh* occurs in *Ashāḍha*, l. 32. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* is used in ll. 8 and 18, and that for the *upadhmānīya* in ll. 10, 17 and 27. The **symbols** for the numbers 400 and 4 occur in l. 31.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for three verses embedded in the eulogistic

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[1] Since this article was written, the plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 66 f.

[2] One of the reasons for alteration was perhaps the omission of some portion of the record in l. 20 as originally written, for the space between *yathā mayā Brāhma-* in l. 20 and *yasya ch=āghāṭanāni* in the next line is not sufficient to contain the mention of the *śākhā*, *gōtra* and name of the Brāhmaṇa donee and the name of the donated village, the boundaries of which were introduced with the words *yasya ch=āghāṭanāni*. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the present text is only a revised form of the earlier grant, for it differs materially from it; there are, for instance, no boundaries of the granted village mentioned in the later text.

portion and one more added at the end to convey benediction and imprecation, the record is in prose throughout. It is written in an ornate style,[1] but contains two grammatical blunders[2] in the second verse. As regards orthography, we may notice that the medial *ṛi* is in many places written as *ri*; see *-nighrishṭa-*, l. 4, *drishṭvā*, l. 5 etc.; *v* and *b* are generally expressed by separate signs, but in *prabhabati* l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27, *v* is indicated by the sign for *b*; the consonant following *r* has been correctly reduplicated in several places, but in *varshsha-*, l. 27 it violates Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued by **Allaśakti** of the family of the **Sēndrakas**, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The *birudas* **Pṛithivīvallabha** and **Śrī-Nikumbha**[3] are mentioned in connection with his name. The charter in its revised form purports to record the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the river Pa(?)ṛnandha[4] in the village Pippalakhēṭa, in honour of the deity Alaṅghyēśvara. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, who was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. The grant was written by **Dēvadinna** by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious Vāsava.[5] It was made on the occasion of **the solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshāḍha in the year 404,** expressed in numerical symbols[6] only, of an unspecified era.

In the eulogistic portion we are told that **Allaśakti** was the son of Ādityarāja, who was himself the son of the illustrious **Nikumbha.** The description of these princes is quite conventional and mentions no historical event. Another grant of the Sēndrakas found at Mundkhēḍē near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh has been published by the late Mr. G.K. Chandorkar.[7] It gives the following genealogy—

Bhānuśakti (Śrī-Vallabha)
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti (Satyāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha, who attained the *pañchamahāśabda*)
|
Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha, Vikramāditya, Nikumbha)

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[1] Notice, for instance, the puns in v. 2, which make the comparison of Ādityarāja with the sun possible and the description of Allaśakti in ll. 15-17 in which the names of all the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven.

[2] *Viz.*, the ungrammatical form *chakshū-bhūtaḥ*, l. 9 and the wrong *sandhi -tsutō =dityarājaḥ*, l. 10.

[3] That *Nikumbha* is a *biruda* is shown by the fact that the royal name occurs without it in the legend on the seal, as well as in l. 17.

[4] The first *akshara* of this name is uncertain.

[5] The text reads *Śrī-Vāsavasava-samādiśāt* but the *aksharas sava* seem to have been repeated by mistake.

[6] Of the symbols, the first denoting hundreds is clearly a sign for 400 and the second, except for the curve at the top, is the usual sign for 4. It may be noted that a similar curve is attached to the top of the symbol denoting 4 in the date of the Surat plates of Śryāśraya- Śilāditya, No. 19, Pl. XXII. The symbol would have to be taken as denoting 40 if the following symbol denotes a unit number like 7, but in that case its date (K. 447 or 696 A. C.) would be later than the date Śaka 602 or 680 A. C. which we have for Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti in his Mundkhēḍē plates. I, therefore, prefer to take the last sign to denote *de*, corresponding to *di* (*dina*) which occurs before the symbol of the *tithi* in early Brāhmī records. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the present grant wrote also the Bagumrā plates of the same king and the *Mahābalādhikṛita* was also the same in both, (see p. 121, n. 41, below). The names of both are mentioned in another grant of Allaśakti (see *N. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 747.) The date of the present grant must, therefore, be within a few years on either side of the date K. 406 of the Bagumrā plates.

[7] This grant has been published twice, but without a facsimile, first in the Marāṭhī monthly *Prabhāta*, Vol. I (pub. in 1908), and again in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834. The plates are not forthcoming now.

The use of *Nikumbha* as a *biruda* prefixed to the name of Jayaśakti suggests that the word is a *biruda* in the name Nikumbhallaśakti also and, therefore, the real name of the prince was probably Allaśakti. Of the four princes named in the Mundkhēḍē plates two,—Ādityaśakti and Allaśakti,—are thus common to our grant. This shows that Nikumbha was another name or title of Bhānuśakti, and he being the founder of the family, it was used as a *biruda* by his descendants. It is again plain that Jayaśakti was the son of the Allaśakti who issued the present plates. As stated above, Allaśakti's present grant was made in the year 404, while Jayaśakti's Mundkhēḍe plates were issued in the year 602. The only way in which we can reconcile these two dates is to refer the former to the Kalachuri era and take it to correspond to 653 or 654 A.C., and the latter to the Śaka era, corresponding to 680 A.C. As Jayaśakti was the son of Allaśakti, the interval of nearly twenty-six years between the two dates appears quite natural.

Referring the date of the present grant to the Kalachuri era, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha in the *current* Kalachuri year 404 fell on Saturday, the 1st of June 653 A.C. when there was a solar eclipse[1] as stated in the present record. There was no solar eclipse either in *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha in 652 A.C. or 654 A.C. The date of the present plates is noteworthy, because **it is one of the two early verifiable dates of the Kalachuri era which cite a current year,**[2] and secondly **its month was pūrṇimānta,**[3] while the prevailing custom in Gujarat and the Deccan was to cite *amānta* months. The Kalachuri year, as shown elsewhere, was *Kārttikādi*. From an examination of several dates of the Vikrama era, Kielhorn came to the conclusion that the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year of the Vikarma era was joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as with often as with the *amānta* scheme.[4] It should, therefore, cause no surprise if we find that the *Kārttikādi* year of the Kalachuri era also was occasionally and exceptionally joined with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in Gujarat and the adjoining country.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the present grant, **Pippalakhēṭa** is probably Pimpalnēr, about 9 miles west of Kāsārē. The river **Parṇandha** may be the Panjhrā which flows along the northern boundary of Pimpalnēr. The land to the south of it was, therefore, within the boundary of the village as stated in the present grant.

TEXT[5]

First Plate: Inner Side

1 सिद्धम्[6] [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] मेरुमहीध[र]शिखरस्थिर[रु]चिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि

2 महति सेन्द्रकराज्ञामन्वये[7] अनेकचातुर्द्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट–

[1] The eclipse was a total one and was visible in India.

[2] For the other early Kalachuri date citing a current year, see the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, No. 28, below.

[3] The month in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III is *amānta* as shown above. In the later Kalachuri dates from North India and Madhya Pradesh, the months are invariably *pūrṇimānta*.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 401. For a later date in a *pūrṇimānta* month from Gujarat, see the Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chāulukya Mūlarāja, dated V. 1043, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 192. See also *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.

[5] From the photographs of the plates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read सैन्द्रकराजानामन्वये.

3 लक्ष्मविजयो निर्जिताशेषरिपुगण[:*] स्वभुजबलविक्रमकान्त[1]महीमण्डल[:*]

4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरो[मु]कुटनिघ्रिष्टपादपङ्कजो[2] पुनरपि च [।*] [आजौ] नि–

5 [म्भि] सकु[म्भ]प्रगलितरुधिर[व्या]प्तमूर्त्ती हता[श्वे] ।[3] द्रिष्ट्वा[4] चक्क्राक्षु[5]जालं क्षरदन–
सक–

6 स(सं) स [ख्ये]रक्षिशुव(ख)सं(षम्) । स्यातु(तुं) समर्थेपि येषां प्रभव(व)ति न रणे सात्रिमा[6]सुग(ख)तानां

7 राजासीच्छ्रीनिकुम्भ[:*] [सु]रपतिसद्रिशो[7] वंसज[8] सेन्द्रकाणां(णाम्)[9] [।।१।।*] बिभ्राण(णो)
[आ*]नुरागम्(गं)

8 जन(न)हितमत्रं सर्व्वदा सानुरागश्शुल्काणिप्रोज्ञतना[10] [सु]ल्कटकम्प्रिल(मृतां) भूमु–

9 ता(तां) [मू]र्ध्नि(र्ध्नि) पादं(दम्) [।*] लोकानां चक्षुभूत[11]स्तमितजनतमा लोकपाल:
प्रि(पृ)थिव्या(व्यां) श्रि(श्री)मा(मान्)

10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[ल*]स्तत्सुतोदित्यराज[12][: ।।२।।*] तस्यात्मजःप्रबलरिपुब–

11 लोद्भूतविम[व]प्रध्वंसहेतु: शरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशा:

12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्ध[र्व्व]निषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्या(म्य)ज्ञानकर्म्मभावितम–

13 नाश्च गरुड इव विनतानन्दजण(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता–

14 विग्रह [:*] यश्च विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितगुरु:[13]

Second Plate

15 [धु]र्यविमष्व(ढ:) सदा [श्री]मानर्जुनकर्म्मभावितमना[:*] सह्री(ह्री)मस(से)ना–

16 न्वित[: ।*] धर्मात्मा सहदेव[पू]जितवपु[:*] स[सा]मान्य[दा]नस्सदा[मित्रा?] कृ[ष्ण[14]]कृ–

17 [लो*] [यु]धिष्ठिरसमो रा[जा]ल्लशक्ती[15] क्षितौ[16] [।।३।।*] मातापितृपादानुद्ध्यात[:*]
परममाहेश्वरःपर–

18 मब्रह्मण्य[:*] समावाप्त[17][प*]ञ्चमह(हा)शब्द[:] प्रिथिवीवल्लभ[18]श्री निकुम्भाल्लशक्तिःकुशली
सर्व्वानेव राजसाम–

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[1] The cognate Bagumrā plates (No. 26) read विक्रमाक्रान्त-.

[2] Read -निघृष्टपादपङ्कज:.

[3] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] Read दृष्ट्वा.

[5] Read चक्राम्बु-.

[6] Read तादृशा-.

[7] Read -सदृशो.

[8] Read वंशज:

[9] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[10] Read ःप्रोन्नतानां.

[11] The correct grammatical form would be चक्षुर्भूत: which would not, however, suit the metre. Read नेत्रभूत:

[12] The correct *sandhi* of तत्सुत: and आदित्यराज: would be तत्सुत आदित्यराज:, but this would go against the metre. Read तत्सुतादित्यराज:. Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[13] Read -गुरुर्धुर्य-.

[14] The reading of these four *aksharas* is uncertain.

[15] Read राजाल्लशक्ति:.

[16] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[17] Read समवाप्त-.

[18] Read पृथिवीवल्लभ-.

8

19 न्तविषयभोगिक[चो]रोद्धरणिकदण्डपाशिकदूतक(ग)माणमिकग्रामंमहत्तराधिकादि(रि)कादी[न्]

20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु[1] व[:*] संविदितं यथा[2] मया पिप्पलखेटग्रा[मा*]न्तर्गत–

21 [प] र्णान्नदि(दी)दक्षिणत[:*] भूनिवर्तनानि वर्तनानि[3]

22 पञ्चाशत:[4] ब्राह्मणवाजि(ज)सनेयसब्रह्मचारिमाद्ध्यन्दिनक्कि(कृ)ष्णात्रेयसगोत्रबालप्र–

23 वसिताय[5] भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन्या(ना)चन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्ण[व]क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौ[त्रा]–

24 न्वयभोग्यतयालङ्कुपेश्वरदेवपादोपयोगाय(या)स्मै[6]

25 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिव्रि(वृ)द्धये[7] उदका–

26 तिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितो[8] यतोस्मद्वङ्शजै[9]रण्यै(न्यै)श्वागर्गा(गा)मिभि(नृ)पतिभिरस्मद्दा–

27 योनुमन्तव्य×प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं[10] भगव(व)तो(ता)व्यासेन[11] व्यासेन [।*] षष्ठिम्बर्ष[12]स–

28 हस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के)

29 वसे [त्*][13] [।।४।।*]क[14]छारामतलभो[ग्य](ग्या)नि [स*][दा] मर्य्यादया [।*]

First Plate : Outer Side

30 महाबलाधिक्नित[15] श्रीवासवसवसमादेशा[16][त्*]

31 लिखितमि[दं*] देवदिन्नेनेति [।*] सं ४०० ४ दे[17]

32 आषा[ढ][18] ब आमा[व]स्या[19] सूर्य्यग्रहो–

33 परागे [।।*]

Seal

श्रीअल्लशक्ति [:।*]

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[1] Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

[2] The *aksharas* from here onwards up to ब्राह्मण in l. 22 are written in a much larger form and are engraved over other previously written *aksharas*, which, though beaten in, can be read here and there. Between lines 19 and 20, the *aksharas* यथा मया ब्राह्म which were previously written and were meant to be connected with अस्तु व: संविदितं in l. 20 can be read quite clearly. Similarly, between lines 20 and 21, the words यस्य चाघाटनानि are still legible. The following portion of that line lay under the *aksharas* पिप्पलखेट *etc.* and can be read with some diffidence as उत्तरते(त:) स(?)न्यनदी पूर्व्व [त:]. . . याणक-. In the next line which lies partly between ll. 21 and 22 and partly below the *aksharas* in l. 21 one can read ग्राम[:] दक्षिणत:. . .पश्चिमत[:] त(?)टाकीस(?)मेतो. Traces of some five *aksharas* can be seen after वर्तनानि in l. 21 of the text, which may be read एवं चतुरा–.

[3] These four *aksharas* are superfluous.

[4] Read पञ्चाशद्.

[5] Read -वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारि. . . .ब्राह्मणबालप्रवसिताय

[6] Read -यास्मत्पित्रो-.

[7] Read -वृद्धय.

[8] Read प्रतिपादितानि so as to agree with भूनिवर्तनानि in l. 21.

[9] Read -स्मद्वंशजै-.

[10] Read -श्चेति । उक्तं च ।

[11] Read वेदव्यासेन.

[12] Read षष्टिं वर्ष-.

[13] Metre: *Anushtubh.*

[14] The *aksharas* are quite clear here, but I am not certain about the meaning. Perhaps कच्छारामतलानि भोग्यानि सदा मर्य्यादया is meant.

[15] The engraver first incised नि which he later altered into क्नि. Read महाबलाधिकृत-.

[16] Read श्रीवासवसमादेशात् There is a redundant and unconnected curve on the left of *śā.*

[17] This *akshara* is superfluous.

[18] The form of this *akshara* is unusual.

[19] Read अमावस्यायां.

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

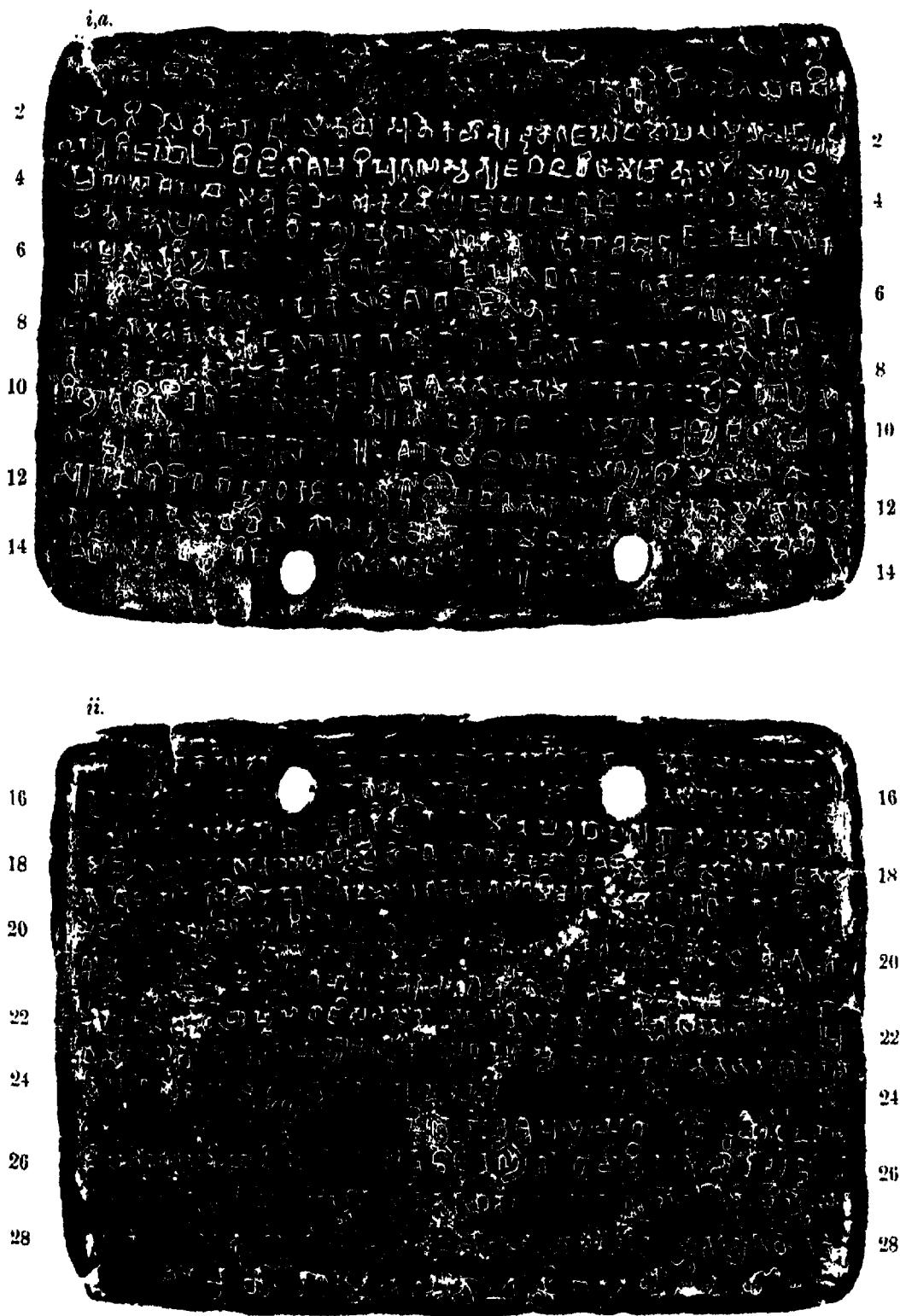
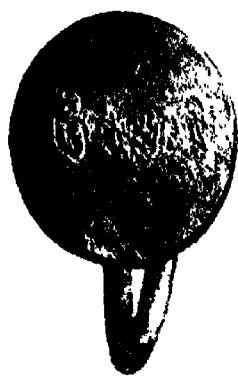
i,a.

ii.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36—778'51.

SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

i,b.

Seal

(From a photograph)

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (*and*) the fame of which has become expanded, (*there was the illustrious Bhānuśakti*[1]), who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all the feudatories who bowed to him. And again.—

(Verse 1) Born in the family of those eminent Sēndrakas,—seeing the mass of lustre of whose swords, emitting sparks of fire and resembling flashes of lightning, even Sakra can not hold his ground, fighting on the battlefield where horses lie slain and the ground of which overflows with blood flowing from the cut-off frontal globes (*of the hostile elephants*)—there was the king, the illustrious Nikumbha, who resembled Indra.

(V. 2) His son (*was*) the illustrious Ādityarāja, the guardian of the people,—whose fame spread (*all*) over the earth; who was stainless like the sun; who had the splendour of the sun; who with affection always thought of the well-being of the people; who placed his foot on the heads of great kings who had large armies, even as the sun casts his rays on the summits of high mountains having extensive ridges[2]; (*and*) who, being like the eye of the people as the sun is of the worlds, has destroyed the ignorance of the people (*even as the sun dispels darkness*).

(Line 10) His son (*is*) the *Pṛithivīvallabha*, illustrious *Nikumbha*, Allaśakti[3], who has caused the destruction of the greatness, due to might, of his powerful adversaries; whose stainless fame is like the orb of the spotless autumnal moon; who is waited upon by learned men and musicians even as the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra) is served by the Vidyādharas and Gandharvas[4]; (*who is*) fit to be served; who has his mind purified by delightful knowledge and actions; who causes delight to the humble even as Garuḍa did to (*his mother*) Vinatā; who has put an end to disputes about (*the possession of*) ploughed fields[5] as Rāma finished fighting for (*the rescue of his wife*) Sītā;[6] who, again, is—

(V. 3) The king Allaśakti who on earth bears resemblance to Yudhishṭhira, because his fortune is governed by the Brāhmaṇas, (*because*) he honours the elders, (*and*) is always at the head and ready; because his mind is purified by righteous deeds even as

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[1] This name does not occur in the text, but is supplied from the corresponding passage of the cognate Bagumrā plates. The repetition of the expression *Sēndrakāṇām vaṁśajaḥ* in v. 1 below shows that the verse is to be taken separately and not to be connected with the preceding expressions in prose.

[2] There are puns on the words *bhūbhṛit* meaning 'a king' and 'a mountain,' *pāda* meaning 'the foot' and 'a ray' and *kaṭaka* meaning 'an army' and 'the ridge of a mountain'.

[3] Though the expression *Śrī-Nikumbha* seems to be inseparably joined to *Allaśakti*, the legend on the seal shows that the royal name was *Allaśakti* only.

[4] This and the following expressions in the original admit of a double interpretation on account of puns on some words occurring in them.

[5] The *Arthaśastra* of Kauṭilya has a chapter entitled *Sītādhyaksha* which deals with agricultural matters.

[6] Or, if we take *vigraha* in the sense of 'the body,' it may mean 'as Rāma put an end to Sītā's bodily form' the reference being to the disappearance of Sītā underground as described in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Yudhishṭhira's was by the (*valorous*) deeds of Arjuna[1]; because he is pious-minded and is followed by an excellent army as Yudhishṭhira was called Dharma[2] and was accompanied by (*his brother*), the noble Bhīmasēna; because his gifts are always shared by the Brāhmaṇas (*lit.*, those whose person is worshipped) together with the gods, even as Yudhishṭhira's person was honoured by Sahadēva and his gifts were shared (*by all*); because his family is friendly and untarnished, even as Yudhishṭhira's brother Nakula exterminated his foes.[3]

(L. 17) He, the *Pṛithivīvallabha*, the illustrious *Nikumbha* **Allaśakti,**—who meditates on the feet of *his* mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious; and who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,—being in good health, addresses the (*following*) order to all the kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Chaurōddharaṇikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamikas*,[4] the *Mahattaras* of the village, officials and others :—

(L. 20) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) parents and Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the **Parṇandha** river in the village of **Pippalakhēṭa,**—to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurveda), for the use of the god Alaṅghyēśvara.

(L. 26) Wherefore future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve (*this*) our gift."

It has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor (*of the Vēdas*),—

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 29) The banks, groves and tanks (*in the donated land?*) are to be enjoyed at all times according to the (*proper*) custom.

This (*charter*) is written by[5] **Dēvadinna** by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious **Vāsava**. In the **year** 400 (*and*) 4, on the **new-moon day** in the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Āshāḍha,** on (*the occasion of*) a **solar eclipse.**

Seal

The illustrious **Allaśakti**

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[1] This and the following expressions, in which the names of the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven, are intended to be construed with Allaśakti and Yudhishṭhira.

[2] In the case of Yudhishṭhira, *dharm-ātmā* is to be explained as *dharmaḥ ātmā* (*svarūpam, nāma vā*) *yasya*. He was known by the name *Dharma*.

[3] In the case of Allaśakti, the *pada-chchhēda* is *mitra-akṛishṇa-kulō* and in that of Yudhishṭhira it is *amitra-ākṛish-Nakulō* (*amitrān ākarshati iti tādṛiśaḥ Nakulō yasya*). The correct grammatical expression in the latter case should, however, be *amitr-ākṛiṇ-Nakulō*.

[4] The *Gamāgamika* (*lit.* he who superintends the egress and ingress of travellers) was evidently an inspector of passports. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya mentions a similar officer called *Mudrādhyaksha*.

[5] See the discussion about the date above, p. 112.

No. 26; Plate XIX

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI[1] : (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

The plates were found in 1881 together with several others[2] by a labourer of Surat, 'who was engaged in excavating the *pro tempore* kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumrā[3] (Zilla Balesar) in the Gaekwad's territory.'[4] They were edited by Dr. G. Bühler first in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV, pp. 169 ff. and subsequently with some emendations and a translation accompanied by excellent lithographs in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs as well as from fresh ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

'The grant is engraved on two copper-plates,—now in the British Museum,—each measuring about 7⅞" by 5⅜". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates have been inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidisation'[5].

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the inscriptions of the Early Gurjaras. Owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, the same letter appears in varying forms in different places. Contrast, *e.g.*, the form of *d* in *-dāna-*, l. 5 with that in *-dākshiṇya-*, ll. 5-6; of *t* in *praṇat-*, l. 4 with that in *-gatiḥ*, l. 13; of *bh* in *-vallabha-*, l. 15 with that in *-gabhīrō-*, l. 12; of *m* in *-dama-*, l. 5, *-Nikumbh-*, l. 15 and *maya*, l. 18 with the cursive one in *-Lakshmī-*, l. 9, *Brāhmaṇ-*, l. 17 *etc.*; of *n* in *-kālinaḥ*, l. 22 with that in *gagana-*, l. 1. It is noteworthy that *ṭ* shows a vertical stroke at the top in *-paṭal-*, l. 30, *Vindhy-āṭavī-*, l. 33 *etc.*; *y* appears in a transitional form without a hook in its left limb, while *l* shows both the northern form as in *-Lakshmī-*, l. 9, *-maṁḍal-*, l. 7, *-bala-*, l. 8, and the southern one as in *kalpaluma-*, ll. 7-8, *-pālana-*, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse in praise of the sun in the beginning and the usual benedictive and imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The ignorance of the person who drafted it is disclosed by the innumerable mistakes of grammar which disfigure the record from the beginning to the end. He uses, for instance, *-amala-yaśasaḥ*, l. 7 as the nominative of *amala-yaśas* instead of the correct form *amala-yaśāḥ*, seems to be ignorant of the rule that the words connected by *iva* must be in the same case, for he writes *Kalpaldrumam=iva... jan-ōpabhujyamāna-vibhavō*, ll. 7-8, *Janārddanam-iva... rājya[ḥ*]*, ll. 8-9, and employs wrong declensional forms like *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarām* for *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*, l. 17, *-dhikarik-ādīm* for *-dhikārik-ādīn*, l. 18 *etc.*, and incorrect compounds like *rājaḥśrī* for *rājyaśrī*, l. 29, *apahritam-*

[1] Bühler gives the royal name as *Nikumbhallaśakti*, but as shown above, (p. 112), *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* and the proper name was *Allaśakti*. A grant of the same king recently discovered in Khandesh calls him *Nikumbhālláśakti*, (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 747).

[2] These were the plates of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva II, dated Śaka 798, *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.) and those of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa, dated Śaka 810 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff).

[3] The ancient name of this place was *Umvara*, see l. 50 of the Bagumrā grant No. 1 of Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 32.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol., XII, p. 179.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265.

aśēsha-bala-rājyaḥ for *apahṛit-āśēsha-bali-rājyaḥ*, ll. 8-9. Besides these, there are several mistakes of *sandhi* and omissions and transpositions of syllables and words which are pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. As regards **orthography**, we find that *ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in several places, see, *e.g.*, *-prithu-*, l. 1, *-āvrita-*, l. 30, *krishṇ-*, l. 33; the letter preceding and following *r* is correctly repeated in *-vikkram-ākkrānta-*, l. 4, *-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-*, l. 21, *sarvv-ādāna*, l. 23 *etc.*, but wrongly in *varshsha-*, l. 34.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha* **Allaśakti** of the family of **Sēndraka** kings, who was the son of the illustrious lord of men, **Ādityaśakti**, and the grandson of the lord of men, the illustrious **Bhānuśakti**. No place of issue is mentioned in the grant. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Balisa** in the *āhāra* of **Trēyaṇṇa**. The donee was Bappasvāmin of the **Bhāradvāja** *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. He was then a resident of **Vijay-Āniruddhapurī**. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The *Dūtaka* was *Śrīvallabha* **Bappa** and the scribe the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* **Dēvadinna**.[1] The grant was written by the order of a *Mahābalādhikṛita* whose name is imperfectly written here, but who was probably identical with the illustrious **Vāsava** mentioned with the same title in the Kāsārē grant. We learn from lines 38-39 that the scribe, **Dēvadinna**, was his younger brother.

The **date** of the grant is expressed in words as **the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādrapada in the year** 406 of an unspecified era. Like the date of the Kāsārē plates, this date also must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year[2] 406, to the 10th August 656 A.C. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

Of the **place-names** in the present grant **Trēyaṇṇa** was identified by Dr. Bühler with the village Tēn near Bārḍoli in the Surat District of Gujarat. It is evidently identical with Trēnna which is mentioned as the headquarters of an *āhāra* in the Bagumrā plates[3] of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa branch and with Tēnna mentioned in the Bagumrā plates (second set)[4] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Indra III. In the latter grant the place is said to be situated near Kammaṇijja in the Lāṭa country and was bounded on the east by Vāraḍapallikā. This description completely agrees with the situation of Tēn which is only about 15 miles south-east of Kāmrēj, the modern representative of Kammaṇijja and lies only about a mile to the west of Bārḍōli, the ancient Vāraḍapallikā. **Balisa**, the village granted in the present plates, is plainly identical with Valīśā or Balīśā which is mentioned as defining the western boundary of the village Tēnna in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III. It can be identified with the modern Wanēsa which lies about two miles south-west[5] of Tēn. **Vijay-Āniruddhapurī** cannot be identified, but it must have been situated not very far from Tēn. It is mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates[6] of Vyāghrasēna and was probably the capital of the Traikūṭakas.

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[1] He is the writer of the Kāsārē plates (No. 25, above). Both Vāsava and Dēvadinna, again, figure in another grant of Allaśakti found in Khandesh (*N.I.A.*, Vol. I, p. 749).

[2] If the year was current, the date of the grant would correspond to the 22nd August 655 A. C.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

[5] The identification was suggested by Dr. Bühler who pointed out that 'the change of *la* to *na* is very common in Gujarāti, *e.g.*, in *nabān* for *labān*.' Wanēsa is not, however, to the south-east of Tēn as stated by Bühler.

[6] Above, No. 9; see p. 27.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] प्रथमदिक्सरसीप्रिथु[3]पंकजं गगनवारिधिविद्रुमपल्लवं(वम्) [।*] त्रिदश[रक्त]-जपाकुसुमं नवं

2 दिशतु वो विजयं रविमंडलं[लम्][4] ॥ [१॥*] स्वस्ति [।*] मेरुमहीधरविजर[5]स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसि-

3 तमहति यशसि[6] सैन्द्रकराजा[7]मन्वये नैकशानु(तु)दन्तगजघ[टा]टोपसमर[8]सङ्घट्ट-

4 जयविजयी विजिताशेषरिपुगण: स्वभुजबलविक्रमाक्रान्तमहीमंडल: प्रणताशे-

5 षसामन्तशिरोमुकु[ट*]निघृष्टपदपंकज: नयविनयसत्यशौचाचारदमदयादानशा-

6 [क्षि]ण्यश्रीसंपदुपेतो नरपति: श्रीमद्भानु(नु)शक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो(त:) शरदम-

7 लशशाङ्कमंडलामलयशस:[9] सवितारमिवोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमंडलं[10] च कल्पद्रु-

8 ममि[11]वाभिवाञ्छिताशेषजनोपभुज्यम(मा)नविभवो जनार्दनमिवापह्रितमशेषख[ल]-

9 राज्य[12] परचक्रानुरक्तलक्ष्मीक: श्रीमनरपति:[13] आदित्यशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात[:*]

10 श्रीमा[न्द]क्षिण[गुरु]बाहुदंड: प्रिथिवी[14]पालनक्षमो व्यपगतसजलजल[15]जलधर-

11 पटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोविसा(ता)नलंघिताम्भोधि य[16] पर

12 परमगम्भीरो दिवद्विजाततवजनबंधवापभुज्यमनविभवो[17] भवसूनुरिवाप्र-

13 तिहत[ग]ति:[18] शक्ति[19]रिवोपात्तराज्य: समदद्विरदवरसलीलगतिरर्जुन इवाशेषसं-

14 ग्रामविजयी अनवरतविक्रमात्साहृताक्तपपन:[20] काम इव समंदन[21]युवतिजा(ज)न-

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[1] From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Bühler's article *in Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff., and ink impressions supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read -पृथु-.

[4] Metre: *Drutavilambita.*

[5] Read -शिखर- as in the Mundkhēḍē plates of Jayaśakti published in the *Prabhāta*, Vol. I, No. 12, p. 1 ff.

[6] Read विकसितयशसि महति as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

[7] Read सेन्द्रकराजान-।.

[8] Bühler read समद and remarked, "The connection of समद 'furious' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *gaja.*" But the correct reading is *samara* as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

[9] The same reading occurs in the Mundkhēḍē plates. Read –मलयशा:.

[10] Read सवितेवोदयवाननुरक्तमंडलश्च.

[11] Read कल्पद्रुम इवा–.

[12] Read जनार्दन इवापहृताशेषखलिराज्य:.

[13] Read श्रीमन्नर-.

[14] Read दक्षिणगुरुबाहुदण्डपृथिवी-.

[15] The *aksharas* जल are unnecessarily repeated.

[16] The engraver wanted to incise -लंघिताम्भोधि: स्थिया, but omitted the धि: by mistake and unnecessarily repeated the *aksharas* पर. In the corresponding passage, the Mundkhēḍē plates have लंघिताम्भोधिपरापर: (पारावार: ?).

[17] Read देवद्विजातिस्वजनबान्धवोपभुज्यमानविभवो as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

[18] Bühler read इव प्रतिहतारातिः, but the *akshara* वा in इवा is clear in his lithograph and the letter that follows *vā* is certainly *ga*, as *r* ends in a serif in the present record. The Mundkhēḍē plates have भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहतशक्ति: in the description of Ādityaśakti.

[19] Read शक्ति-.

[20] Read -विक्रमोत्साहपर्जितसंपत्:.

[21] Bühler reads समान–, but our reading is clear in his lithograph.

15 नयनन(नं)दनः श्रीमप्रीथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्तिः[1] सर्व्वानेव यथा स(सं)बध्यमा-
16 नका[न्*] राजराजस्थानीयचोरा(रो)द्धरणिकदांडपाशिकदूतगमगमिक[2]भटच(चा)टसि(से)-
17 वकादी[न्*] ब्राह्मणोत्तरां वणिग्दनपदामन्यांश्च[3] विषय [प*]तिराष्ट्रग्रामकू(कू)-
18 ट[टा] युक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादीमनयुत्यस्तु[4] वो विदित(तं) मय(या)
19 परलोकावेक्षत्वम(मं)गीक्रि(कृ)त्य

Second Plate

20 मह[त्फ]लं[5] [च] श्रुत्वा दतः[6] त्रेयण्णाहारांतर्गतविषये[7] बलिसग्रामो
21 बलिचरुवैश्ववदेयाग्नी(ग्नि)होत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं(र्त्थं) मातापित्र(त्रो)रात्मनश्च पु-
22 ण्ययशोवि(वृ)द्धये आच(चं)द्रार्क्ता(र्क्का)र्ण्णवक्षितिस्थिति[8]समकालीनः पुत्रपो(पौ)त्रान्वयक-
म(मो)-
23 पभोग्यः सभूतवातप्रत्ययोपरिकरः[9] सर्व्वादानदित्यविष्टिप्र(प्रा)तिभेदिकापरिहीनः(णः)[10]
24 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच(चा)टभटप्रवेश्य[:*] सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकरः[11] भाद्रपदपौर्ण्णम[मा]स्यां विज-
25 यानिरुद्धपुरीवास्तव्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)सनेयम[मा]ध्यंदिनसब्रह्मचारिणे बप्पस्वामि-
26 न(ने) दीक्षितस्यित्ये[12] उदकातिसर्ग्गेण प्रति[13]प्रतिपादितः [।*] यतोस्मद्वशजे[14]रन्यैर्व्वा-
27 गाम(मि)न्नि(नृ)पतिभिर्व्वलव(वे)णुकदलीसारं संसारं जलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधार्य्य
28 शिरीषकुसुमसद्रिशायंपा[15] च यौवन(नं) गिरिनदीसलिलगत्वराणि चैश्वर्य्य [र्य्या]णि प्रबस(ल)-
29 पवमाहताश्वत्थपत्रचंचलां च रजःश्रीरित्यय[16]माकलय्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव:(व्यः)
30 प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानपटलावृत[17]मतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं व(वा)नुमोदेत
31 स पंचभिर्म्महा[हा]प[पा]तकैः सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च[18] [भग]वता [पारा]शर्य्येण वे-
32 दव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्का(क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[:*]
33 तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)[19] ॥ [२॥*] विंध्याटवीषु(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] क्रि-
(कृ)ष्णा[हयो हि] जायन्ते भूमिद(दा)-

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[1] Read श्रीमत्पृथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भाल्ल-.

[2] Read -गमागमिक-.

[3] Read ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्जानपदानन्यांश्च.

[4] Read -दीननुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

[5] Dr. Bühler reads महार्थं व(च), but महत्फलं is the correct reading which occurs also in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

[6] Read ततः. In the Mundkhēḍē plates Mr. Chandorkar read शुद्ध ततः which also may be श्रुत्वा ततः.

[7] The name of the *vishaya* is inadvertently omitted here. Perhaps the intended reading is त्रेयण्णाहारविषयांतर्गत-.

[8] Read -स्थिति-.

[9] Read -प्रत्यायः- and delete परिकरः, as सपरिकरः occurs in the next line.

[10] In the corresponding passage of Gurjara grants, (*e. g.*, No. 16, l. 34, above), the expressions used are सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः.

[11] Read सोपरिकरः.

[12] Read दीक्षिताय, or perhaps दीक्षितस्थित्यै.

[13] Delete प्रति.

[14] Read -स्मद्वंशजै-.

[15] Read -कुसुमसदृशापायं.

[16] Read -चंचला च राज्यश्रीरितीद-.

[17] Read -वृतमति-.

[18] Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

[19] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh*.

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36—778'51.

ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.

34 [सं हरे*] ति[1] से ।।[३।।*] षष्टिं वर्ष (र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चा[नुमन्ता*] च तान्येव नरक(के)

35 वसे[त् ।।४।। स्वदत्तां पर*]दत्ता(त्तां) वं(वा) यनाद्रक्ष[2] युधिष्टि(ष्ठि)र (।*) मही(हीं) महिमतां [श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो*] नुपालनं(नम्) ।। [५।।*]

36 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धम्मार्त्थय[श*]स्कराणि [।*] नि[र्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति*]मानि तानि को

37 नाम [साधु]: पुनराददीत[3] ।। [६।।*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडुत्तरे [भाद्रपदशुद्ध]पञ्चदश्या-(श्यां)

38 दूतकोत्र श्रीवल्लभव[प्प]: [।*] महाबलाधिकि(कृ)तमासमादेशाम[4] लिखितमिदं तस्यैवानु-

39 [जे]न स(सं)धी(धि)विग्रहाधिकृ(कृ)तदेवदिन्नेनेति ।।

TRANSLATION

Success!

(Verse 1) May the orb of the sun, the large lotus of the lake of the first (*i.e. eastern*) quarter, the coral leaf of the ocean of the firmament, the fresh jasmine flower of the gods, grant you victory!

(Line 2) Hail! In the great lineage of the **Sēndraka** kings, which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (*and*) whose fame has become expanded, (*there was*) the illustrious **Bhānuśakti**, the lord of men, who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all feudatories who bowed to him; who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, character, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, courteousness and excellent fortune.

(L. 6) His son (*was*) **Ādityaśakti**, the illustrious lord of men, who meditated on his feet; whose glory was spotless like the orb of the clear autumnal moon; who, being possessed of prosperity and having (*his*) kingdom devoted to him, resembled the sun which (*also*) rises and has a red orb; who, with his wealth desired and enjoyed by all people, was like the wish-fulfilling tree; who took away the kingdoms of all powerful (*kings*) as Janārdana[5] took away the entire kingdom of Bali; and whose fortune was fond of the enemies' kingdoms.[6]

(L. 9) His son, the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha* **Allaśakti**,—who meditates on his feet; who is glorious (*and*) is capable of protecting the earth with his staff-like right arm; whose canopy of glory, which is whiter than the rays of the autumnal moon (*shining*) in

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[1] The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in rectangular brackets in this and the following lines have been almost completely damaged by rust.

[2] Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[4] Perhaps like the scribe, this officer also was the same as in the Kāsārē plates. If so, the reading should be -मासवसमादेशात्.

[5] *I.e.*, Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation. There is a play on the word *bali* meaning (1) 'a powerful prince' and (2) 'Bali, the king of demons'.

[6] This means, as Bühler has suggested, that 'his Fortune was not contented with his empire, desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them'.

the sky from which water-laden clouds have disappeared, has stretched beyond the ocean; who is extremely deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmaṇas, friends and relatives; who, like the son of Bhava,[1] has his progress unchecked; who, like Sakti,[2] has obtained a kingdom, whose gait is graceful like that of a choice rutting elephant; who, like Arjuna, has obtained victory in all battles; who is endowed with unfailing prowess, energy, and might; who, like Cupid, delights the eyes of love-lorn ladies[3],—addresses the (*following*) order to all the kings, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Chaurōddharaṇikas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamikas*, *bhaṭas*, *chāṭas*, servants and so forth, merchants and residents of the Janapada, the foremost of whom are Brāhmaṇas, and others, heads of *vishayas*, those of *rāshṭras* and villages, *Ayuktakas*, *Mahattaras*, officials and others, according as it might concern them[4]:—

(L. 18) "Be it known to you that having regard to the other world and having heard of the great reward (*of gifts of land*), I have granted, **on the full moon day of Bhādrapada** with a libation of water, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, the village **Balisa** situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Trēyaṇṇa**,—together with duties on commodities manufactured or imported (*into the village*), with *udraṅga*, with *uparikara*, being exempt from all dues, gifts, forced labour, and special rights; which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the *dikshita* Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurvēda) and a resident of the victorious **Aniruddhapurī**, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, future kings whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds, bamboos and plantain trees (*possess sap*), and that life is (*evanascent*) like a water-bubble, and having considered that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīsha* flower, that prosperity slips away like water of a mountain stream, and that fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an Aśvattha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! But he who with his mind shrouded by the veil of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with minor sins!"

(L. 31) And the holy Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, the redactor of the Vēdas, has said—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 37) In the **year four hundred increased by six**, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada**. The *Dūtaka* for this (*charter*) is *Śrīvallabha* **Bappa**. By the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita* [**Vāsava**][5] this (*charter*) has been written by his own younger brother, the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* **Dēvadinna.**

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[1] *I. e.*, Kārttikēya.

[2] The Purāṇas mention Śakti as a son of Vasishṭha by his wife Arundhatī, but there is no particular legend about his having obtained a kingdom. If the reading is *śakty=aiv-ōpāttarājyaḥ*, it would mean 'who obtained his kingdom only by his prowess'.

[3] Bühler's rendering 'who, like Cupid, is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans' is incorrect. It was based on the mislection *samāna* for *sa-madana*.

[4] Bühler's translation 'however they may be connected with him' does not appear to be correct. The royal order is addressed to all who may have anything to do with the donated village.

[5] See above, p. 118, n. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

No. 27; PLATE XX

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

THESE plates were found at Navsāri, the headquarters of the Navsāri division of the Surat District, in the Bombay State. They were first edited, with a lithograph and a translation, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently published, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 229 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-lithograph.

Dr. Fleet has given the following description of the plates :—

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about 8⅝" long by 5" broad at the ends, and 4⅞" in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about $\frac{5}{16}$" thick and 1⅛" in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about 1⅛" in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, 5⅛ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 5⅛ oz.[1]"

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs at the top of the letters. *V* and *dh* appear closely similar in some places, compare, *e.g.*, *v* in *vikrama*, l. 6 with *dh* in *yudhi-* in the same line; *b* is rectangular in *bala-*, l. 5 and roundish in *brahmachāri*, l. 15. A final consonant is indicated by a slanting stroke or a curve at the top, see *phalam*, l. 20. The sign of the *jihvā mūlīya* occurs in l. 12 and the numerical symbols for 400, 20 and 1 in l. 21.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and one benedictive verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The inscription is very carelessly written. Not only have rules of *sandhi* been frequently neglected, but letters and even words have in some places been omitted, as will be seen from the transcribed text. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for *ṛi* as in *Mātristhavira*, l. 15, and of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* in *viṅśaty-*, l. 21.

The plates were issued from Navasārikā by the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman of the Chālukya family.[2] The Chālukyas, we are told, were sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hāritī and belonged to the Mānavya *gōtra*. They are said to have been brought up by the seven Divine Mothers, to have attained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya and to have obtained the boar ensign. About Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha we are told that his prosperity

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 230.

[2] As in the following grant (No. 28), the dynastic name occurs here as *Chalikya*.

was increased by his elder brother, the illustrious **Vikramāditya** who bore the *birudas* **Satyāśraya** and **Pṛithivīvallabha** and the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. Vikramāditya is further described as the conqueror of the **Pallavas** and as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Nāgavardhana** and was the son of the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha**. Vikramāditya and his father Pulakeśivallabha are plainly identical with Vikramāditya I and Pulakeśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty. The former was the suzerain of Dharāśraya–Jayasiṁha whom he placed in charge of South Gujarat. As for Nāgavardhana, Mr. A.M.T. Jackson thought that he was a successor of Pulakeśin II, and ruled in the period between 640 A.C. and 669-70 A.C. Pandit Bhagvanlal, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Fleet's opinion that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or *guru*.[1] The use of *paramamāhēśvara* in addition to *Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudhyāta* as an epithet of Vikramāditya indicates that Nāgavardhana was probably the *guru*[2] of Vikramāditya I.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of the village **Āsaṭṭi** in the **Kaṇhavala** *āhāra* of the **Bāhirikā** *vishaya*. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bhōgikkasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a student of the Adhvarayu (vēda)[3] who was residing at Navasārikā. The charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious Dhanañjaya.

The date of the grant is given both in words and numerical symbols as **the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 421** of an unspecified era. The grant was evidently made during the reign of Vikramāditya I, who is the last king mentioned in it with imperial titles and who flourished from about 654 A.C. to 680 A.C.[4] Its date must, therefore, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year[5] 429, to the 28th January 671 A.C. It does not admit of verification, but it clearly falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Navasārikā** is clearly Navsāri where the plates were found. I identify **Kaṇhavala**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which the donated village was situated, with Kaṇhi, 6 miles south of Bārḍōli. The village **Āsaṭṭigrāma** was identified by Dr. Bühler with Astgām[6] which lies only about 10 m. south-west of Kaṇhi. The **Bāhirikā** *vishaya* of which Kaṇhavala *āhāra* was a subdivision means the Outer District. It was probably so called with reference to the neighbouring one, *viz.*, Antarmaṇḍalī *vishaya* mentioned in the Pārḍi plates of Vyāghrasēna, which bordered it on the east. To the north of Kaṇhavala *āhāra* lay the Trēyaṇṇa *āhāra*, mentioned in the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti[7] and the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva[8] which was probably another sub-division of the Bāhirikā *vishaya*.

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 111-2.

[2] Similarly in his Nāsik plates (below, No. 28, line 12) Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman is described as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārita. The latter was evidently his *guru*.

[3] *I. e.*, the Yajurvēda.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 24.

[5] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 9th January 670 A.C.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to the identification on the ground that "in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt 'Ashtgām,' which suggests Ashṭagrāma, not Āsaṭṭigrāma". *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 231, n. 4. I find the name as Astgām in the Degree Map No. 46 H. Besides, the fact that Astgām is situated not far from Kaṇhi (ancient Kaṇhavala), and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood, supports the identification proposed by Bühler.

[7] Above, No 26.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्ण[व*]म् [।*] दक्षिणोन्न-
तद(दं)ष्ट्राग्रवि-

2 शा(श्रा)न्तभुवन(नं) वपु:[3] (॥१॥*) श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूय[मान*]मानव्यसगोत्रा-
णाम्(णां)

3 हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[रभि*]वर्द्धितास[4] कार्त्तिकेयप-

4 रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण[*]प्रसादसमासादितवराहल-

5 ञ्छनिक्षणे रक्षणे वशीकृताशेष[5]महीभृतां चलिक्यानामान्वये[6] निजभुजबलपराजिता-

6 खिलरिपुमहिपालसमेतिविरामयुधिष्ठोपमाव[7] सत्यविक्रम[:*] श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभ: [।*] तस्य

7 पुत्र: परममाहेश्वरमातापितृश्रीनागवर्द्धनपादानुद्ध्यातश्रीविक्रमादित्यसत्य(स्या)-

8 श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहेश्वरभट्टारकेन[8] अनिवारितपौरुषा-

9 क्रा[9]पल्लवान्वयेन ज्यायसा भ्रात्रा समवर्द्धितविभूतिर्वा(र्द्ध)राज्यश्रीजयसिंह-

10 वर्म्म(र्म्मा) [।*] तस्य पुत्र: शरदमलसकलशशधरमरीचिमालाविताननिशुद्धकीर्त्तिपताका-

Second Plate

11 विभासितसमन्तदिगतराल:[10] प्रजाता रोजराज[11] [इ*]व क[प*]लावण्यसौ-

12 भाग्यसम्पन्नश्कामदेव [इव*] सकलकलाप्रवि(वी)ण: पौरुषवान्विद्याधरचक्र-

13 वर्त्तिव[12] श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराज(जो) नवसारिकामधिवसत्(न्) नवसारि-

14 काव(वा)स्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रयोमिस्वामिन:[13] पुत्र: स्वा(सा)मन्तस्वामी । तस्य पुत्रा-

15 य[14] मात्रि[15]स्थविर[:*] तस्यानुजभ्राता[16] किक्कस्वामिन:[17] भोगिक्कस्वामिने अध्वर्यु[स]ब्रह्म-
चारि-

16 णे वाहिरिका[18]विषयान्तर्गतकण्हवलाहारविषये[19] आसट्टिग्रामं सोद्रङ्गं सप-

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[1] From the photo-lithographs facing p. 232 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Metre: *Anushtubh*.

[4] Read -वर्द्धितानां.

[5] Read -वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेष- as in No. 28, below p. 129.

[6] Read -मन्वये.

[7] Read -रिपुर्महीपालसमिति रामयुधिष्ठिरोपमान:.

[8] Read -भट्टारकेण.

[9] Read -क्रान्त-.

[10] Read -समस्तदिगन्तराल:.

[11] Read राजराज.

[12] Read -चक्रवर्त्तीव.

[13] Both Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Hultzsch read -सगोत्रगामिस्वामिन:, but I think the stroke connected with य properly belongs to गा, though owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver it is not connected with it.

[14] Read पुत्र:. Dr. Hultzsch however construes this with भोगिक्कस्वामिने which occurs later on.

[15] Read मातृ-.

[16] Read तस्यानुजभ्रातु:.

[17] Some word like पुत्राय is omitted here. Dr. Hultzsch proposes to supply शिष्याय.

[18] Pandit Bhagvanlal read the name as *Thâharikâ*, but in several other records we meet the round *h* as here.

[19] The second विषये seems to be superfluous. Read कण्हवलाहारे. Pandit Bhagwanlal read the name as कण्हवलाहार-, but the subscript letter in the second *akshara* is exactly like the fifth *akshara* in this expression which is undoubtedly हा.

17 रिकरं उदकोत्सर्गपूर्व्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये दत्तवान् [।*]

18 वाताहृतदीपशिखाचञ्चला(लां) लक्षी(क्ष्मी)मनुस्मृत्य सर्व्वैरागामिनृपतिभि धर्म्मदायो[1]–

19 नुमन्तव्य: [।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू–

20 मि[:*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[2] [॥२॥*] माख(घ)शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां लिखितमिदं सान्धिविग्रह–
(हि)कश्रीधन(नं)जयेन

21 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविङ्शत्यधिके[3] ४०० २० [१][4] [॥*] सिद्धम्[5][।*]

Seal

श्रीआश्रय [: ।*][6]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean, and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk.

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalikyas,**—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up[7] by the Seven Mothers,[8] who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)** who possessed unfailing prowess; who, by the might of his arms, vanquished all his foes; and who, in the assembly of kings, could be compared to Rāma and Yudhishṭhira.

(L. 7) His son (*is*) **Dharāśraya,** the illustrious **Jayasiṁha,** whose prosperity has been augmented by his elder brother, the *Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka,* the illustrious **Vikramāditya Satyāśraya,** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father who were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and (*on those of*) the holy **Nāgavardhana,** and who has overcome the family of the Pallavas by his unchecked prowess.

(L. 10) His son, **Śryāśraya,** the illustrious **Śīlāditya,** the crown-prince, who has brightened the regions between all quarters by the banners of his glory, white like the spreading multitude of rays of the spotless full moon; who is liberal like Kubēra, endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness like the god of love, proficient in all arts and valorous like the Emperor of the Vidyādharas;[9]—(*he*) residing at **Navasārikā,**

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[1] Read –नृपतिभिर्धर्म्मदायो. Dr. Hultzsch proposed to read नृपतिभिरयमस्मद्दायो as in line 29 of the Surat plates (No. 29), but this is unnecessary.

[2] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Read एकविंशत्यधिके.

[4] There are faint traces of the unit visible in the photo-lithograph.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read श्र्याश्रय:.

[7] *I. e.* made prosperous.

[8] The seven divine mothers are named as Brāhmī, Māheshvarī, Kaumārī, Vaisṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. Some enumerate eight divine mothers, adding Charchikā or Kālasaṅkarshiṇī to the above list. See Kshirāsvamin's and Bhānuji Dīkshita's commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I, 1, 35. Halāyudha says they are only seven in number.

[9] *I.e.,* Naravāhanadatta, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 513.

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

Seal

i.

2 4 6 8 10

ii.

12 14 16 18 20

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Rs. No. 3077 E'36-778'51.

has granted, with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and of himself, the village Âsaṭṭi in the Kaṇhavala *āhāra*[1] which is situated in the Bāhirikā *vishaya*, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, to Bhōgikkasvāmin, (*the son*) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātṛisthavira (*who is*) the son of Sāmantasvāmin, (*who is himself*) the son of Gōmisvāmin[2] of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Adhvaryu (*Vēda*) and a resident of Navasārikā.

(L. 18) (*This*) religious gift should be consented to by all future kings, bearing in mind that wealth is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp struck by wind.

(*Here follows a benedictive verse*).

(L. 20) This (*charter*) has been written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious Dhanañjaya, on the thirteenth (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one, (*in figures*) 400 (*and*) 20 (*and*) 1. Success!

Seal

Śryāśraya

No. 28; Plate XXI

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

These plates were discovered at Nāsik the head-quarters of the Nāsik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to light by Rao Saheb G. S. *alias* Babasaheb Deshpande of Poona, who made them over to the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. They have been published before, with lithographs, by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I (1930), pp. 8ff. I am grateful to the authorities of the Maṇḍala for permission to include them in this volume. I edit them here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The copper-plates are two in number, each measuring 8" broad, 4.7" high and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring which passes through a hole .4" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. This ring has a circular seal with the legend *Srī-Dharāśraya* in relief. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. A few *aksharas* have, however, been damaged by verdigris in lines 10-14 and 25-29, and some more have been completely lost by the breaking away of a small piece in the upper right corner of the first plate and the perforation of a large hole in lines 2-4. Fortunately, nothing of historical interest has been lost. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fifteen are inscribed on the first, and the remaining fourteen on the second plate. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Âbhōṇa and other grants of the Early Kalachuris. The record has been carelessly written, the rules of *sandhi* and the distinction of long and short vowels not being properly observed in several places. Some *aksharas* have, again, been irregularly or imperfectly formed, see, *e.g.*, *āmindyāy-* for *āchchhindyād-* in l. 21, and *-la* (?)-*tudiv-* for *-vaiśvadēv-* in l. 17. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke at the top in *nasīt*, l. 24. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in l. 21, and the numerical symbols for 400, 30, 10 and 6 in l. 28.

[1] See above, p. 125, n. 19.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, n. 13.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for a verse in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and three benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r*, the use of the dental for the lingual sibilant in *varsa-*, l. 23, and that of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* before *h* in *Jayasiṅha-*, l. 13.

The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, which generally occurs in the beginning of the grants of the **Early Chālukyas**.[1] This is followed by a description of the Chālukya family as in the preceding grant (No. 27). The first historical member of this family mentioned here is **Kīrtivarman (I)**. He bore the *biruda* **Pṛithivīvallabha** and the Imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and had his body sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His dear son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, who obtained the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of Uttarāpatha (North India). His son **Jayasiṁhavarman** granted the present plates. He is said to have obtained victory in several battles with four-membered armies[2] and to have vanquished and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows, the entire army of **Vajjaḍa** in the country between the **Mahī** and the **Narmadā**. He was a devotee of a saintly person whose name has been partially lost in line 11. The ending *-śiva* which can still be read shows that he was an ascetic probably of the Saiva, as distinguished from the Pāśupata, sect. He is described as the author of a (Sanskrit) play entitled *Harapārvatīya*. As its name signifies, the play treated of some incident in the life of Siva and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. Jayasiṁha is further said to have been meditating on the feet of his father, mother and the illustrious **Anivārita**, who was probably his *guru*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayasiṁha, of the village **Ḍhōṇḍhaka** in the **Nāsikya** *vishaya* on the occasion of the **Vishuva** or vernal equinox which fell on the **tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra**. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikrama, the son of Prītiśarman, who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya *śākhā*. The record was written by Māna (?), the son of the *Bhōgika* Nāgabhaṭa.

The inscription contains a **date** in line 28, which has not been noticed before. It is expressed in numerical symbols only, as **the 10th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436** of an unspecified era. As Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, who made the present grant, was a son of Pulakeśin II who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.C., this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 436, to the 21st March 685 A.C., but as no week-day or *nakshatra* is mentioned with it, it does not admit of verification. But the statement in line 19 that the grant was made on the occasion of the vernal equinox which fell on the same date, *i.e.*, on the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra, is important; for it gives us some details for verification. This *tithi* in the current Kalachuri year 436 *ended* 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 21st March 685 A.C.[3]; but the Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day, *i.e.*, the

[1] The dynastic name occurs here as *Chalikya*. See also, above, No. 27.

[2] See below, p. 131, n. 1.

[3] This is according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., which suits other verifiable early dates of the era. In the expired year 436, the saṅkrānti occurred 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 686 A.C., but the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra had ended ten days before, 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 10th March 686 A. C.

20th March. The saṅkrānti thus did not take place during the *tithi* of the date, but such slight discrepancies in regard to the moment of saṅkrāntis are not infrequently met with. Besides, the auspicious moment (*puṇya-kāla*) of the Mēsha saṅkrānti extends to as many as fifteen *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti[1]. It would seem, therefore, that though the saṅkrānti took place a little before noon of the 20th March 685 A.C., the gift was made in the evening when the tenth *tithi* was current[2]. Hence the latter is coupled with the saṅkrānti in the present grant[3].

Of the geographical names occurring here, the rivers Mahī and Narmadā are too well-known to need identification. Nāsikya is plainly identical with Nasik, the well-known holy place in the Bombay State. Ḍhōṇḍhaka, the donated village, is, as already pointed out by Mr. Khare, clearly identical with Dhōṇḍēgāon, 12 miles north by west of Nasik.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णा(ष्णो)र्व्वा(र्व्वा)राहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं(वम्) [।*] द[क्षि]- णोन्नतदंष्ट्रा[ग्र][विश्रा*]-

2 न्तभुवनं वपु:[6] [॥१॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसा(सं)स्तूय[मानमा]न[7]व्य[सगोत्राणां*]

3 हारि(री)तीपुत्राणा(णां) सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा[तृ][भिरभि*]वर्द्धितानां का[र्त्तिके]-

4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराण(णां) भगव[न्नारा*]यणप्रसादसमा[सा]-

5 दित[वा]राहलांस(छ)नेक्षणस(क्ष)णवशि(शी)क(कृ)ताशेषमहीभृ[तां] च[लि]क्यना[8] कुलमल- (लं)क-

6 रिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृय(थ)स्नानपवित्रिक्रित[9]गात्रस्य पृथिवि(वी)वल्लभमहाराजाधिरा-

7 जपरमेश्वरश्रि(श्री)किर्त्तिवर्म्मराजस्य[10] प्रियात्म(त्म)जा(ज) उत्तराप[था]धिपतिश्रि(श्री)हर्ष- वद्ध(र्द्ध)नपरा-

8 जयोपल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरापरनामध(धे)य[:*] सा(स)त्याश्रया(य)श्रि(श्री)पुलकेशिवल्लभमहा- राजस्त-

9 त्सु[तोने]कचातुर्द्दन्तयुद्धलब्धविजयो महि(ही)नर्म्मदान्तरालधवलफलगि(शि)लि(ली)मु-

10 खजालविजितवि[नि]हतवज्जड[11]समस्तसैन्या(न्यो) हरपार्व्वति(ती)यनाटककरणवि-

11 ख्यातकवि....[12] शिवभट्ट(ट्टा)रका(क)भिक्षवयर्व्वनमुद्रा[13]विधानमसृणितकरत-

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[1] Cf. मेषे सूर्यसङ्क्रान्तौ प्रागूर्ध्वं च पञ्चदश पञ्चदश घटिका: पुण्यकाल: । See *Dharmasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 160.

[2] It began 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 685 A. C.

[3] For a similar case of a saṅkrānti occurirng before the commencement of the stated *tithi*, see the date of the Bijapur stone inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 115 ff.

[4] From photographs.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] The curve on *na* has been cancelled.

[8] Read चलिक्यानां.

[9] Read -पवित्रीकृत-.

[10] Read -कीर्त्तिवर्म्मराजस्य.

[11] In the photograph before me, this *akshara* appears like *ḍa*, but it is clearly *ḍa* in the lithograph accompanying Mr. Khare's article in *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 8 f.

[12] About four *aksharas* are gone here.

[13] Read शिवभट्टारकभिक्षवेर्व्वर्णनमुद्रा-. The sign of the medial *ā* in *drā* is clear in Mr. Khare's lithograph.

12 लाजु(ञ्ज)लि: परम[ब्रह्म]ण्य:[1] मातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपादानुद्ध्यातो धरा–
13 श्रयश्रि(श्री)जयसिङ्हवर्म्मराज:[2] सा(स)र्व्वानेव विषयपा(प)तिग्रामकूट–
14 महत्तराधिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति[3] [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिश्रा(र्श्रा)सि–
15 क्यविषये ढोण्ढकग्राम: सोद्रङ्ग: सपरिवार:[4] पूर्व्वाघाटनवि–

Second Plate

16 शुद्ध: आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षतस्थति[5]समकालीन: पुत्र[पौ]त्र(त्रा)न्द(न्व)य(यो)प–
17 भोग्य: बलिचरु[ल]तुदेवा[6]ग्निहोत्रक्रियोत्सप(र्प)णाय मातापित्रोरा–
18 त्मन[श्च] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नासिक्यवास्तव्या(व्य)वाजसनेयभरद्वाजस–
19 गो[7]त्राया(य) [प्रि](प्री)तिशर्म्मपुत्रत्रा(त्रि)विक्रमाया(य) [चै]त्रमासशुद्धदशम्यां विषुए(वे) उदक–
20 पूर्व्वं प्रतिपादित: [।*] या(य)तोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभिरयमस्मद्दायो–
21 नुमन्तव्य[श्]पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[8]वृतमतिरामीन्द्यात्[9]–
22 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि[र्म]हापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं[10]
23 च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि(ष्टिं) वर्स(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वाग्गे[11] मोदति भू–
24 मिद: [।*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्यो(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्[12] ॥ [२॥*] विन्ध्याटवि(वी)ष्य–
(ष्व)तोयासु
25 शुष्ककोटरवासि[न]: (।*) कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [३॥*] ब–
26 हुभिर्व्वसुधा [भुक्ता] राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त–
27 स्य तस्य तदा फ[लं](लम्) ॥ [४॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां [द्विजा*]तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रष(क्ष) युधिष्टिर [।*] महीं महिम–
28 ता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छ्रे]योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*] सं ४०० ३०[13] ६ [चै] शु १० ॥ लिखितमिदं न(ना)–
29 गभट [भोगिक] पुत्रमा [ने?] नेति ॥

Seal

श्र(श्री)[ध]राश्रय [: ।*][14]

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[1] Read परमब्रह्मण्यो.

[2] Read -श्रीजयसिंहवर्म्मराज:.

[3] Read -महत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति.

[4] Usually the reading is सोपरिकर:.

[5] Read –क्षितिस्थिति-.

[6] Read –वैश्वदेवा– as in other plates of the time.

[7] There is a redundant *visarga* after गो.

[8] There is a redundant dot after ला.

[9] Read –राच्छिन्द्यादा–.

[10] Read –स्स्यादिति। उक्तं.

[11] Read स्वर्गे.

[12] Metre of verses 2-5: *Anushtubh*.

[13] This symbol is slightly different from the usual one for 30. It occurs exactly in this form on Kshatrapa coins. See the first and fifth symbols for 30 in Plate LXVI, *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14.

[14] Mr. Khare says that there are two lines on the seal, the second of which contains the *akshara śrī*, but I fail to see clear traces of any *aksharas* in that line. On the other hand, the first *akshara* of the legend appears to be an imperfectly preserved *śrī*, its upper curve denoting medial *ī* being now damaged. The following *akshara dha* is also partly mutilated by a depression which has since been formed in its place. It may be noted that the legend on the seal of the Surat plates (No. 29, below) of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śīlāditya also is *Śrī-Dharāśraya*.

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

Seal

i.

ii.

(From Photographs).

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'81

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) (*There was*) the *Mahārāja* **Satyāśraya**, the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, who obtained the other title of *Paramēśvara* by vanquishing the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of **Uttarāpatha** ; who was the dear son of the *Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Kīrtivarmarāja**, who had his body sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* (*bath*) in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice ; who adorned the family of the illustrious **Chalikyas** who are of the Mānavya *gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world ; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of Hārīti ; who were brought up by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds ; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya ; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa.

(L. 9) His son, **Dharāśraya**, the illustrious **Jayasiṁhavarmarāja**,—who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother, father and the illustrious Anivārita ; (*who is*) very pious; who has obtained victory in several battles with four-membered[1] armies; who defeated and exterminated with (*his*) bright-tipped arrows the whole army of **Vajjaḍa** in the country between the **Mahī** and the **Narmadā** ; the palms of whose folded hands were softened by performing the *mudrās*[2] for the worship of the religious mendicant *Bhaṭṭāraka* -**śiva**, a poet who has attained celebrity by his composition of the play *Harapārvatīya*,—addresses all heads of the *vishayas* (districts), the headman of the village, *Mahattaras*, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 14) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, We have granted, on (*the occasion of*) the **Vishuva** (vernal equinox) on the **tenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright fortnight of Chaitra**, by previously (*pouring a libation of*) water, the village **Ḍhōṇḍhaka** in the **Nāsikya** *vishaya*, together with the *udraṅga* and (*other*) appurtenances,—which has clear previously (*determined*) boundaries ; which is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth would endure; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons;—to Trivikrama, the son of Pritiśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and Vājasanēya (*śākhā*), who is a resident of **Nāsikya**, for the performance of the (*religious*) rites of *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* (*and*) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore, future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins !"

(L. 22) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 28) The **year 400** (*and*) **30** (*and*) **6**, (*the month*) **Chaitra**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10. Written by Māna (?), the son of the *Bhōgika* Nāgabhaṭa.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

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[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4. In line 3 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti, *chāturdanta* qualifies *gaja* and has, therefore, to be taken to mean 'four-tusked.'

[2] *Mudrā* is a particular position of fingers practised in religious worship.

No. 29; Plate XXII

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 443.

These **copper-plates** were found in the possession of a merchant at Surat, the chief town of the Surat District in the Bombay State. They were published together with the Navsāri plates of Pulakēśirāja[1] by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. His article on them was accompanied by a lithograph and a translation. I edit the inscription here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India through the good offices of the Curator of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, where the plates are now deposited.

'The **plates** are two in number and measure 10½" by 7½". The outer sides are left blank; on the inner sides the lines run breadth-wise as on the Valabhī plates. Two rings, a plain one and one with a seal attached, held the plates together, passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and in the top of the second. The former has been lost, while the latter remains in its proper position. The **seal** has the shape of an inverted cone with a round top, 1½" in diameter....It bears the inscription *Śrī-Dharāśraya*, the name of the donor's father. Below this is the representation of a flower resembling a blown lotus'.[2] To judge from the impressions the plates are in a state of excellent preservation throughout.

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Navsāri plates of the same donor.[3] There are small knobs at the top of letters. The initial *ē* which is open on the left closely resembles *l* which has everywhere a short vertical and is distinguished from it only by the absence of a knob at the top. The forms of the rare initial *ō* in *Osumbhalā*, l. 21, and of the looped *ḍ* in *Sāṇḍilya*, l. 19 are noteworthy. The sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll. 10 and 26, and that of the *upadhmānīya* in ll. 13, 14 and 29. Punctuation is marked by single or double dots, in ll. 1, 23, 36 *etc.*, by a small circle in l. 32 and by the vertical strokes in ll. 1, 18 *etc.* The **numerical symbols** for 400, 40 and 3 occur in l. 36 and those for 10 and 5 in l. 37.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for two verses in the beginning, one in praise of the boar incarnation and the other glorifying the donor's suzerain Vinayāditya, and four benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the formal part of the grant contains in ll. 26-28 several expressions copied *verbatim* or with slight changes from the earlier Sēndraka records,[4] and in ll. 28-29 some more taken from the Kalachuri grants.[5] The record is correctly written almost throughout, solecisms being very few. As instances of the latter, we may notice that the gender of *puṇyē* in l. 25 does not agree with that of the noun *tithau* which it qualifies, and the affix of the comparative is prefixed (and not suffixed) to the adjective *subhaga* in l. 31. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the class-nasal is almost always used in place of the *anusvāra*; the *visarga* after *vikrama* in l. 2 is dropped in accordance with *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 36; the guttural nasal is incorrectly used for *anusvāra* in *Narasiṁha*, l. 2,

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[1] No. 30, below.

[2] *P. V. O. C.*, pp. 211-212.

[3] Above, No. 27.

[4] In place of *nala-vēṇu-kadalī-sāraṁ* in l. 27 of the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti (No. 26, above), the present plates have *kadalī-garbha-sāraṁ*, the following expressions up to *rājya-lakshmīḥ* (a variant for *rājya-śrīḥ*) being the same in both.

[5] These are *śaśi-kara-ruchiraṁ*..*yaśaś=chichīshubhiḥ*. See Nos. 12, 14 and 15 above

-Jayasimha-, l. 14 and *-chatvārimśad-*, l. 36; and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *y* and *r* are doubled in some places, see *Kārmmaṇēyō-*, l. 3, *-anuddhyātō*, l. 11 and *-chakkra-*, l. 15.

The plates were issued by the *Yuvarāja* **Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya** from his victorious camp at **Kusumēśvara** near **Kārmaṇēya.** The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, which generally occurs at the beginning of the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas. The next verse eulogizes **Satyāśrayavallabha,** the illustrious **Vinayāditya.** In the prose portion which follows, we are told that in the family of the Chālukyas[1] there was the *Mahārāja* **Satyāśraya,** the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha,** whose head was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in the *Bahusuvarṇaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, and who obtained the war-standard of the illustrious **Harshavardhana,** the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (North India). His son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya-Satyāśrayavallabha,** who exterminated the family of the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, and conquered the three kingdoms.[2] His son was the illustrious *Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka* **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya.** His paternal uncle was **Dharāśraya,** the illustrious **Jayasimha,** who attained pure fame by his victories in many battles, and who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Yuvarāja* **Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya** who made the present grant.

The first three princes mentioned in ll. 3-12 of the present inscription with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja* are evidently Pulakēśin II, his son and successor, Vikramāditya I, and the son and successor of the latter, Vinayāditya, of the **Early Chālukya Dynasty.** The last of these, who is identical with the Vinayāditya glorified in the second verse in the beginning of this record, was clearly the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha and his son the crown prince Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, when the present grant was made. The title *Yuvarāja* of the latter prince and the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya* on the seal indicate that Jayasimha was then living and Śryāśraya was making the grant on his behalf.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of a field situated on the eastern boundary of the village **Ōsumbhalā** in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Kārmaṇēya** to the Brāhmaṇa, the *dīkshita* Matriśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya and was a religious student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Adhvaryu, *i.e.*, Yajurvēda. In connection with the boundaries of the field is mentioned the **village Allūraka.** The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The **Dūtaka** was the *Balādhikṛita* **Ammagōpa.** The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita* **Chēlla.**

The grant is **dated** in ll. 36-3, both in words and numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth tithi** (*paurṇamāsī*) **of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the year** 443 of an unspecified era. As the known dates of Vinayāditya range from 687 to 695 A.C., the date of the present grant must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired[3] year 443, to the 23rd July 693 A.C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Kārmaṇēya** was identified by Pandit Bhagvanlal[4] with Kamrēj, about 10 m. north-east of Surat. Further, Dr. Bühler has shown[5] that **Ōsumbhalā** is modern Umbhēl, about 7 miles south of Kamrēj, and

[1] The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* in this and the next grant (No. 30).

[2] These were the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms of South India.

[3] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 2nd August 692 A. C.

[4] *P. V. O. C.*, p. 215. *Kammaṇijja*, the Prakrit form of the place-name, occurs in the Bagumrā plates (two sets) of Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198.

Allūraka which bounded it on the east is still called Alurā and lies about 4 miles from Umbhēl. **Kusumēśvara,** which has so far remained unidentified, is probably Kōsmārā, about 6 m. south-west of Kamrēj[1] and 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[3] [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहङ्क्षोभिताण्णवम् । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः[4] ॥ [१॥*]
2 नरसिङ्ह[5]विक्कम स्तुतविमलयशा जगति विजयते वीरः[।*] स्थिरबलविनयादित्यः सत्याश्रयव–
3 ल्लभः श्रीमान्[6] ॥[२॥*] स्वस्ति [।*] काम्मंणेयोपकण्ठकुसुमेश्वरावासितविजयस्कन्धावा– राच्छ्रीमतां स–
4 कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा–
5 तृभिरहरहरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणाम्भगवन्नाराय–
6 णप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेपे(ष)महीभृताञ्चलुक्यानां कु–
7 लमलङ्करिष्णुर्व्वहुसुवर्ण्णकाश्वमेधयागावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतशिरा नृगनहुषययाति–
8 धुन्धुमाराम्बरीषप्रतिमस्सकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनलब्धयुद्धपताकस्सत्याश्रय–
9 श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातोनिवारितवीर्य्यविलङ्घितान्या–
10 लङ्घ्यारिभूपालबलxकाञ्चीपुरीशपल्लवान्वयप्रमाथी परिगृहीतत्रैराज्यराज्यः श्री–
11 विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य पुत्रस्तच्चरणानुद्ध्यातो विनयाद्यसाधारणरा–
12 जगुणालङ्कृतो विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रिथिवी[7]वल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टा–
13 रकस्तस्य पितृव्यस्यानेकसमरविजयसमुद्भूतविशुद्धकीर्त्तेxपरममाहेश्वरस्य धराश्र–
14 यश्रीजयसिङ्ह[8]वर्म्मणxपुत्रस्तच्चरणकमलाराधनपरो नयप्रतापविजृम्भितान्यमहीपा–
15 लचक्रस्सकलकलाप्रवीणो रतिचतुरविलासिनीजनमनोहारिरूपलावण्यसौभाग्यस–
16 मेतो विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तीव श्र्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराजस्सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तविष–
17 यपतिग्रामभोगिकमहत्तरादीन्यथासम्बद्ध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापय–
18 त्यस्तु वस्संविदितम् ॥ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

19 काम्मंणेयचातुर्व्विद्यशालासामान्यशाण्डिल्यसगोत्राध्वर्य्युकाण्वस–
20 ब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनण्णस्वामिपुत्रदीक्षितमातृश्वराय[9] भूमिच्छिद्र–

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[1] This identification may be opposed on the ground that it is not near enough to Kamrēj to suit the statement in the present grant, but we must remember that Tēnna, which is described as situated near Kammaṇijja in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III, is as much as 13 miles distant from it.

[2] From impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[5] Read नरसिंह—.

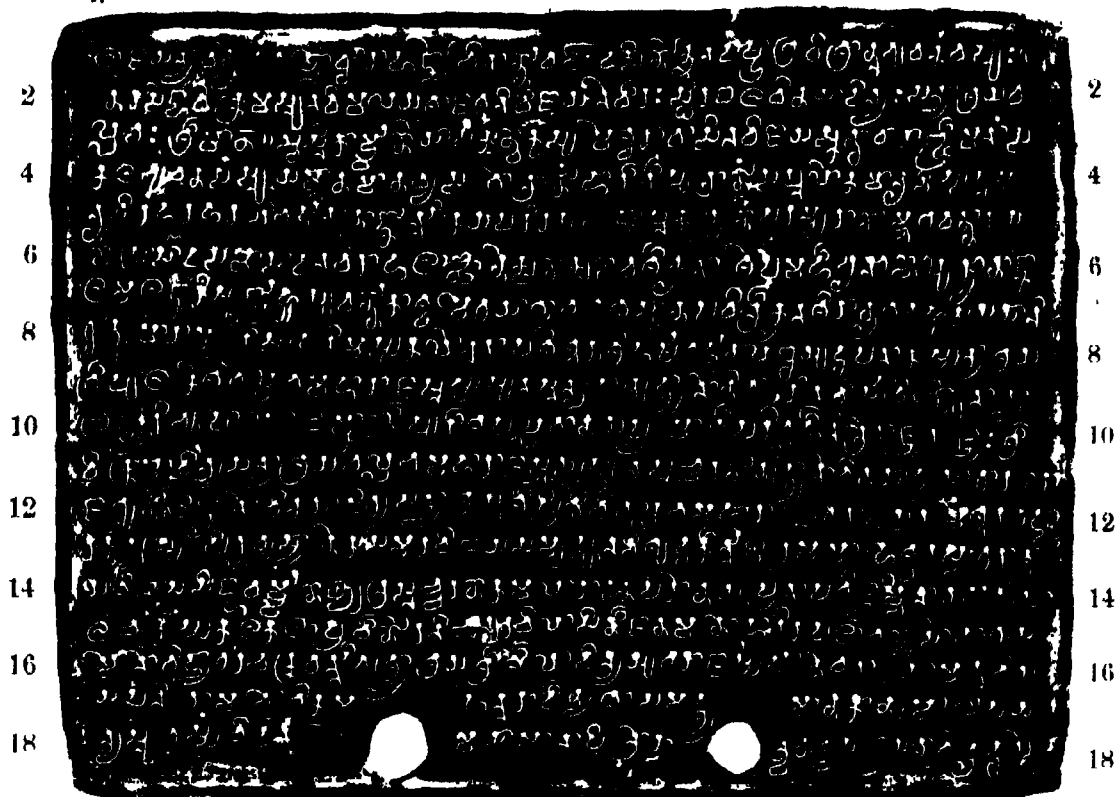
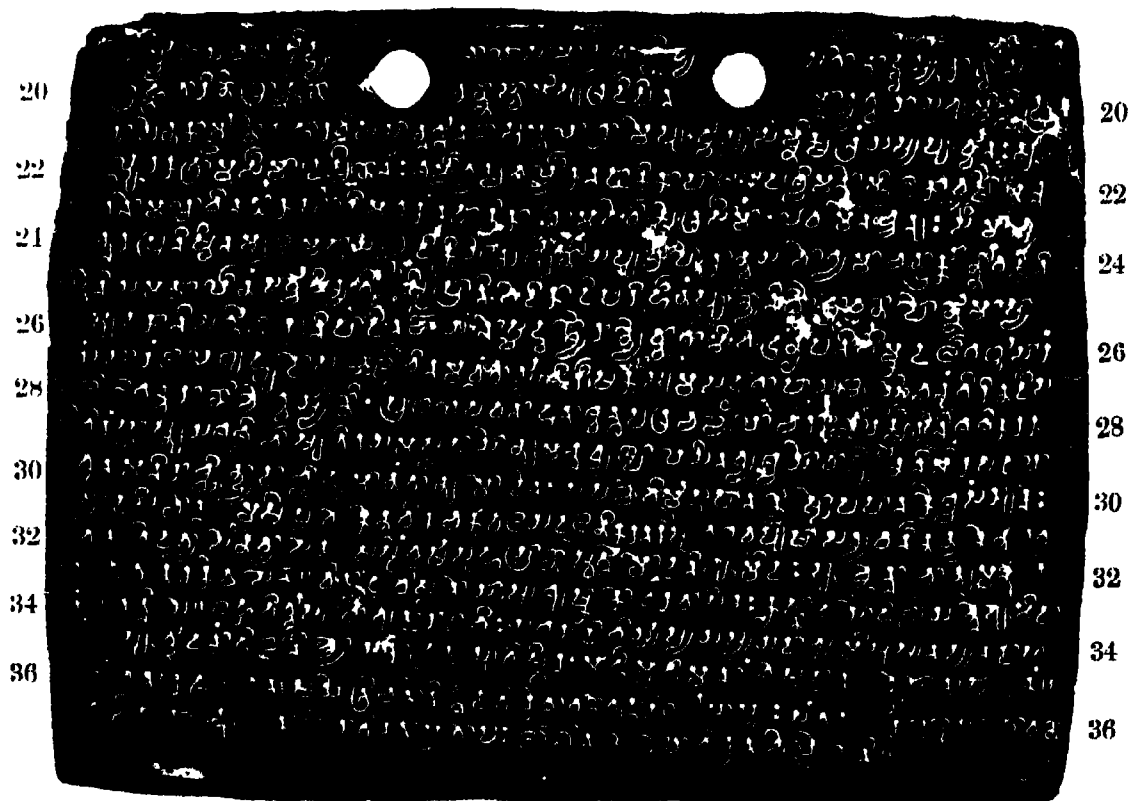
[6] Metre: *Āryā.*

[7] Read –पृथिवी—.

[8] Read –श्रीजयसिंह–.

[9] Read –मात्रीश्वराय.

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 443

i.

ii.

21 ध्यायेन कार्म्मणेयहार[1]विषयान्तर्गतओसुम्भलाग्रामे[2] पूर्व्वस्यां सीम्नि क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्व्वतः अ-
22 ल्लूरकग्रामसीमा ।[3] दक्षिणतः शमीवृक्षवल्मीकतडाकिकापालिः पश्चिमतोम्बिलकावृक्षो उत्त-
23 रतो मल्लावितडाकपालिमधुकतडाकिकाग्रामयेवीक्षेत्रसीमा ।[3] एवमेतच्चतुःसीमाभ्य-
24 न्तरप्रतिष्ठितम्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणाय पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षिति-
25 स्थितिसमकालीनं सर्व्वविस्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकाविपरिहीनं[4] पुण्ये तिथौ[5] श्रावणपौर्ण्णमास्या-
26 मुदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितम् । यतोस्मद्वंश्यै[6]रन्यैर्व्वागामिभद्रनृपतिभि×कदलीगर्ब्भसारं
27 संसारं जलबुद्बुदोप[म*]ञ्च जीवितमवधार्य्य शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायञ्च यौवनं गिरिनदीस-
28 लिलगत्वराणि चश्वर्य्याणि ।[7] प्रबलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचञ्चला च राजलक्ष्मीरिति शशिकररु-
29 चिरं स्थास्नु यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य×पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
30 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत ।[7] स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः
31 स्यादपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवेकेन[8] विकच[कु]वलयदलनिकरतरसुभग[9]वपुषा सत्यवतीनन्दनेन भग-
32 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
33 तान्येव नरके वसेत्[10] ॥ [३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्का[11]कोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
34 यं हरन्ति ये ॥[४॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य[12] यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-
35 लं(लम्) ॥ [५॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे-योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[६॥*]
36 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये त्रिचत्वारिंशश[13]दधिके श्रावणशुद्धपौर्ण्णमास्यां(स्याम्)॥ संवत्सर ४०० ४० ३ श्रावण-
37 शु दि १० ५ [।*] दू[त]को बलाधिकृताम्मगोपः [।*] लिखितञ्च बलाधिकृतचेल्लेनेति ॥

Seal

श्रीघराश्रय [:।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(V. 2) Triumphant in the world is the illustrious **Satyāśrayavallabha-Vinayāditya** of firm valour, a hero of renowned (*and*) stainless fame, who is like Narasiṁha in heroism !

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[1] Read कार्म्मणेयाहार—.
[2] Read —गतौसुम्भलाग्रामे.
[3] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.
[4] Read —परिहीणं.
[5] Read पुण्यतिथौ.
[6] Read —स्मद्वंश्यै—.
[7] The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.
[8] Read स्यात् । अपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवरेण.
[9] Read —निकरसुभगतर—.
[10] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh.*
[11] Read शुष्क—.
[12] Read —स्सगरादिभिः । यस्य
[13] Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके.

(Line 3) From the victorious camp fixed at **Kusumēśvara** near **Kārmaṇēya**,[1]—

Adorning the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the **Mānavya** *gōtra*; which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up[2] day by day by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the *Mahārāja* the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, whose head was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha*[3] bath in the *Bahusuvarṇaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices; who is equal to Nṛiga, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dhundhumāra and Ambarīsha; who has won the war-standard from the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the entire **Uttarāpatha**[4] (North India).

(L. 9) His son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya (I)**, **Satyāśrayavallabha**, who meditated on his feet, who, by his irresistible valour, vanquished the armies of hostile kings unconquerable by others; who exterminated the family of the Pallava (*king*), the lord of the city of **Kāñchī**, and who conquered the three kingdoms.

(L. 11) His son (*is*) the illustrious *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Bhaṭṭāraka* **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya**, who meditates on his feet and is adorned by humility and other uncommon royal excellences.

(L. 13) The son of his paternal uncle, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman**, whose pure fame has sprung from his victories in many battles, and who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—(*viz.*) the crown-prince the illustrious **Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya**,—who is intent on worshipping his lotus-like feet; who has defeated[5] the armies of other kings by his political wisdom and valour; who is proficient in all arts; who, like the Emperor of the Vidyādharas[6], is endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, attractive to the minds of coquettish women clever in amorous sports,—addresses the (*following*) order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Bhōgikas* of villages, *Mahattaras* and others, according as they may be concerned[7]:—

(L. 18) "Be it known to you (*that*) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted with a libation of water on the holy day, (*viz.*) the **full-moon day** of **Srāvaṇa**, a field on the eastern boundary of the village **Ōsumbhalā** situated in the *āhāra* (*and*) *vishaya* of **Kārmaṇēya**,—to the east of which is the boundary of the village Allūraka; to the south, a śamī tree, an ant-hill (*and*) the dam of a small tank; to the west, two *ambilakā*[8] trees; to the north the dam of the *mallāvi* tank, the small tank called *Madhuka*, (*and*) the boundary of the field dedicated to the village goddess,—the field lying within these four boundaries, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, according to the maxim of waste land, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, exempt from all gifts, forced labour and

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[1] The sentence is continued below in the words 'the son of his paternal uncle' in l. 13.

[2] *I.e.*, made prosperous.

[3] *I.e.*, the final bath, taken after the sacrifice is over.

[4] Rājaśekhara (*K. M.*, p. 94) says that the country beyond Pṛithūdaka (modern Pēhoā in the Karnal District of the Panjab) is *Uttarāpatha*. Here, however, the whole of North India is meant.

[5] *Vijṛimbhita* 'expanded, manifested', appears to be used here in the unusual meaning of 'defeated'. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, translates the expression as 'who has pleased the multitude of other kings'.

[6] This is Naravāhanadatta.

[7] Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *yathā-sambadhyamānakān* by 'wherever posted'.

[8] These are tamarind trees according to Pandit Bhagvanlal.

special rights,—to the *dikshita* Matriśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, who is of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and a student of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Adhvaryu (*i.e.*, Yajurvēda), and belongs to the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya, for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as the interior of a plaintain tree (*possesses sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and (*having considered*) that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīsha* flower, that prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream, and that royal fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an *aśvattha* tree which is struck by a very strong wind, and being desirous of accumulating lasting fame lovely like moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, will incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 31) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the son of Satyavatī, the best of sages (*and*) the redactor of the Vēdas, whose body was more lovely than an assemblage of the petals of a full-blown lotus :—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 36) On the full-moon day in the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrāvaṇa in the year four hundred increased by forty three—the year 400 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 3, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. The *Dūtaka* (*of this charter is*) the *Balādhikṛita* Ammagōpa. And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* Chēlla.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

No. 30; Plate XXIII

NAVSARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 490.

These copper-plates, two in number, were sent to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji by a Parsi gentleman of Navsāri. They were published, with photo-types and a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses,* Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-types. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner sides only, measure each 11¼" by 9¼". They are held together by two rings, one of which has a seal, showing two figures in relief, 2" in diameter, which, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal,[1] were intended to represent the donor's parents. The seal bears the legend *Śrī-Avanijanāśrayaḥ*, on the left of the male figure. Except for some letters here and there which have become much worn, the inscription is fairly well preserved. The record consists of fifty-one lines, of which twenty-five are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-six on the second. The average size of the letters is .12".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Śryāśraya Śilāditya. As regards individual letters, we may notice that the rare *jh* occurs in *śarajha-*, l. 23; the subscript *th* has a notch in *sthātavyam-*, l. 41, but not in *-sthitya* in the same line; the superscript *r* is horizontal like the *mātrā* for medial *ī* in *-vimardyamāna-*, l. 26; and the sign for ḷ occurs in *-Kāñchaḷē* and *-Gōvindaḷi-*, in l. 38. A

[1] *P. V. O. C.*, p. 212. Pandit Bhagvanlal did not notice the legend on the seal.

final consonant is indicated by its short form with a horizontal line at the top, see *vasti*, l.45. The sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll.7, 16, 28 and 30, and that of the *upadhmānīya* in ll.7, 10, 14, 17 and 20. The **sign-manual** of the donor is in the northern characters with wedges at the top.

The **language** is good and, on the whole, correct Sanskrit. The fierce fight with the Arab invaders is graphically described in ll.23-33. It is noteworthy that in its eulogistic part the inscription contains in ll.18-19 one long compound expression, copied for the first time from Gurjara records. No such borrowing from Gurjara grants is noticed in the earlier inscriptions of the Sēndrakas, nor even in those of Pulakēśin's elder brother Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the close, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography**, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in many cases, see, *e.g.*, *Vishṇōr-vvārāhaṁ*, l.1, *-Kīrttivarmma-*, l.6, *etc.* The guttural nasal is used for the *anusvāra* before *ś* in *-nistriṅśa-*, l.19, *gh* for *h* in; *Jayasiṅgha-*, l.17 and the *jihvāmūlīya* for *sh* in *-niḥkrayīkṛita-*, l.28. The vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in *-nistṛiṁśa-*, l.8 and *vice versa* in *-Prīthivī-*, l.34. On the other hand, the somewhat rare *sandhis* in *-vaksha-sthala*, l.22, and *-dashṭōshṭha-*, l.28, are in accordance with the *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's rules VIII, 3, 36 and VI, I, 94 respectively.

The plates were granted by the illustrious **Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja** of the **Gujarat branch** of the **Early Chālukyas.** The inscription opens with the usual verse in praise of the boar incarnation. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. In the family of the Chālukyas[1] who are described here as in the grants of Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya,[2] there was the *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmarāja,** whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His son was the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and obtained formidable power by his defeat of the illustrious **Harshavardhana,** the lord of the Uttarāpatha. His son was the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Vikramāditya** who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. He regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse Chitrakaṇṭha and vanquished the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya. His younger brother was the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarmarāja,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms. His younger brother, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja,** who was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, made the present grant.

Of the six princes mentioned above, the first three, Kīrtivarman, Pulakēśivallabha and Vikaramāditya, are plainly identical with Kīrtivarman I, Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I respectively, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The next three, *viz.*, Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, though here mentioned with the high-sounding title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, were of a feudatory rank and owed allegiance to the Imperial house of Bādāmi. The name of Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya, whose Navsāri and Surat plates bear earlier dates, is omitted here, probably because he predeceased his father Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha.

In ll.23-33 the record describes graphically the **Arab invasion** of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the *vishaya* of **Navasāri.** We are told

[1] See above, p. 133, n. 1.

[2] Nos. 27 and 29, above.

that the **Tājika** army which had conquered the **Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshṭra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara** and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā during the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which Pulakēśin won a decisive victory. Thereupon the illustrious **Vallabha-narēndra,** who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakeśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, *viz.*, *Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of the Deccan), *Chalukkikulālaṅkāra* (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), *Pṛithivīvallabha* (the Lover of the Earth), *Anivartakanivartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable).

The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought. Again, as shown above, in its eulogistic portion, the record has, for the first time, incorporated a passage which is known to occur only in Gurjara grants. This makes it probable that it was composed after the Gurjara kingdom was annexed. The last date of the Gurjaras is K. 486 (736 A.C.). The Arab invasion must therefore be dated during the period K. 486-490 (736-739 A.C.)[1] and may have taken place in 737 A.C. The contemporary Chālukya Emperor, who appreciated Pulakēśin's heroism, was probably Vikramāditya II (*circa* 734-747 A.C.).

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Padraka** in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Kārmaṇēya** on the Mahākārttikī (*i.e.*, the full-moon day of Kārttika) for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, the son of the Dvivēda Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaḷē, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. He had emigrated from **Vanavāsī.**

The grant was intended to be dated both in words and numerical symbols, but the former have, for the most part, been omitted through inadvertence, and the date is given in numerical symbols as the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the** year 490. Like the dates of Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya's grants, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired[2] year 490, to the 21st October 739 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Vanavāsī**, from which the donee had emigrated, is a well-known place of the same name in North Kanara. **Navasārikā** and **Kārmaṇēya** have been already shown to be identical with the modern Navsāri and Kamrēj.[3] The village **Padraka** may be represented by the modern Pārḍi, 4 miles east of Navsāri.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिता[र्ण्ण]वं(वम्) । दक्षि[णोन्नतदं]ष्ट्राग्र-
[वि]श्रा[न्त]भुवनं व[पुः][6] ॥ [१॥*]

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[1] The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa IV were dated towards the close of the *Kārttikādi* Kalachuri year 486, while the present inscription was incised in the beginning of the Kalachuri year 490. Hence there is a difference of only three years between the Christian equivalents of the two dates.

[2] If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 1st November 738 A. C. There was a lunar eclipse on that day, but there is no mention of it in the present grant.

[3] Above, pp. 124 and 133.

[4] From the photo-types accompanying Pandit Bhagwanlal's article.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां स[प्तलोक]मातृभिस्स[प्तमातृभि]रभिव-
3 र्द्धिता[नां] [का]र्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादि-
4 तवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमूभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णु[रश्वमेधा]वभृत[1]-
5 स्नानपविश्रीकृतगात्रोनेकनरपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगणकिरणसमु[ल्लसितो]द्योतित[2]चर-
6 णकमलयुगलस्सत्याश्रयप्रिथिवी[3]वल्लभ[4]महारा:[5]आधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मराजस्तस्य
7 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यात×परम[6]देवताविश (शे) षवद्वंदनीयतमस्सकलशास्त्रार्थतत्वज्ञ[7]×करिक-
8 रनिष्ठुरप्र[कोष्ठ]करकलितनिशितनिस्तृंश[8]प्रहारदलितप्रमुखागतवैरिवारणकुंभस्थलोच्छल-
9 त्प्रत्यग्रधवलनिर्म्मलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुंभस्तबकसमभ्यर्च्चितसमरधरित्रीतलः श्रीमदुत्तराप-
10 [थाधि]पतिश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धोग्रप्रताप×परममाहेश्वरोपरनामा सत्याश्र-
11 यः[9] श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातोनेकनरपतिसामन्तमकुटकोटिघृष्टचर-
12 णारविन्दयुगलो मेरुमलयमन्दरविंध्यसमानधैर्य्योहरहरभिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगरथ-
13 पदातिबलो मनोजवैकचित्रकंठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणोपार्ज्जितस्वराज्य[:*] विजितचेरचोलपा-
14 ण्ड्यक्रमागतराज्यत्रय×परममाहेश्वर×परमभट्टारकस्सत्याश्रयः श्रीविक्रमादित्यराजस्तस्या-
15 नुजो विजितसकलारातिपक्षश्चतुरुदधिपर्य्यन्तमालामेखलायाः क्षितेर्म्मण्डनभूतो मत्ते-
16 भकुंभमण्डलविदारण×केसरिकिशोरै[10]रिव विक्रमैकरसस्समस्तदिक्मंडलप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः प-
17 [र]ममाहेश्वर×परमभट्टाः[11]रकधराश्रयः श्रीजयसिङ्ह[12]वर्म्मराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
18 ध्यातस्सकलजनमनानंद[13]भूतोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू-
19 प्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिञ्श[14]प्रतापो निजभुजप्रभावोपार्ज्जितस्व-
20 कीयभूभागमण्डल×परममाहेश्वर×परमभट्टारकजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसराजस्तस्यानु-
21 जस्तत्पादपंकजा[रा]धनानुध्यात[:*] प्रतिदिनमुपचीयमानोदयः शैशवादेव समस्तगुणगणा-
22 धिष्ठानभूतः स्वयंवरयैव राजलक्ष्म्या समासादितवक्षस्थलो धवलयशोवितानविमलीकृतस-
23 कलजगन्मण्डलः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः शरज्ञ[15]षिर[16]मुद्गरोद्गारिणि तरलतरतारत-
रवारिदा[17]
24 रि[तोदित]सैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र[चा]वोटकमौर्य्यगूर्ज्जरा[दि]रा[जे] निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षिति-
पतिजि-

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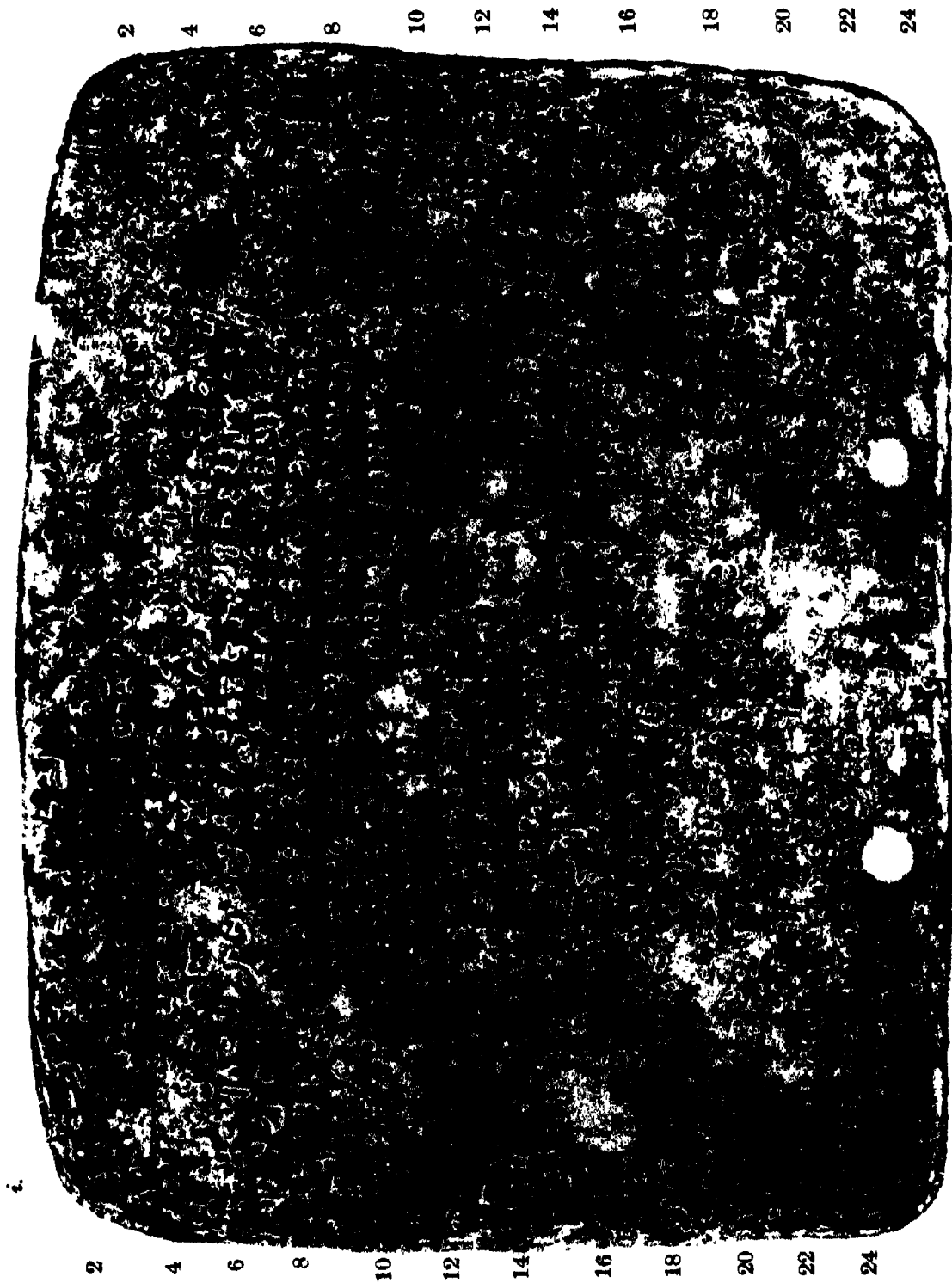
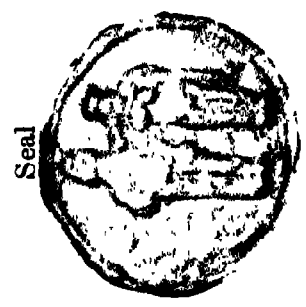
[1] Read –थावभृथ–.
[2] Read –तोद्द्योतित–.
[3] Read –पृथिवी–.
[4] The engraver first incised *b* and then corrected it into *bb*.
[5] This *visarga* is superfluous.
[6] Between परम and देवता there appear two dots horizontally placed which indicate that the engraver at first wanted to incise some letter there, but changed his mind afterwards.
[7] Read –तत्त्वज्ञ–.
[8] Read –निस्त्रिंश–.
[9] Read –माहेश्वरः सत्याश्रयापरनामा.
[10] Read –किशोर इव.
[11] This *visarga* is superfluous. Read –भट्टारक–.
[12] Read श्रीजयसिंह–.
[13] Read –मनआनंदभूतो–.
[14] Read –निस्त्रिंश–.
[15] There appears only one dot after *jha*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, read शरज्ञः and took it as referring to Pulakēśirāja.
[16] Bhagvanlal read this word as सीर–. *Jhashira* is derived from √*jhash* to hurt.
[17] There is some mistake here. Perhaps the intended reading is तारतरासिधारितोदित–.

NAVASARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 490

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'52.

ii

26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50

Seal

From a photograph

25 [धी]व[श दक्षिणापथप्रवेशा]भिलाषिभि[1] ॥ प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते [स्वरित]–

Second Plate

26 तुरगखरखुरखुरोत्खातधर[णिधू]लिधूसरितदिगन्तरे कुन्ताग्रान्तमितान्तविमर्द्यमानर[भसाभि-घाति]तो–

27 त्कटस्थूलोदरविवरविनिर्ग्गतान्त्रप्रोतु[2]त्तरुधिरधारारंजितक[वच]भीष[ण]वपुषि ।[3] स्वामिमहा–

28 स[न्मा]नदानग्रहणनि x क्रमीकृत[4]स्वशिरोभिमुखमापततैर[द]यदशनाग्रदष्टोष्ठ[5]पुटैरने–

29 कसमराजिरविधरवारि(वैरि)करिकटितटहृत[6](?)विघटनविगलितघनरुधिरप[टल]पाटलितपटु–कृपाणपट्टैरपि महा–

30 योधैरलब्धपरभागैः विपक्षकपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रक्षिप्ततीक्ष्णक्षुरुप्र[7]प्रहारविलूनवैरिशिर[1]कमलगलनालैरा–

31 हवरसरभसरोमांचकंचुकाच्छादिततनुभिरनेकैरपि नरेंद्रवृंदवृंदारकैरजितपूर्व्वे ।।[8] व्यपगतमस्माक–

32 [मु]णमनेन स्वामिनः स्वशिरःप्रदानेनाद्य तावदेकजन्मीयमित्येवमि[वो]पजातपरितोषानन्तरप्र–हृतपटुप–

33 टहरवप्रनृत्तकबन्धबद्धरासमंडलीके ।[8] समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके शौर्य्यानुरागिणा श्रीव-ल्लभनरें–

34 द्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारचलुक्किकुलालंकारप्रिथिवी[9]वल्लभानि–वर्तकनिव–

35 र्तयितृअवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्व्वानेवात्मीयानस्मद्ं(नात्मवं)शजानन्यांश्च यथासंबध्यमान–कान्विष

36 [य]पतिग्रामभोगिक ।[8] वासावकायुक्तविनियुक्तकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु[10] वः संविदितं(तम्) । यथास्माभिर्म्मातापि–

37 त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।[8] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्थं ।[8] वनवासि[11]–विनिर्ग्गतवत्स–

38 सगोत्रतैत्तिरिक[12]सब्रह्मचारिणे द्विवेदब्राह्मणकाञ्चळे[13] ब्राह्मणगोविंदळि[14]सूनुने[15] । कार्म्मणेयाहार–विषयान्तर्गत–

39 पद्रकग्रामस्सोद्रंगस्सपरिकर[16]स्सदानप्रदानकः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनोदकातिसर्गेण महा–

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[1] Bhagvanlal read भिलाषमाणाः, but the correct reading given here was suggested by Bühler. The following marks of punctuation are superfluous.

[2] Read –पृथुतर–.

[3] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] Read निष्क्रयीकृत.

[5] Bhagvanlal read –दष्टौष्ठ–, but the medial vowel of the second *akshara* is certainly not *au*.

[6] Perhaps हृत्त is intended.

[7] Bhagvanlal read –क्षुरप्र–, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ru*. Read –क्षुरप्र–.

[8] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

[9] Read –पृथिवी–.

[10] Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

[11] Read वनवासी–.

[12] Read –तैत्तिरीय–.

[13] Read –काञ्चलाय.

[14] This is probably the intended reading, though the last *akshara* of the name appears more like *ḍi* than *ḷi*.

[15] Read –सूनवे. The following mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[16] Read –स्सोपरिकर–.

40 कार्त्तिक्यां पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य: पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जो धर्म्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितो(त: ।) यतोस्या–

41 ग्रहारस्थित्या भुंजत: क्रिषत:[1] कर्षयतो वा न कैश्चिद्विघाते स्यातव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै–
रन्यैर्व्वा

42 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचंचलमायुरवेक्ष्यास्मद्दायोनुमंतव्योनुपालयित–
व्य–

43 श्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिंद्यमानं[2] वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महा–
पातकैस्सो[प]पातकै–

44 स्संयुक्त: स्यादित्युक्तं[3] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि[4] स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद:
[।*] आच्छेत्ता चा–

45 नुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[5] ॥ [२॥*] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं

46 हर[न्ति] ये ॥ [३॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:*] । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि–
स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]स्व[द]त्तां

47 परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष्य[6] युधिष्ठिर । महीन्महिमतां[7] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
यानीह भुक्तानि[8] पुरा न–

48 रेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु: पुनराददी[त][9]
॥ [६॥*] सम्वत्सरश[10]–

49 त ४०० ९० कार्त्तिकशुद्ध १० ५ [।*] लिखितञ्चैतन्महासान्धिविग्रहिकप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द–
सामन्तश्रीबप्प[भ]–

50 [टि] [ना[11] महाबला]धिकृतहरगणसूनुना [।] न्यूनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा सर्व्वं प्रमाणं(णम्) ।
सिद्धम्[12] ॥ सिद्धम्[12] [॥*]

51 स्वयमाज्ञा [।*]

Seal

श्रीअवनिजनाश्रय: [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk!

(Line 2) Adorning the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world; who were brought up[13] by the Seven Mothers (*who are*) the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained continuous prosperity

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[1] Read कृषत:.

[2] Read -दाच्छिद्यमानं.

[3] Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

[4] Read षष्टिं वर्ष–.

[5] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Read -रक्ष.

[7] Read महीम्महिमतां.

[8] Read दत्तानि.

[9] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[10] Read संवत्सर-. The writer has inadvertently omitted many words here. Read. संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये नवत्यधिके कार्त्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां संवत्.

[11] Perhaps -भट्टिना was intended.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] *I.e.*, made prosperous.

through the protection of Kārttikēya; (*and*) who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(*there was*) the *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, Satyāśraya, the illustrious Kīrtivarmarāja (I), whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, (*and*) the pair of whose lotus-like feet shone and looked resplendent with the rays of clusters of jewels set on the sides of the crowns of many kings.

(L. 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, whose other name was **Satyāśraya**; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was most adorable like a great and pre-eminent god; who knew the import and the principles of all *śāstras*; who worshipped the surface of the battle-field with clusters (*of flowers poured out*) from pots, in the shape of multitudes of fresh, white and spotless pearls from the frontal globes of attacking hostile elephants, which were rent with the strokes of the sharp sword wielded by his hand, the forearm of which was hard like an elephant's trunk; (*and*) who attained formidable power by defeating the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the illustrious lord of Uttarāpatha (North India).

(L. 11) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Satyāśraya, the illustrious **Vikramādityarāja (I)**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; the pair of whose lotus-like feet were rubbed by the edges of the crowns of many feudatory princes; whose firmness was like that of the Mēru, Malaya, Mandara and Vindhya (*mountains*); whose army, (*consisting of*) excellent elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, was increasing day by day; who acquired his kingdom by means of his excellent and peerless horse, Chitrakaṇṭha, which had the speed of the mind; (*and*) who conquered the three hereditary[1] kingdoms **Chēra, Chōla** and **Pāṇḍya.**

(L. 14) His younger brother (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* **Dharāśraya,** the illustrious **Jayasiṁhavarmarāja,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who conquered all allies of his enemies; who was an ornament of the earth which has the flowery girdle of the surrounding four oceans; who, like a lion's cub, rent open the frontal globes of rutting elephants; who took delight only in valour; (*and*) whose glory is well-known in the circuit of all quarters.

(L. 17) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Jayāśraya, the illustrious **Maṅgalarasarāja,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was the joy of the minds of all people; the prowess of whose spotless sword was celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring kings who were killed when they opposed him in many dangerous battles[2], and who, by the might of his arms, acquired his own territory.

(L. 20) His younger brother, who is intent on propitiating his lotus-like feet, (*is*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* **Avanijanāśraya,** the illustrious **Pulakēśirāja,** who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; whose power is increasing day by day; who has, since his very childhood, become the abode of all good qualities; whose breast is occupied by the goddess of royal fortune who was quite free to choose her lord; who has made the whole-world spotless by spreading his white fame; who was favoured by the illustrious king **Vallabha** who is fond of heroism, with the following four titles, *viz.*, the Pillar of **Dakshiṇāpatha** (South India), the Ornament of the family of the Chalukkis, the Beloved of the Earth, the Repeller of the unrepellable,

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[1] With *kram-āgata* used here, compare *krama-prāpta* (inherited) in *krama-prāpta-nṛipa-śriyaḥ* of the Vākāṭaka seals.

[2] This expression is copied from a Gurjara grant. See, *e. g.*, lines 26-27 of the Kaira plates (first set) of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga.

when the army of the Tājikas,—which poured forth arrows, javelins[1] and iron-headed clubs; which destroyed, with its rapidly brandished and glittering swords, the prosperous Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshṭra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings; which, desiring to enter Dakshiṇāpatha (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings, came,[2] in the very first place, to conquer the *vishaya* of Navasārikā; which rendered the regions between the quarters dusky with the dust of the ground raised by the hard and noisy hoofs of its galloping horses; the bodies (*of warriors*) in which appeared dreadful as their armours were reddened by very large streams of blood (*gushing*) from the intestines which came out of the cavities of their big bellies, as they impetuously rushed forth and were completely pierced by spear-heads; which had not previously been vanquished even by numerous eminent chiefs among hosts of kings, who offered their heads in return for high honour and gifts they had received from their lord; who opposed it, biting mercilessly both their lips with the tips of their teeth; who, though they were great warriors and had their sharp swords reddened by the mass of blood that flowed when the sides of the loins and the trunks of hostile elephants were rent on several extensive battlefields, could not attain success; who cut off the necks of their enemies' heads, as though they were plucking the stalks of lotuses, hitting them with their horse-shoe-shaped sharp arrows which were quickly discharged for the destruction of their adversaries; whose bodies were covered with a coat of bristling hair on account of their martial spirit and excitement,—was defeated[1] in the forefront of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy caused, as it were, by the thought 'To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (*this*) one life!'

(L. 35) (*He*) addresses the (*following*) command to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned,—to the heads of *vishayas*, headmen of villages, residents, *Vāsāvakas*, *Āyuktas*, *Viniyuktakas* and others:—

"Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, we have given, as a religious gift with a libation of water on the *Mahākārttikī*, the village Padraka situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmaṇēya,—together with *udraṅga* (*and*) *uparikara*, together with (*the right to*) minor and major gifts, not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons according to the maxim of waste land, exclusive of gifts previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas,—to the Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaḷa who has studied two Vēdas, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā* (of the Black Yajurvēda) and has emigrated from Vanavāsī.

(L. 40) Wherefore, none should cause an obstruction while he is enjoying, cultivating or causing it to be cultivated in the manner of an *agrahāra*. Gracious kings of the future, whether born in our family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lighting, and that life is as inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade of grass, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. And he, who, with his mind obscured by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, will confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins".

And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

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[1] *Jhasbira* is derived from *jhash* to hurt, and means some weapon like a javelin which could be thrown against the enemy.

[2] The subject is 'the army of the Tājikas', above, p. 143.

(L. 48) The year—hundred,[1] 400 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*) (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. This (*charter*) is written by the illustrious Bappabhaṭṭi, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and *Sāmanta*, who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and is the son of the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Haragaṇa. All (*in this charter*) (*is*) authoritative, whether (*any*) letters are wanting or redundant. Success! Success!

Our own command.

Seal

The illustrious Avanijanāśraya.

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[1] Some words are inadvertently omitted here. See above p. 142, n. 10.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

No. 31; Plates XXIV-XXV

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

THIS set of **three copper-plates** was discovered, together with two others[1] in 1936, in the possession of the Shid family of **Anjanēri,** a village near Trimbak in the Nasik District. The inscriptions were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The plates, except the first, are inscribed on both the sides. They measure each 12.5" broad and 8" high. Their ends are slightly raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. On the outer side of the first plate is incised an ornamental lotus-like figure with a diameter of 3.6". On the second sides of the second and third plates there appear inscribed, in the midst of letters, the small figure of a boar running to the right and the large one of a conch[2] respectively. The plates are held together by two rings passing through the holes near their upper side. The ends of one of them are not soldered, while those of the other are secured into the bottom of a **seal,** having the shape of an inverted cone, the round surface of which, measuring 1.5" in diameter, contains in high relief, in the centre of a circle of knobs, the figure of a lion with the right front paw raised, and the tail twisted over his back. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 308 *tolas*. There are sixty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on each side, except the second sides of the second and third plates which have thirteen and nine lines respectively. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4". The letters on the second side of the third plate which were written subsequently and by another hand, are bolder and more deeply incised than those on the other sides.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. The letters are in most cases embellished with small circles as in the Bannahaḷḷi plates[3] of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II. These circles appear not only at the top of letters like the box-heads in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, but also at the corners and lower ends; in *hā* of *-mahā-pātakais=*, l.46, for instance, as many as five circles are used to embellish the *akshara*. The letters in ll.56-64, however, do not show these circles, but have instead knobs at their top as in other early inscriptions from the Nasik District. As regards individual letters we may notice that the rare lingual *ḍh* occurs clearly in *vōḍhavyaḥ*, l.48; the lingual *ḍ* shows in some places a looped curve as in the Kaira plates[4] (of K. 380) of Dadda II, see *-maṇḍal-* l.5, *-shaṇḍa-*, l.19 and *khaṇḍa-*, l.32; *b* is round in *brahmaṇya-*, l.12, but rectangular

[1] These were the following grant of the same king and the grant (dated K. 460) of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III, (above, No. 22). The present plates have since been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f. and 292 f.

[2] The figure of the conch appears inverted with reference to the letters, because the inscription on that side is a post-script which was subsequently incised on the plate turned upside down. It may be noted that the figure of a conch is incised on the second side of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 97), the first side of which contains the figure of the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, the plates facing pp. 18-9.

[4] No. 16, above.

with a notch on the top or the left side in other places; see *-bala-*, l. 9 and *-bōdhitō*, l. 20; similarly *th* is round in *-yūth-*, l. 18, but rectangular in *-sthiti-*, l. 28; the initial *ē* is distinguished from *l* by lengthening its vertical or by giving it a turn to the right, see *ēva*, l. 11, and *ētām*, l. 49. The medial *ū* (long) as added to *r* appears in as many as three different forms, see *rūpaka* in ll. 36, 38 and 39. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *bhūbhrit*, l. 21. The sign for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 44 and the **numerical symbols** for 400, 200, 100, 60, 50 and 1 in lines 54, 38 and 39.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the initial verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu and four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 50-53, the record is in prose throughout. The initial *maṅgala-ślōka* and the description of the Chālukya family that follows are taken from the records of the Early Chālukyas. The eulogy of the donor **Bhōgaśakti** *alias* **Pṛithivīchandra** is couched in an ornate *kāvya* style resembling that of the Gurjara and Sēndraka records. As regards **orthography,** we may notice that the consonant, which precedes or follows *r*, has been doubled, see *e.g.*, *Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ* l. 1-, and *-parākkram-ākkrāṁt-*, l. 14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used in place of the *anusvāra* when followed by a sibilant or *h*, see *vaṅśasy-*, l. 6; *śrī-Siṅhavarmma-* l. 9 *etc*; the *visarga* is superfluously retained in *=ālaṁkārabhūtaḥ=śśarad-*, ll. 6-7, and wrongly elided when followed by a sibilant in ll. 49, 58 *etc.*

After the usual *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and the description of the **Chālukya**[1] family, the record mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya.** It then proceeds to state that the illustrious **Svāmichandra,** who was an ornament of the **family** of **Hariśchandra** and was treated as his own son by the Chālukya Emperor **Vikramāditya,** ruled over the entire **Purī-Kōṅkaṇa** country comprising fourteen thousand villages.[2] His son was the illustrious **Simhavarmarāja.** The latter's son **Bhōgaśakti,** who had the second name **Pṛithivīchandra,** made the present grant. His eulogy, to which as many as fourteen lines (11-25) are devoted, is wholly conventional. The only important information we glean about him is that he was always devoted to the worship of Vishṇu and, like Bhīmasēna, had gained his entire dominion by valour.

The royal order is addressed to (the residents of) **Gōparāshṭra, Eastern Trikūṭa, Āmrarājī, Mairikā,** the **Eastern** and **Western Mahāgirihāras** and **Pallusūḍhāmbaka** district extending as far as **Prētahrada** (?). The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Bhōgaśakti, of eight villages, *viz.*, **Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka** and **Āmnagrāma,** for providing materials for the worship of the god Nārāyaṇa, for the repairs of his temple and for the maintenance of a *sattra* in the town of Jayapura. The god was named Bhōgēśvara, which suggests that he was installed by Bhōgaśakti and named after himself. The record next assigns, in ll. 35-39, certain rights, dues and taxes in favour of the god. The amount of taxes levied in each case is stated in *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* which were plainly the silver coins of the Kalachuri Emperor Kṛishṇarāja. The record next enjoins that five or ten merchants (who were evidently elected as representatives of the town) should celebrate according to the prevailing custom, the annual *yātrā* festival of the god for a fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. The temple was entrusted to

[1] The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* here as in Nos. 29, 30, above, and 32, below.

[2] In some later inscriptions, the number of villages in North Kōṅkaṇ are stated to be fourteen hundred only, see, *e.g.*, *chaturddaśa-grāma-śat-ōpalakshita-Koṅkaṇa-*in line 56 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274, and *Purī-pramukha-chaturdaśa-grāma-śa(śa)ta-samanvitāṁ samasta-Kōṅkaṇa-bhuvaṁ samanuśāsati* in ll. 64-65 of the Khārēpāṭan plates of Anantadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

(the representatives of) the town of merchants and they were enjoined to look after the service and property of the god. The merchants were in return exempted from the payment of octroi duties and the obligation to provide for the boarding (of royal officers). The charter was written by **Bharatasvāmin** who was a resident of **Kallivana.**

The inscription is **dated in the year 461,** expressed both in words and numerical symbols in l. 54. No era is specified, but the mention of the Early Chālukya king Vikaramāditya (I) as the suzerain of Bhōgaśakti's grand-father plainly indicates that it must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 709-10 A.C. if the year 461 was current, and to 710-11 A.C. if it was expired. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

The original royal order seems to have ended with l. 55, at the lower end of the inner side of the third plate. There is, however, a postscript added on the outer side of the same plate, which registers certain endowments of **Tējavarmarāja.** He was presumably a royal officer in charge of the country round Jayapura[1]. He donated a pasture-land in the village **Pālittapāṭaka** which was situated to the south of Jayapura. It was marked in four directions by boundary slabs with the figures of Durgādēvī and cows sculptured on them[2]. He also deposited a hundred *rūpakas* with the guild of merchants in the town of Jayapura, the interest of which was to be spent in providing *guggula* (bdellium) for (the worship of) the god Bhōgēśvara every year.

The mention of *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* or the silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja in the present record is interesting; for it shows that these coins of the Kalachuri king remained in circulation for more than a hundred and fifty years after Kṛishṇarāja who probably flourished from *circa* 550 to 575 A.C.

There are several **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, but few of them can now be definitely identified. **Purī** which in the present record is coupled with Kōṅkaṇ, probably to distinguish the latter from the Southern Kōṅkaṇ, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Some identify it with Ghārāpurī, but the identification is opposed on the ground that the island is too small for a capital. Besides, it shows no traces of fortifications. Purī seems to have been situated not far from Sthānaka or Ṭhāṇā, as the Silāhāra king Aparājita retired to it when pressed by the enemy[3]. It may have been identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State, which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast.[4] **Gōparāshṭra** is mentioned in the Nirpaṇ plates of Nāgavardhana[5] and probably comprised the country round modern Igatpurī, as the village Balēgrāma situated in it has been shown to be identical with Belgaon Tarhāḷā, about 12 m. north-east of Igatpurī[6]. The genuineness of the Nirpaṇ plates has rightly been questioned[7], but that need not make the proposed identification doubtful. In fact the mention of Gōparāshṭra as a territorial division, on which a tax was levied for the maintenance of

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[1] He figures in the other Anjanēri plates (No. 32, below) of this very king as the executor of the charter.

[2] It may be noted that a pillar found at Sitābaldi near Nagpur (now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur) which contains an inscription recording the gift of a pasture-land for the grazing of cows (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. III, pp. 304 ff., has also the figures of some cows and calves in addition to those of the gods Brahmā and Vishṇu sculptured on it. The pillars mentioned in the present inscription were probably of a similar type with the figure of Durgādēvi sculptured on them.

[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XL, p. 41.

[4] *P. I. H. C.,* (Fourth session), pp. 86 f.

[5] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. IX, pp. 123 f.

[6] *E. H. D.,* p. 73.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1

a temple near **Nasik** shows that the identification is most probable. The identification of **Trikūṭa** the home-province of the Traikūṭakas has, for a long time, been a matter of controversy. That it was in Aparānta or North Kōṅkaṇ was of course known from the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa[1], but its exact location was uncertain. The mention of the Eastern Trikūṭa district in connection with and for the same purpose as Gōparāshṭra makes it plain that it comprised the western portion of the Nasik District. Trikūṭa was, therefore, probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west. The districts of **Āmrārājī**, **Mairikā** the **Eastern** and **Western Mahāgirihāras**, and **Palhusūḍhāmbaka** cannot be definitely identified. **Mahāgirihāra** may be identical with Māhirihāra mentioned in lines 56-57 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita.[2] It must, in that case, have comprised the country round Bhādāna (near Bhiwaṇḍi in the Ṭhāṇā District). **Jayapura**, where the temple of Bhōgēśvara was situated, is probably represented by Jarvar Budrukh, 9 m. south by west of Anjanēri. Of the villages granted by the present charter, **Jayagrāma** may be Jaikhērā in the Diṇḍōri *tāluka*. Some of the other villages can be located in the vicinity of Jaikhērā. Thus **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** may be Ambēgaon, about 3 m. west by south, **Kokilākshaka**, Kokar, about 3 m. to the north-east, and **Kalahaka**, Kaḷasgaon, 2 m. east of Jaikhērā. **Mudgāhitaka** is likely to be Maganpārā, 5 m. north-west of Jaikhērā. **Kshēmagiraka**, **Ānnagrāma** and **Pālittapāṭaka** cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. **Kallivana**, which was the place of residence of the scribe Bharatasvāmin, is undoubtedly Kalvan[3] in the Nasik District.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तभुवनं वपु:[6] [॥१॥*]

2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभि: सप्तमातृ-

3 भिरभिवर्द्धितानां ।[7] कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण-

4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्राणां च-

5 लुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर: श्रीविक्रमादि-

6 त्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्व्विशेषो हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूत: शर[8]-

7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-

8 दं चतुर्द्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं[9] सकलमपि पुरीकोङ्कणं भुक्तमासीत् [।*] तस्य च राज्ञ[:*] श्रीस्वा-

9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रम: श्रीसिहवर्म्म[10]राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिहवर्म्म[10]राजस्य पुत्र:

10 चतुरुदधिजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजा: पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-

11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिर्य्योसौ बाल एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो

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[1] Canto IV, vv. 58-9.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274.

[3] It is mentioned in No. 12, l. 21, above.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

[8] Read हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूतश्शर-.

[9] It would be better to read चतुर्द्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यम्.

[10] Read श्रीसिंहवर्म्म-.

12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्च्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च ।[1] युधिष्ठिर इ-
13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्ग्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च ।[1]
14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाब[ल]श्च

Second Plate : First Side

15 अर्जुन इव जनार्द्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
16 बळदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः
17 क्षणं विक्रांतश्च ।[1] प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्द्धारयंन्नपि[2] पर-
18 कलत्रनिस्पृहः वनवा[3]रणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रीकृतकरः पद्मो-
19 त्पलकुमुदषण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी
20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियां निवासभवनं ।[1]
21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपर[:] परमगम्भीरो महासत्वश्च[4] ।।[1]
22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्त्रप्रपाधर्म्मक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-
23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।[1] कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारमूतः[5] भारत-
24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्त्थतत्व[6]निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-
25 हत[7]बलपराक्रमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्कुशो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्व्वा-
26 नेवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) स्वभुजबलपराक्रमाधिष्ठितां(तान्) गोपराष्ट्रपूर्व्वं-
27 त्रिकूटाम्रराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारद्वयपल्लुसूढा[म्ब]कविषयां(यान्) प्रेतह्लदा[8]-
28 मर्य्यादां(दान्) सर्व्वां(र्व्वान्) समाज्ञापयति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङ्हार[9]-
कारणं

Second Plate : Second Side

29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्त्वा नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-
30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय[10] पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-
31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्माज्र्जनो[11]पलेपक्रियार्त्थं ।[12] नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-
32 पेतसंगीतकार्त्थं ।[12] सत्रार्त्थं खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्त्थं च ।[12] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि । तेषान्नामानि जयग्रामः[13] अम्बे-
34 अवङ्गणं ।[12] पालित्तपाटकः कोकिलाक्षकं[14] कलहकः मुद्गाहितकः क्षेम-
35 गिरकः आम्रग्रामश्च । आदानानि आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कौवेरं ।[12] सार्त्थवहित्रेषु
36 प्रवेशे निर्ग्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्यं[15]। गोपराष्ट्राम्रराजीमै-

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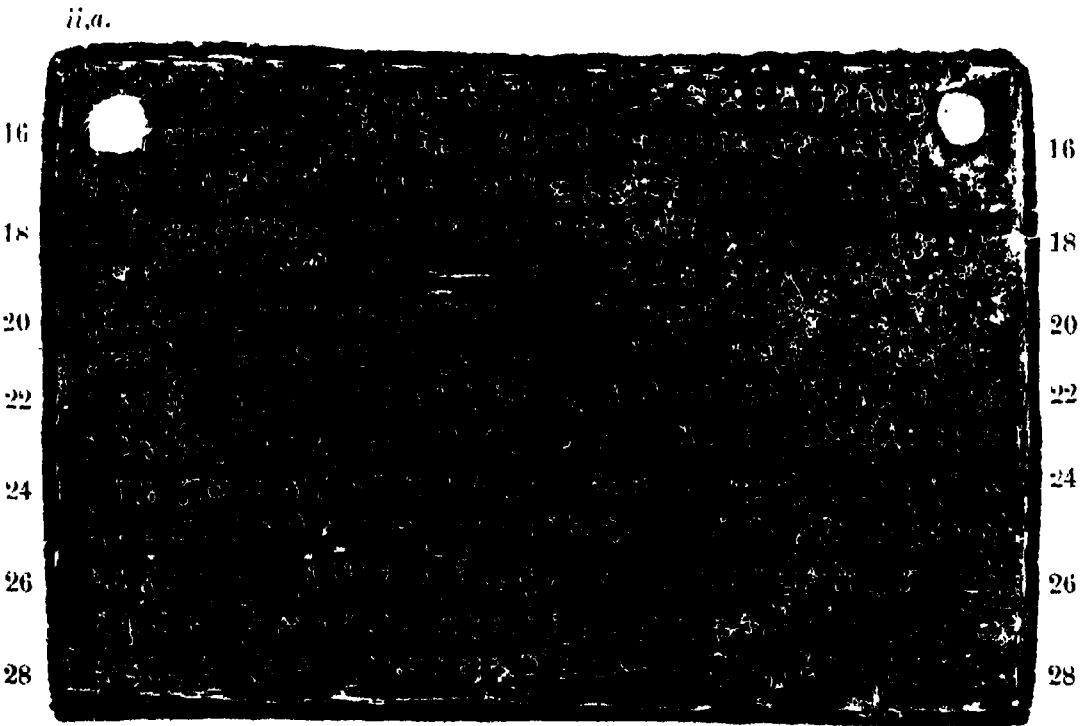
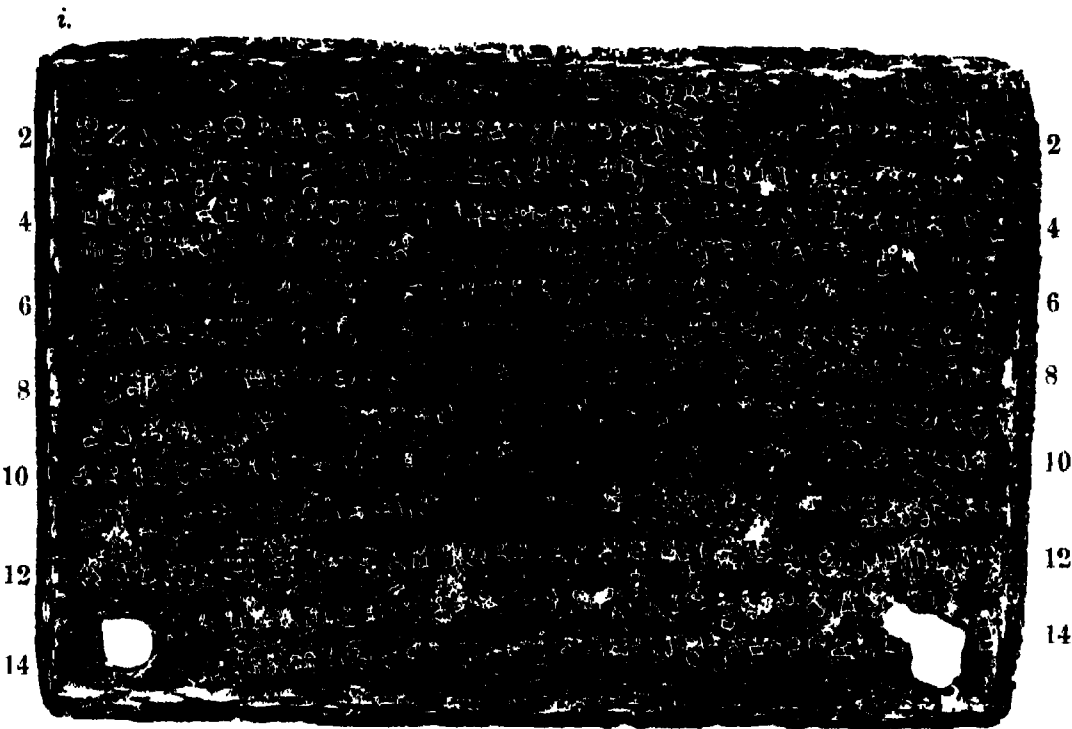
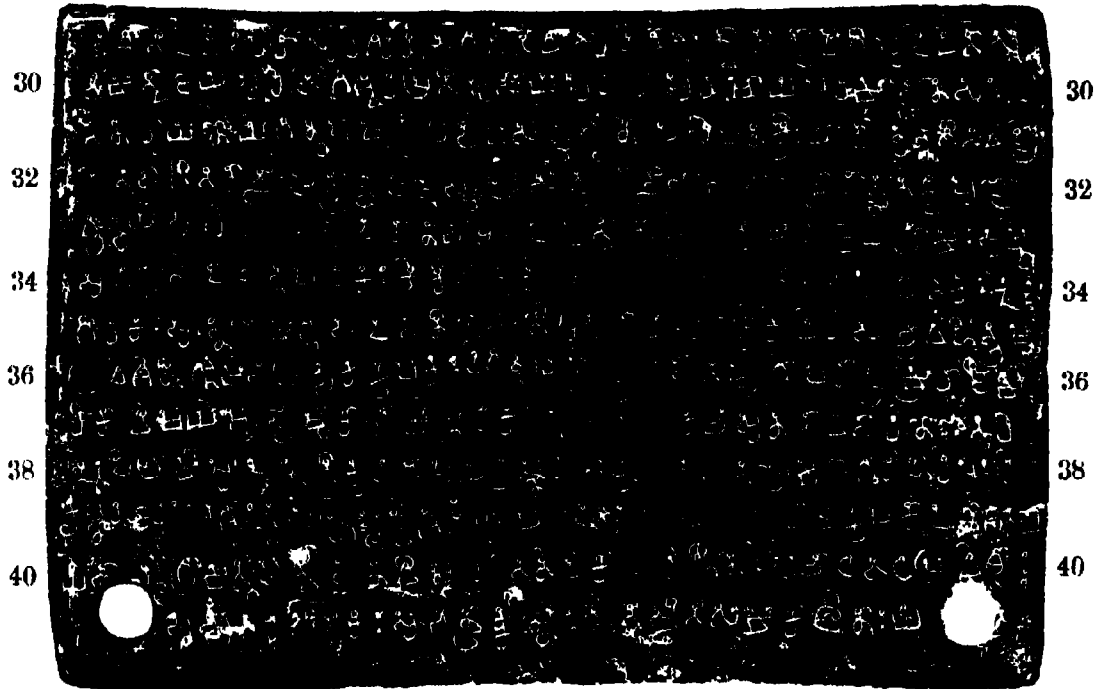
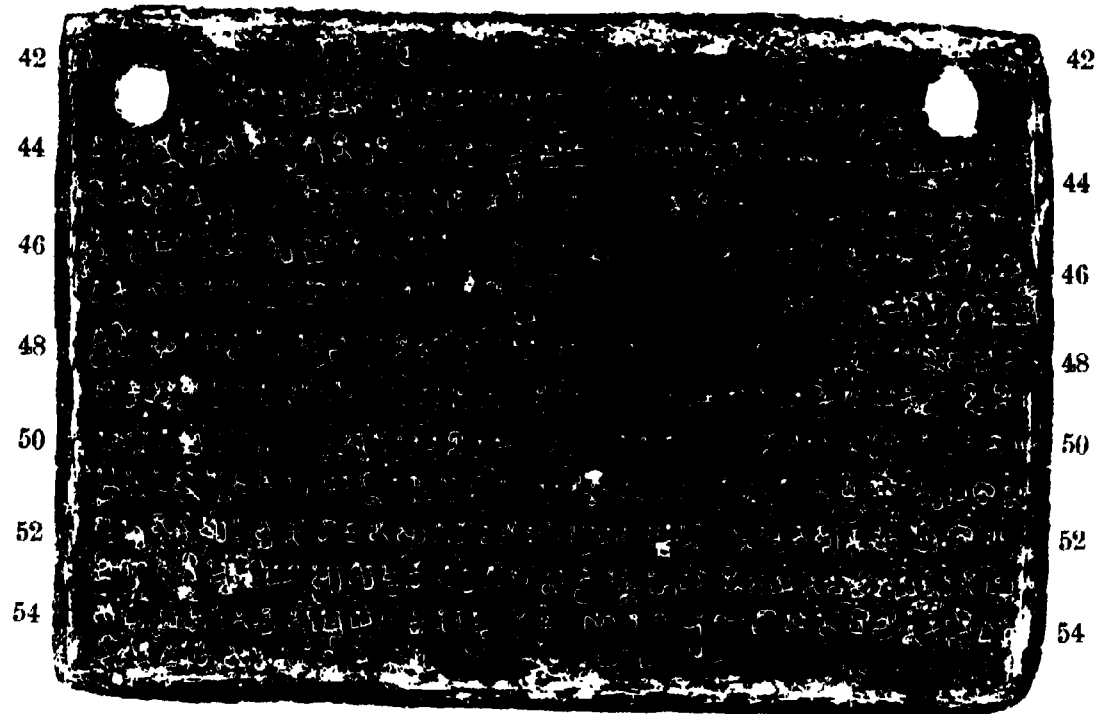
[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[2] Read -द्धारयन्नपि.
[3] वा, which was at first omitted, was incised in a smaller size later on.
[4] Read महासत्त्व-.
[5] Read -भूतो.
[6] Read तत्त्व-.
[7] Read मेधाव्यप्रतिहत-.
[8] Perhaps प्रेतह्लदमर्य्यादान् is meant.
[9] Read -संहार-.
[10] Probably प्रतिष्ठितभोगेश्वराय is intended.
[11] Read -सम्माज्र्जनो-.
[12] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[13] Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.
[14] After this word there is a figure of a boar running to the right.
[15] Read दातव्यः so as to agree with रूपकः or दातव्यानि corresponding to आदानानि.

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGAŚAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

iii,a.

Seal

(From Photographs).

37 रिकाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मूटकः घृतसातिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे–

38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु । पूर्व्वत्रिकूटविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशतं १०० ।[1] महागिरिहारे अपरे

39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूर्व्वं शतं १०० पल्लूडम्य[2] विषये [।*]कृष्णराजरूपकाः पञ्चाशत् ५० [।*]

40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्व्वादानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः

41 अभ्यंतरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनाः य–

Third Plate : First Side

42 तस्तस्मादस्मद्वंश्यैः प्रबलपवन[प्रे][3]रितोद[धि]जलत[रं]ग[चं]चलं

43 जीवलोकमवलोक्य अयमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च

44 वणिग्भिश्चंचभिर्द्दशभिरपि नगरधर्म्ममवलंब्य मार्ग्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्रं

45 देवस्य विष्णोर्य्यात्रोत्सवस्सारयितव्यः [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा–

46 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्त [:*] स्यात् [।*] यदेतद्दे–

47 वकुलं सद्वणिक्नगराय निरूपितं(तम्) (।*) तैश्च सर्व्वैर्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम–

48 श्च वोढव्यः [।*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्लिख्यते । ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां शुल्कं जेमको

49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकै[:*] संयुक्त[:*] स्या–
दिति ।

50 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।।[4]
[२।।*]

51 पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर[5] । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ।[।३।।*]

52 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं–
(लम्) ।। [४।।*]

53 विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदायं हरंति ये[6] ।। [५।।*]

54 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकषष्ट्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कल्लिवन–

55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ।।

Third Plate : Second Side[7]

Inscription of Tējavarman

56 सिद्धम्[8][।*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीतेजवर्म्मराज्ञा[9] जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां[10]

57 पालित्तपाटको[11] गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [।*] तस्य च प्र–

58 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिता[:*] शैलिमा[12] गावो(वः) स्थापिता[:।*] सीम–

59 स्य(न्त): तदेव प्रमाणं[13] तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्त्थं [।*] भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि–

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[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[2] This name occurs as पल्लूडाम्बक in l. 27 above.

[3] The *mātrās*, curves and *anusvāras* over the letters in square brackets in this line have been damaged by verdigris.

[4] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] ष्ठि, which was at first omitted, was incised later on in a smaller size.

[6] What looks like a curved stroke to the right on the top of *y* is accidental.

[7] The lines are written on this side of the plate turned upside down.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

[9] Read -राजेन.

[10] Read दक्षिणस्यां.

[11] Read पालित्तपाटके

[12] शैलिमा is an incorrect form for शैल्यः. For the use of शैलीप्रतिमा in an inscriptional record, see line 4 of the Deopāṇi Vishṇu image inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 330.

[13] मा which was first omitted is incised below.

60 ण्क्रयार्थं जयपुरवणिक्क[1]नगरस्य रूपकशतं[2] दत्तं(त्तम् ।*) तस्य च रूपक-
61 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलमूल्यं ओगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
62 नगरेण यावदान्द्रार्क्कतारकं[3] दातव्यं(व्यम् ।) यो वास्या-
63 न्यथा कर्य्येति[4] स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्तो भ[5]-
64 विष्यति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world ; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hāritī, who were brought up[6] by the Seven Mothers[7] who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(*there was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya-vallabha**, the sole fore-head mark of the whole earth. Dependent on the favour of his feet and (*treated by him*) in no way different from his (*own*) son, (*there was*) a king named the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, an ornament of the **family of Hariśchandra**, who caused delight to the people like the moon whose orb has become clear on the advent of autumn, (*and*) by whom this entire Kōṅkaṇa (*country*) with **Purī** (*as the chief city*), the villages in which number fourteen thousand, was governed. A son of that king, the illustrious Svāmichandra, (*was*) the illustrious king **Siṁhavarman** of great strength and prowess.

(L. 9) Again, a son of that illustrious king **Siṁhavarman**, (*viz.*) the king, the illustrious **Bhōgaśakti**,—who, having, like the moon, well-known splendour on the earth embraced by the waves of the water of the four oceans, had the second name of **Pṛithivīchandra** (the Moon on the Earth); who, even as a boy, had knowlege spontaneously produced through the discipline of (*his*) previous life; who is always engaged in the worship of the divine (god) Vāsudēva, and is devoted to sacred knowledge ; who, like Yudhishṭhira, is adorned by excellences such as political wisdom, humility, compassion, charity and courteousness, and (*always*) speaks the truth ; who, like Bhīmasēna, has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (*his*) displayed valour, and is possessed of great strength ; who, like Arjuna, acts in accordance with the knowledge and teaching (*imparted*) by Janārdana,[8] and is skilled in fighting; who like Balarāma, is eagerly engaged in the enjoyment of the pleasures of dancing, singing, laughing, dallying, and sporting, and is (*also*) valiant in a moment; who, though, like Pradyumna, is possessed of a charming form attractive to the minds of all young women, has no desire (*for the enjoyment of*) another's wife ; who, like the leader of a herd of wild elephants (*which has his trunk always moistened with the continuously flowing rut*[9]), has his hand always wet through making

[1] The engraver at first wrongly incised the superscript letter as *b*, and later on altered it to *k*.

[2] तं, which was omitted at first is written below the line.

[3] Read either यावच्चन्द्रार्क्कतारकं or आचन्द्रार्क्कतारकं.

[4] Read करिष्यति.

[5] There is the figure of a large inverted conch in the middle of lines 60-63.

[6] *I.e.*, made prosperous.

[7] See above p. 126, n. 8.

[8] The reference here is to the teaching of the well-known work *Bhagavadgītā*, in which Kṛishṇa, (an incarnation of Janārdana), expounded his philosophy of selfless action.

[9] The adjectival expressions in ll.18-21 admit of a double interpretation owing to the use of *ślēsha*.

INSCRIPTION OF TEJAVARMAN

gifts continuously; who, like a reservoir of sweet water beautified with clusters of day-lotuses, blue-lotuses and night-lotuses, (*which quenches the thirst of animals*), destroys the greed of living beings; who, like a large assemblage of lotuses, made to bloom by the rays of the rising sun (*which becomes an abode of beauty*), is the place of resort for Fortune; who, like the ocean (*that always keeps itself within bounds, is engaged in giving protection to several mountains, is very deep, and contains large aquatic animals*), has maintained established customs, is intent on giving protection to many princes, and is possessed of great serenity and courage; who is always occupied with the construction of religious works, (*such as*) temples, tanks, charitable feeding houses and water-sheds, and is intent on meditating on Nārāyaṇa; who is an ornament of **Kōṅkaṇa** with **Purī** (*as the capital*), even as the Kaustubha jewel is of Vishṇu; who is proficient in (*understanding*) the import and principles of the *Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and (*the works on*) the science of politics; (*who is*) wise, clever, learned (*and*) intelligent; whose strength, prowess and powers derived from personal energy, counsel and royal position, are unimpeded; (*and who is*) the goad (*i.e., the controller*) of the three worlds—addresses the (*following*) command to all his sons, sons' sons and sons' sons' sons and so forth, (*as well as*) (*all people living in*) the *vishayas* of **Gōparāshṭra, Eastern Trikūṭa, Āmrarājī, Mairikā,** both the **Mahāgirihāras**[1] (*and*), **Pallusūḍhāmbaka,**[2] extending as far as **Prētahrada,** which have been acquired by the might of his arms and valour:—

(L. 28) "Be it known to you that realizing that there is no pre-eminent god except the divine Vāsudēva, the lord of (*both*) gods and demons, the supreme god of gods, the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction (*of the world*), (*I have*) donated for the increase of the religious merit of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, the (*following*) eight villages and rights to the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, the primeval Being and Supreme Spirit (*called*) Bhōgēśvara installed[3] in **Jayapura,** for providing perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing (*of the god*), for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music, for (*maintaining*) a charitable feeding-house, and for repairing (*what may be*) damaged or broken. The names of them (*i.e.,* the villages) are (*as follows*):—**Jaya-grāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kshē-magiraka** (*and*) **Āmnagrāma.** And the rights are (*as stated below*):— stalls in market places; *kōvēra*[4] in a written document; a *rūpaka* to be paid for each cart[5] of the caravan on ingress and egress (*at Jayapura*) at the time of the *yātrā* festival of the god; a basket[6] (of corn?) and an offering of ghee in the principal villages[7] in the *vishayas* of **Gōparāshṭra, Āmrarājī** (*and*) **Mairikā**; in the same manner in other villages (*of the aforementioned districts*); in the *vishaya* of **Eastern Trikūṭa,** a hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 100; in the **Western Mahāgirihāra,** two hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 200; in the **Eastern (Mahāgirihāra),** one hundred (*rūpakas*), (*in figures*) 100; in the *vishaya* of **Pallūḍhamba,** fifty *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 50. As for the eight villages,

[1] These were the Eastern and Western Mahāgirihāras as appears from ll. 38-39.

[2] This is to be taken as one name in view of *Pallūḍhamba,* mentioned in l. 39 below, with which it is plainly identical.

[3] See above, p. 150, n. 10.

[4] The meaning of this is not clear to me.

[5] *Vahitra, lit.* an instrument of conveying, is clearly used here in the sense of a cart or some similar vehicle.

[6] M. Williams on the authority of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* gives *muṭa* or *mūṭa*in the sense of a basket. The Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja (*Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 302) mentions the tax of a *māṇaka* on each *mūṭaka* of salt. *Cf.* *muḍā* in Marathi and *muḍe* in Kannada.

[7] The reference to 'other villages' in the sequel shows that *Jyēshṭhikā-grāma* is used here in the sense of the headquarters of a *vishaya etc.*

they are all to be exempt from all dues, forced labour and special rights; (*they are*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, are to be self-contained,[1] (*and*) are to continue (*as donated villages*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.

(L. 41) Wherefore, our descendants, seeing that the living world is fickle like the waves of the ocean-water agitated by strong wind, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. (*And*) the merchants (*of the town Jayapura*), five or even ten (*in number*), should celebrate the *yātrā* festival of the god Vishṇu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. But he, who, with his mind shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, would incur the five great sins. As for this temple, it is entrusted to the town of merchants.[2] They should all perform the service and take care of the property,[3] of the god. The (*following*) regulation is laid down for the town:—The merchants residing at (*this*) place will never have to pay the octroi duty, or to provide for the boarding[4] (*of royal officers*). He, who will violate this regulation, shall incur the five great sins."

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 54) In the **year four hundred increased by sixty-one,** (*this*) charter was written by **Bharatasvāmin** a resident of **Kallivana.**

Inscription of Tējavarman

(L. 56) Success! Hail! The illustrious **Tējavarmarāja** has relinquished a pasture-land in **Pālittapāṭaka** to the south of **Jayapura.** And in evidence of it, stone sculptures of cows, together with (*the image of*) the goddess Durgā, have been put up in (*all*) the four directions (*to mark*) its boundary. That is the defining limit of the pasture-land. For purchasing land (*in honour*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, a hundred *rūpakas* have been deposited with the merchant town of Jayapura. The interest on the hundred rupees should be paid by (*the guild of merchants in*) the town as the price of bdellium (*for the worship*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, year after year, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars will endure. He, who will do otherwise, shall incur the five great sins.

No. 32 ; Plate XXVI

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

This is a set of **two copper-plates** discovered together with two others[5] in the possession of the Shid family of **Anjanēri** near Trimbak in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. The inscription was brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archœology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archœological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

[1] The expression *abhyantara-siddhi* occurs in several grants, sometimes with a prefix like *tri-bhōga* or *sarva*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 271. It is generally used in the instrumental case denoting the manner in which the grant is made. *Abhyantara-siddhyā* has been variously translated:—(1) by Dr. Fleet as 'with (full) rights of enjoyment (*loc. cit*); (2) by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as 'with heart-felt devotion' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 40), and (3) again by the same scholar as 'for the purpose of internal adjudication' (*ibid.*, Vol XVIII, p. 257). The context shows that the expression is used here in the sense of 'self-contained', *i.e.*, the donated villages will not be dependent on others for the decision of law-suits *etc.*, but they will have full powers of adjudication. The same idea is expressed by *sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ* which sometimes takes its place. The Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha have *sah-ābhyantara-siddhi*; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 203.

[2] *Viz.*, the town of Jayapura.

[3] *Yōga* means acquisition of new property and *kshēma*, preservation of what is acquired.

[4] See p. 156, n. 2, below.

[5] Nos. 22 and 31, above.

They are two copper-plates, the first of which measures 11.9" broad and 7.8" high, while the second, though of the same breadth, is slightly less in height. They are held together by two rings, 6" in diameter, passing through two holes at the top of each plate. The ends of the right-hand ring are not joined, but those of the left-hand one are secured into the socket of a seal having the shape of an inverted cone, 3" in length, on the round surface of which, about 1.7" in diameter, appears in high relief the figure of a lion in the midst of a circle of knobs. The lion closely resembles that on the seal of the cognate Anjanēri plates of K. 461. The weight of the plates, the rings and the seal is 178 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both the sides. Their rims are slightly thickened with a corresponding depression running all round for the protection of the writing. The plates have suffered considerable damage by corrosion. There are a few holes in the third line on the first plate and near the lower edge of the second. Nearly twenty *aksharas* in l.27 and about a dozen in l.28 have been either partially or wholly damaged by the corrosion of the surface. Some of them, especially those in l.27 can, however, be supplied from the other Anjanēri plates of the same king. Further, lower down on the same side, several *aksharas*, especially in the middle of ll. 34-38, have been almost obliterated by wear and tear, but they can be read with patience and perseverance from their faint traces on the original plate. There are thirty-eight lines of writing in all, of which twelve appear on each inscribed side, except the first side of the second plate which has fourteen lines.

The **characters** closely resemble those in the cognate Anjanēri plates, except that the circles appear here only at the top of letters. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation, which is borrowed from the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas, the record is in prose throughout. Down to l.27 it is identical with the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates, and shows the same palæographical peculiarities. As shown below, the object of the present inscription was not to record any religious gift but to register certain rights and privileges granted to merchants, and to lay down punishment for offences committed in certain towns and villages which were resettled by the king. The usual imprecatory and benedictive verses do not naturally find a place in this record.[1] Their absence does not, therefore indicate that the charter is incomplete. In fact the mention of the executive officer and the use of *iti* at the end of the last line shows that it was duly completed.

The inscription begins with a verse in praise of the boar incarnation. It then gives the usual description of the **Chālukya**[2] **family** and mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramādityavallabha**. It proceeds to state that the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, an ornament of the **family of Hariśchandra**, who was treated like his own son by Vikramāditya, ruled over the whole **Purī-Kōṅkaṇa**, consisting of fourteen thousand villages. His son was the illustrious **Siṁharāja**, and the latter's son, the illustrious **Bhōgaśakti** who had the other name **Pṛithivīchandra**. The description of these kings is given exactly as in the other Anjanēri plates. Bhōgaśakti was always devoted to the worship of the god Vāsudēva, and was an ornament of the province Purī-Kōṅkaṇa.

From ll. 29-31 of the present grant we learn that the king Bhōgaśakti resettled the town **Samagiripaṭṭana** together with (its suburb) **Chandrapurī** as well as the villages—**Ambayapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā** and **Kaṁsāripallikā**, which had previously been devastated. The name of the enemy, who had laid them waste, is not men-

[1] That it was customary to omit such verses in charters which registered only exemptions from toll *etc.*, is shown by the Khārēpāṭan plates of the Śilāhāra king, Anantadēva (Śaka 1016), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33. ff. See also, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, n. 31.

[2] See above, p. 147, n. 1.

tioned. The **object** of the present charter, which was made over to Ela *śrēshṭhin,* Karaputa *śrēshṭhin,* and others of the afore-mentioned town, was to record the rights, privileges and exemptions granted to the merchants and other residents of the resettled town Samagiri, as well as to lay down fines in the case of certain offences committed by the residents and young merchants evidently of the same town. The merchants were, for instance, exempted from octroi duty in the whole kingdom; the property of those who died sonless was not to escheat to the crown;[1] the residents were not required to provide lodging and boarding for royal officers.[2] As for fines imposed for offences, we are told in ll.34-38 that a violent offence against unmarried girls[3] would be punished with a fine of 108 *rūpakas,* and that of adultery with 32 *rūpakas.* For an assault consisting of the boxing of the ears, a fine of sixteen *rūpakas,* and for that which resulted in an injury to the head, one of four *rūpakas* was laid down. If a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 *rūpakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town. The charter was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

The inscription is **not dated,** but the mention of Tējavarmarāja, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Anjanēri inscription, shows that it must have been incised within a few years on either side of the Kalachuri year 461 (710-11 A. C.).

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present plates, **Samagiripaṭṭana** cannot be traced, but it was probably situated near **Chandrapurī,** with which it is coupled in the present grant and which is probably represented by Chandrāchī Mēṭ, 12 m. south-west of Anjanēri. **Savāṇēyapallikā** may be Sāmuṇḍi and **Kaṁsāripallikā** Karholi, five and six miles respectively, north by east of Chandrāchī Mēṭ. **Maurēyapallikā** may be Mōrwāḍī, 3 m. south-west of Nasik, but it is somewhat distant from Chandrāchī Mēṭ if the latter correctly represents Chandrapurī.

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[1] The royal claim to the property of a person who dies sonless is mentioned in some charters as transferred to the grantee together with the donated village. See, *e.g.,* the expression *kumārī-sāhas-āputrādi dhana........samanvitaḥ* qualifying the name of the donated village in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājitadēva, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. III, p. 274. The *aputtrikā-dhana* mentioned in line 12 of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva (*ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 266) is obviously a mistake for *aputra-dhana.* Readers of Sanskrit literature will recall a passage in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala,* Act VI, where Dushyanta is informed by his minister that the property of a merchant, who died sonless, is to escheat to the crown.

[2] In ancient times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to provide for the boarding and lodging of touring royal officers and a small tax called *vasati-daṇḍa,* sometimes collected in kind, was levied for the purpose. In some charters the grantee is specifically exempted from it. Compare *a-kara-yōllaka-vinēsi-khaṭṭā-vāsaṁ a-dūdha-dadhi-gahaṇaṁ........a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇaṁ* in the Pallava grants (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, p. 6; Vol. VI, p. 87); *a-khaṭvā-vās-audanaṁ* in a Kadamba grant (*ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 14) and *a-chār-āsana-charmm-āṅgāraḥ* in Vākāṭaka grants (*ibid.,* Vol. XXII, p. 173). The Paiṭhan and Purushōttampurī plates of Rāmachandra mention the *vasati-daṇḍa,* (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIV, p. 318; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXV, p. 218.)

[3] The fine levied for *kumāri-sāhasa* is sometimes mentioned as transferred to the donee; see the expression in the Bhādāna grant cited above in note 1. The fines for the various offences are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from extorting money from the offenders. For similar fines which village officers were empowered to impose, see Kōṭavumachgi inscription of Vikramāditya V, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, pp. 66 ff.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नत[दं]ष्ट्राग्र-
2 विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः[3] [॥१॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमान[4]मान-
3 व्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धित[ा]नां कार्त्तिके-
4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस-
5 मासादितवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्रा-
6 णां चलुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर-
7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वभुजनिर्ज्जितशेषो
8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूतः शरदु[द][5]गगनमण्डलचन्द्रमा इव प्र-
9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येनेदं चतुर्द्दशग्रामसहस्र-
10 संख्यं[6] सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोंकणं भुक्तमासीत् [।*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रस्य
11 पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रम[:*] श्रीसिक्कहवर्म्म[7]राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिक्कहवर्म्म[7]रा[ज][8]स्य
12 पुत्रश्चतुरुदधिजलतरंगालिंगितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

Second Plate: First Side

13 विख्याततेजा[:] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः [।*] योसौ बाल
14 एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्या[र्च्च][9]नवि-
15 धिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्ताशेषस्वरा-
17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनार्द्दनज्ञानोपदेशवर्त्ती समरविधिविशा-
18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः क्षमं वि-
19 क्रान्तश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्द्धारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि-
20 स्पृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रीकृतकरः पद्मोत्पल-
21 कुं(कु)मुदषंडमंडितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव-
22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं जलधि(धि)रिव रक्षित-
23 स्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्व(त्त्व)श्च सततमिव देवकुलतटा-
24 कसत्रप्रपाधर्म्मक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-
25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोंकणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-
26 राजशास्त्रार्त्थतत्व(त्त्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पंडितो [मे]धावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

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[1] From the original plates.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[4] The *aksharas* मान are unnecessarily repeated.
[5] This *akshara* was at first closed at the top, but the mistake seems to have been corrected.
[6] Read चतुर्द्दशसहस्रसंख्याकं.
[7] Read श्रीसिंहवर्म्म-.
[8] This *akshara* is incised just above the ring-hole, and can be read clearly on the original plate.
[9] The *repha* of this *akshara* is indistinct.

Second Plate : Second Side

27 [क्रमो][1]त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्ति[स्त्रिभु]वनाङ्कुशो [राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्व्वानेवात्मी*–]
28 [य*]पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) विषयपतिग्राममोगिकम[हत्तरान् समाज्ञापय*][2]–
29 [ति*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्व्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसहि[तं]
30 [3]म्बेयपल्लिकासवाणेयपल्लिकामौरेयपल्लिकात्रयसहितं कंसा–
31 [रि]पल्लिका च मया समावासितं(तम्) । एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख–
32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं(त्तम्) [।*] समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्क्ककालिकं शुल्कमादी–[4]
33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [।*] अपरं च अपुत्रधनं भास्ति[5] उमुरभेदः राजपुरुष[ा]–
34 णामावासको जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [।*] कुमारीसाहसे[6] रूपकाणामष्टोत्तरं
35 शतं(तम्) । संग्रहणे[7] द्वात्रिंशतिरूपकाः [।*] कर्ण्णत्रोडणिकोयां[8] षोडश रूपकाः[।*] शिर–
36 स्फोटने च[त्वा]रि रूपकाः [।*] भा[रि]कायां वणिक्पुत्रस्याष्टोत्तरं शतं रूपकाणां
37 नङ्गेगृहीतस्य[9] [।*] यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका वि[चा]र्य्यं वदंते(ति) तदे–[10]
38 तदेव प्रमाणं(णम्) । श्रीतेजवर्म्मराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति [।।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

[*For a translation of ll.*1-28, *see above, pp.* 152-3.]

(Line 28) The illustrious **Bhōgaśakti**........addresses (*the following order to*) all his sons, sons' sons, sons' sons' sons and so forth, (*and to*) the heads of *vishayas*, the *Bhōgikas* and *Mahattaras* of villages :—

(L. 29) "Be it known to you that I have settled (*again*) the **Samagiripaṭṭana,** which had been previously devastated, together with **Chandrapurī** (*and*) together with the three hamlets, (*viz.*) **Ambēyapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā** (*and*) **Maurēyapallikā,** and also **Kaṁsāripallikā.** (*This charter is*) made over to the whole town, of which Ela *śrēshṭhin* and Karapuṭa *śrēshṭhin* are the chief (*representatives*). The merchants residing in Samagiri are not to pay octroi duty in the whole kingdom as long as the moon and the sun will endure. Besides, there is not (*to be escheat to the crown of*) the property of a person who dies sonless. There is to be no distinction of wharfs.[11] There is (*to be*) no (*tax for the*) lodging and boarding of royal officers. For a violent offence against unmarried girls, (*the offender will be fined*) a hundred and eight *rūpakas*; for adultery, thirty-two *rūpakas;* for boxing of the ears, sixteen *rūpakas*; for injury to the head, four *rūpakas*. If (*the offence is committed*) against a labour-woman, a merchant's

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[1] The *aksharas* in the square brackets in this and the following two lines have been damaged by rust. The starred ones in this line are supplied from the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates (No. 31) of the same king.

[2] These nine *aksharas* and the first *akshara* of the next line have been restored conjecturally.

[3] One *akshara* is damaged here. It may have been अ.

[4] Read –मादेयं.

[5] Read नास्ति.

[6] Some letters in the middle of ll. 34-38 have become very shallow by wear and tear, but they can be read with perseverance on the original plate.

[7] ह which was at first omitted is written below the line.

[8] Read –त्रोडणिकायां.

[9] Perhaps नग्नगृहीतस्य is meant.

[10] These two *aksharas* are redundant

[11] The word used in the text is *umura* which is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. *Uma* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a wharf' or 'a landing place'.

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

i.

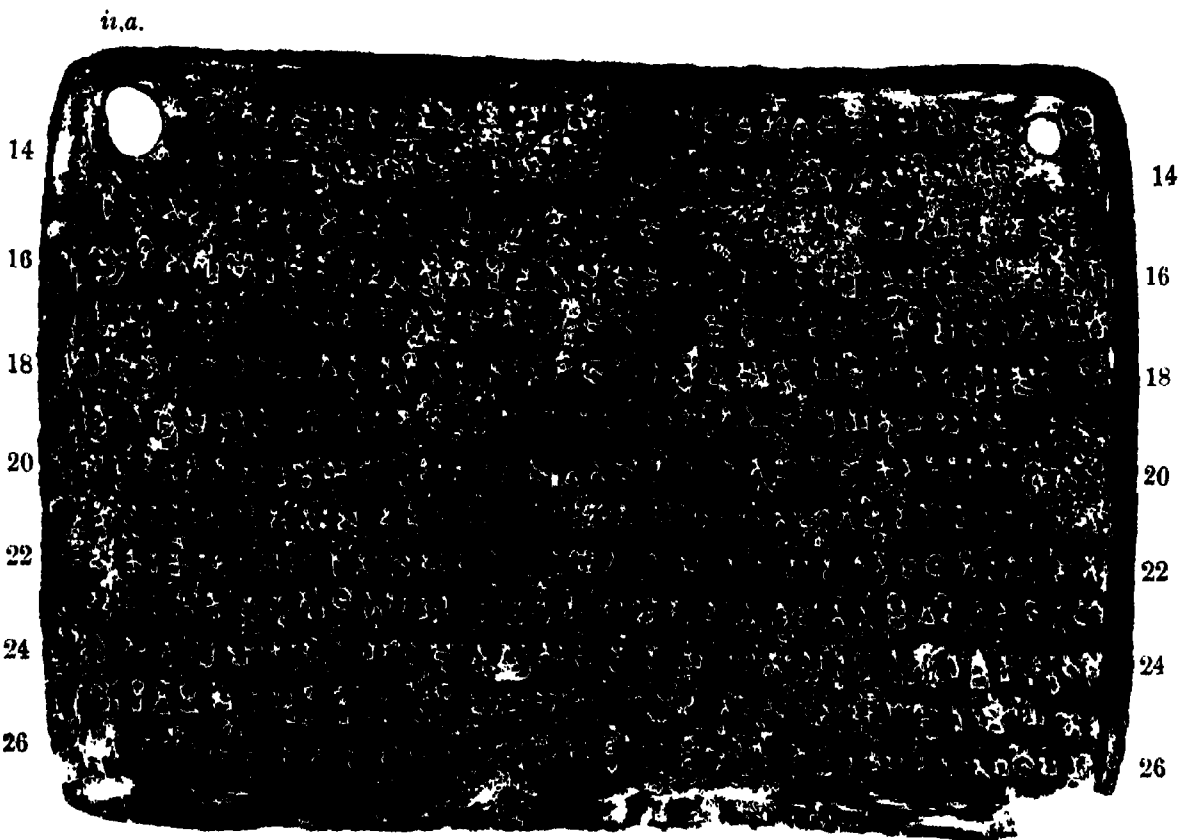
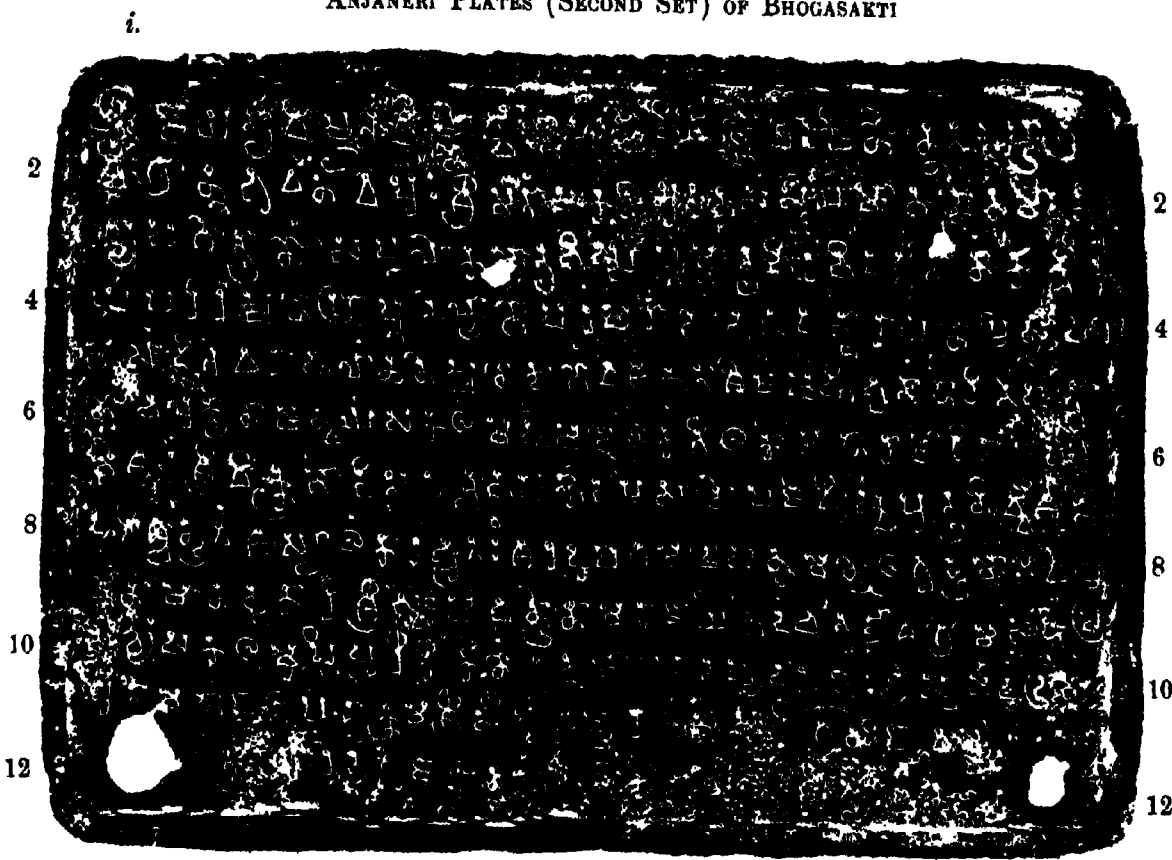
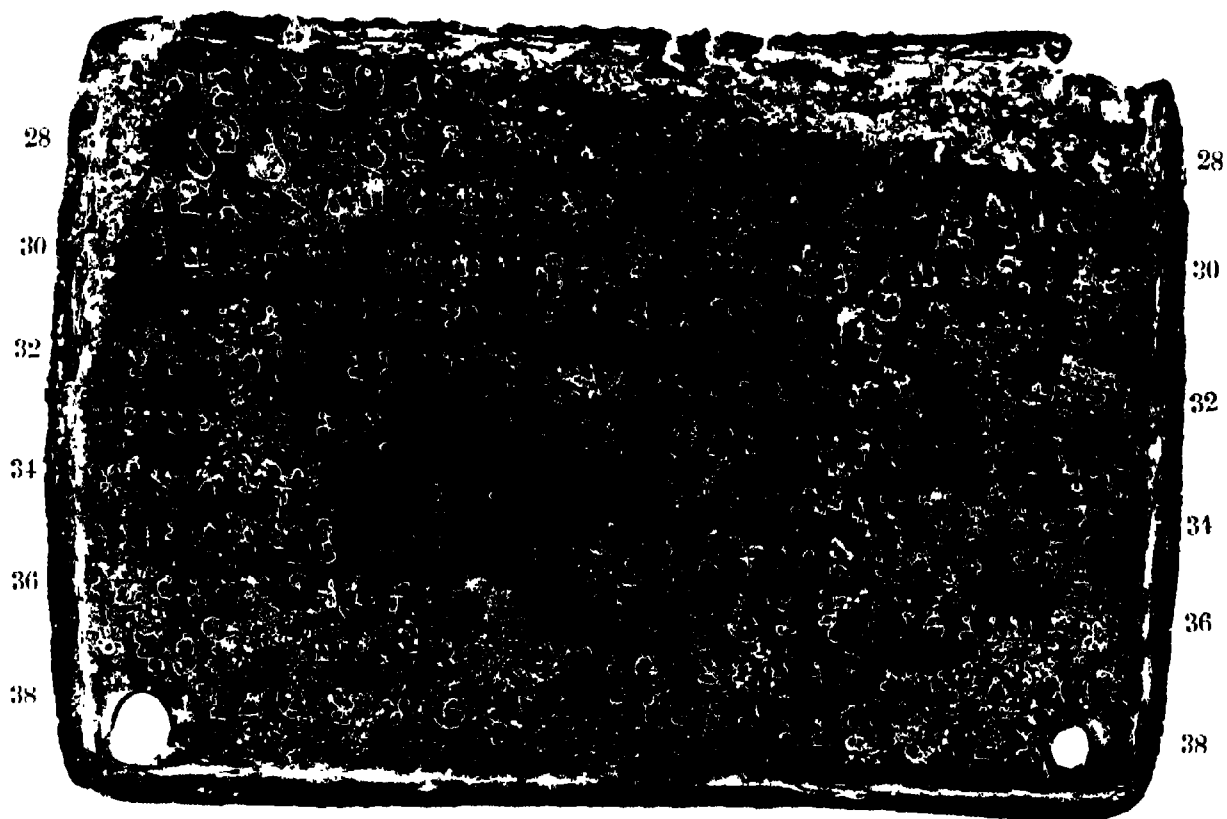
ii,a.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'52

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.b.

28 30 32 34 36 38

Seal

(From Photographs).

son caught naked (?) will be fined one hundred and eight *rūpakas*. And whatever eight or sixteen Mahallakas (*respectable men*) of the town will declare after deliberation, will be the right standard (*of punishment*)."

This was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 33; PLATE XXVII

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN : (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

OF the two copper-plates which, as shown below, purport to record a grant of Taralasvāmin, one was discovered as far back as 1864 somewhere in the Saṅkhēḍā *Tālukā* in the Baroda District and has been edited with a lithograph, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 19 f. This plate contained only the concluding portion of the grant, including the benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date. The other plate, which was recently found in the possession of Patel Mathurabhai of Māṅkaṇī, a village in the Saṅkhēḍā *Tālukā* has been edited with a facsimile by Mr. A. S. Gadre in the *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 f. This plate contains the earlier portion of the grant, *viz.*, the genealogy of the donor, the name of the donee and the object granted. The text of the latter plate ends exactly where that of the former begins.[1] Their characters also completely agree. There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant. The plate edited by Mr. Dhruva, the exact provenance of which has not been recorded, may therefore have come from Māṅkaṇī itself. That this grant is probably spurious was shown by me in an article published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. II, pp. 389 f. I edit the record here from excellent ink impressions of both the plates, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. A.S. Gadre.

The plates measure 8″ in breadth and 3.4″ in height. The first weighs 17¼ and the second 16¾ *tolas*. The writing on both is in a state of good preservation. The plates contain two holes, .2″ in diameter, at the top, for the rings which must have originally held them together, but no ring or seal has been discovered. The record consists of twenty lines, of which ten are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of the letters is .15″.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the grants of the Gurjaras and Early Kalachuris. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the initial *i* consists of two curves, one below the other, in *iv=ōddhūta-* l.3, while it has its usual form in *iva*, l. 7; the length of medial *ī* is indicated by a dot in a circle or by a double curve, see *vīchī-*, l.3; the curve of the subscript *t* is added to the right of its vertical in *bhuktā*, l.15; the subscript form of *th* shows a notch in *-sthiti-*, l.11; *v* is almost rectangular in *-vaiśvadēva-*, l.10 and the subscript *m* is cursive in *nirmmālya*, ll.18-19. Punctuation is marked by a short horizontal stroke in l.20 and by double vertical strokes in ll. 15-20.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-kīrttiḥ*, l.4, the substitution of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *-vaṅśair=*, l.13 and *-chatvāriṅś-ōttarakē*, l.20, and the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *krishataḥ*, l.12.

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[1] The record on the first plate ends with *pañcha-mahā-yajña-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-ārttham*, while that on the second plate begins with *ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakālīnam*.

The plates purport to record the grant, by Taralasvāmin of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) family, of a rice-field situated on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkaṇikā. Taralasvāmin is described as the son of *Mahārāja* Naṇṇa and Dadā and the sister's husband of the illustrious Sūrya. The grant was made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshṭhasēna, who belonged to the Jātūkarṇa *gōtra*[1] and the Vājasanēya *śākhā*. The record was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Āditya who was a *Bhōgika*. It is dated in the year 346, expressed both in words and in decimal figures. This is supposed to be the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation.[2]

The palaeography of the grant makes it probable that it belongs to about the seventh century A.C. Its date has been referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 594-95 A.C. if the year 346 was current, and to 595-96 A.C. if it was expired. As no further details are given, the date does not admit of calculation.

Taralasvāmin, who made the present grant, bears no royal title, though his father Naṇṇa is called *Mahārāja*. He may have owed allegiance to the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa whose Ābhōṇa plates were issued just a year after the date of the present grant.[3] That Gujarat was included in the dominion of Śaṅkaragaṇa is clear from the Saṅkhēḍā plate of Śāntilla, which mentions him as the reigning king.[4] Like Śāntilla, Taralasvāmin also seems to have been holding a subordinate position; for like the former, he addresses his order to a king's officers (*rāja-pādīyas*) as well as to his own. This king may have been Śaṅkaragaṇa.

There are certain indications, however, which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. Neither Taralasvāmin nor his father Naṇṇa is known from any records of the Early Kalachuris. Even supposing that they were collaterals and need not, therefore, have been mentioned in those records, it looks strange that unlike Śāntilla, Taralasvāmin does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen, was Śaṅkaragaṇa. He and his father Naṇṇa are praised in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of an independent king like Śaṅkaragaṇa. Besides, we find that in this period Śāntilla also was holding this very part of Gujarat; for the village Taṇḍulapadraka granted by him is identified with Tāndaljā, about 16 miles from Saṅkhēḍā. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that Taralasvāmin either preceded or followed Śāntilla in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case Taralasvāmin's silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The decimal notation also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant; for not only in the period to which the record refers itself, *viz.*, the end of the sixth century A.C., but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris, Gurjaras, Sēndrakas and Chālukyas,[5] who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.C., are invariably dated in this manner. Even

[1] The mention of this *gōtra* is interesting, for it shows that the name *Jātūkarṇī* of the mother of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti was derived from it. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 108.

[2] *I. P.*, p. 63. See also Dr. Sukhtankar's article 'Palaeographic Notes' in R. G. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 319 f.

[3] They are dated in K. 347.

[4] In his grant Śāntilla not only describes his suzerain Śaṅkaragaṇa, but also the latter's father Kṛishṇarāja.

[5] See the dates of Nos. 12-30 above.

the Hānsōṭ plates[1] of Bhartṛivaḍḍha which were issued as late as V. 813 (756 A. C.) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukachchha. Similarly the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates[2] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka, who succeeded the Chālukyas in Southern Gujarat, use similar symbols to express their date S. 679 (757 A.C.). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant, the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shērgaḍh Buddhist inscription[3] of the *Sāmanta* Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 or 791-92 A.C. It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A. C.[4] The present grant which purports to have been made as early as 595 A.C. and still has its date expressed in decimal figures, appears to be suspicious[5].

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sēndraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression *avanata-sāmant-āmala-mukuṭa-maṇi-nighṛishṭa-charaṇa-yugal-āravindaḥ* in l. 1 of the present grant with *praṇat-āśēsha-sāmanta-śirō-muku[ṭa*]-nighṛishṭa-pada-paṁkajaḥ* in ll. 45 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. Similarly, *Kalpatarur=iv=ōpabhujja(jya)mān-ākshīṇa-vibhavaḥ* in ll. 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to *Kalpaumam=(druma)=iv=ābhivāṁchhit-āśēsha-jan-ōpabhujyama(mā)na-vibhavō* in lines 7-8 of the Sēndraka grant.[6] As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sēndraka record, we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. The Sēndrakas were ruling in Gujarat in the second quarter of the seventh century. The present grant, which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sēndraka records, could not therefore have been made in 595 A.C.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present plates were forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C. when the decimal notation came into vogue. The palæography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A.C. The aforementioned Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha dated V. 813 (756 A.C.) and the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka, dated S. 679 (757-58 A.C.) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, *viz.*, 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Gōṇḍal plates (Set A),

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pl. facing p. 203.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pl. facing p. 108.

[3] See the plate of the date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures. (See, *e.g.*, G. 547 of Bhandarkar's *I. N. I.* No. 1357, G. 365 of No. 1361 and G. 387 of 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G. 386 of No. 1367, G. 403 of No. 1370, *etc.*, are known to be in numerical symbols, which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter- numerals.

[4] Dr. G. S. Gai has recently drawn attention to two earlier northern records, the dates of which are given in decimal figures, *viz.*, the Sakrai stone inscription (V. 699) and the Dhiniki grant of Jāikadēva (V. 794). *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 f. The evidence of both these records is, however, doubtful. The date of the former has also been read as V. 879 and V. 749 (*L. N. I.*, No. 23 and *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum* for 1933-34, p. 2), while the latter is regarded as a forged document, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 198 and Vol. XIX, pp. 370-71.

[5] Kaye also says that 'the ninth century A. C. is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 44-45.

[6] Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

dated G. 405 (724-25 A.C.), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti (653 A.C.) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Gōṇḍal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr. Kaye,[1] but a somewhat similar form of the numeral is seen in the Shērgaḍh inscription of Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 (790-91 A.C.) and the Ghumli plates of Jāika II, dated G. 596 (915 A.C.)[2]. It seems therefore, that the Māṅkaṇī plates of Taralasvāmin was forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C.[3] It affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.C.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the present plates, *viz.*, Maṅkaṇikā[4] which Mr. Gadre has already shown to be identical with Māṅkaṇī, where one of the plates was found.

TEXT[5]

1 सिद्धम्[6] [।*] स्वस्त्यवनतसामन्तामलमुकुटमणिनिघृष्टचरणयुगलारविन्द:(विन्द:) मन-
तुहिनरजतश-

2 ङ्खकुन्दकुमुदेन्दुकरनिकरप्रताना[7]वदातयशोधवलितदिगन्तराल: कटच्चुरि[कुल]वेश्मप्रदीप:

3 श्रीमहाराजसण्ण[8]स्तस्य सूनु: प्रभञ्जन[9] इवोद्धूतवीची[च]लित[10]चञ्चत्सत्मीनकुलाकुल-
भ्रान्ति-

4 प्रशोभित[11]सलिलविलम्बितोदधिकीर्त्ति: शिवचरणकमलाराधनपर: श्रीसूर्य्यभावुक:

5 ददात्मज: शत्रुवनितावदनकमलशोभाम्लानिकर: कल्पतरुरिवोपभुज्ज(ज्य)मानाक्षीण[वि]भ-

6 व: स्वच्छो गाम्भीर्य्यवा[12]नकल्पितसार: स्थित्यतिक्रमभीरुरब्धिरिव विजितारातितमोजाल-

7 चन्द्रमा[13] इव श्रीतरलस्वामी सर्व्वानेव स्वां[14] राजपादीयांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु[15] व: संवि[दितं] यथा

8 मया मङ्कणिकाग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि चतुर्हिसाधाटं बृ[ह*]न्मानेन व्रीहिपिटक[वा]पं क्षेत्रं सवि-

9 वरं सोद्रा(द्र)ङ्गं भूतवातप्रत्यायारहितं[16] जेष्ठसेन[17]ब्राह्मणआत्रूकर्ण्णसगोत्रवाजि(ज)सने-

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[1] See Table, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pl. facing p. 224. This date is expressed in decimal figures and not in numerical symbols.

[3] Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 53-54, n. 2.

[4] The *Mahābhārata*, (Śalyaparvan, *Adhyāya* 38, v.v. 38 f.) gives the story of the sage Maṅkaṇaka. The Navsāri plates of Karka II also mention the Maṅkaṇikābhukti, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 f.

[5] From an ink impression supplied by Mr. A. S. Gadre.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] प्रतान is out of place here. It should rather be connected with यश:. *Cf.* यश:प्रतान- in the Kaira plates of Dadda, No. 16, l.26.

[8] Read सण्ण: । तस्य.

[9] It would be better to read विलम्बितप्रभञ्जनोद्धूतवीचीचलितचञ्चत्सत्मीनकुलाकुलभ्रान्तिप्रशोभितसलिलोदधि-कीर्त्ति:.

[10] The first *akshara* of this word is indistinct. Mr. Gadre reads ब्रलित which does not suit the context.

[11] Read प्रशोभित. Compare भ्रमोभिता . . . . चटुलतिमिकुलक्षोभितान्तर्जलाना in the *Mudrārākshasa*, III, 24. The two dots which follow सलिल are superfluous.

[12] Mr. Gadre reads गाम्भीर्य्य, but I do not see any clear trace of the subscript *r* in the second *akshara* of this word. Read गाम्भीर्य्य-.

[13] Read -चन्द्रमा इव.

[14] Read स्वान्.

[15] Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

[16] Mr. Gadre reads भूतवातप्रत्ययारहितं, but the *ā* stroke of *yā* in *pratyāyā* is quite clear. Besides, the expression, as read here, corresponds to सभूतवातप्रत्यायं which often occurs in land-grants, see l. 23 of No. 26, above.

[17] Read ज्येष्ठसेन. In the records of this period the word ब्राह्मण generally precedes the personal name. Besides, ब्राह्मणज्येष्ठसेनाय should follow, not precede आत्रूकर्ण्णसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे.

10 यसब्रह्मचारिणे बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवनपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थम्[1]

Second Plate

11 आचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य[2]मुदकातिसर्ग्गेण

12 प्रतिपादि[तं] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [।*] अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या कृषत: करि–

13 षापयतो[3] वा न कौ(कै)श्चिद्व्याषे(से)धे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वंश्यैर्व्वा[4] सामान्यं भूमि–

14 दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं[5] च भगवता व्या–

15 सेन ।। बहुभिर्व्वसु[धा] भुक्ता राजभि: सा(स)गरादिभि:[6] [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

16 तदा फलं(लम्)[7] ।। [१।।*] प्रष्टि[8]वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदती[9] भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुम[न्ता] च तान्ये–

17 व नरके वसे[त्*] ।। [२।।*] विध्या(न्ध्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णसर्प्पा-भिजायन्ते[10]

18 ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[:] ।। [३।।*] यानीह दत्ता[नि] पु[रा] नरेन्द्रैद्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्मा–

19 ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[:] पुनराददीत[11] ।। [४।।*] लिखितं चात्र सान्धिवि– ग्रहिकेना–[12]

20 दित्यभोगिकेन । संवत्सरशतत्रयं[13] षट्चत्वारिंशोत्त[र]के[14] ।। ३४६[15]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! (*There was*) the *Mahārāja* **Naṇṇa,** a light in the house of the **Kaṭachchuri** family, the lotus-like pair of whose feet was scratched by the jewels on the bright-diadems of feudatories who bowed (*before him*), (*and*) whose fame, white like thick snow, silver, a conch, a *kunda* flower, a *kumuda*[16] (lotus) and a mass of the moon's rays, brightened the space between the quarters.

(Line 3) His son, the illustrious **Taralasvāmin,**—whose fame has crossed the ocean, the water of which is agitated by the confused darting of fishes terrified by the roar of surging waves produced by wind; who is intent on adoring the lotus-like feet of Siva; who is the sister's husband of the illustrious **Sūrya** and the son of **Dadā;** who has caused the beauty of the lotus-like faces of (*his*) enemies' wives to fade; who resembles the wish-

[1] Mr. Gadre reads *mā,* but the *ā* stroke is not distinct. Besides, the smaller form of the letter shows that it is a final consonant.

[2] Read भोग्य–.

[3] Read कृषत: कर्षयतो.

[4] Read –स्मद्वंश्यैर्व्वा.

[5] Read पालयितव्यश्चेति । उक्तं.

[6] The dot in the circle denoting the medial *i* of *di* and *bhi* seems to be due to a fault in the copper.

[7] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[8] Read षष्टिं.

[9] Read मोदति.

[10] Read कृष्णसर्प्पा हि जायन्ते.

[11] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[12] Read –विग्रहिकेणादित्य–.

[13] Read संवत्सरशतत्रये.

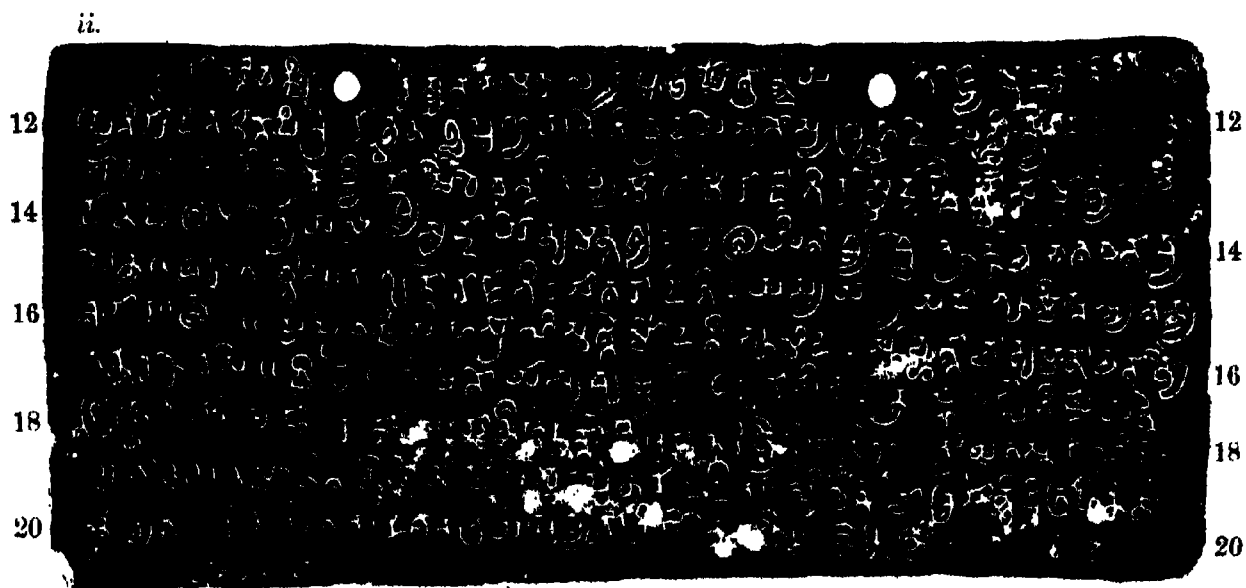
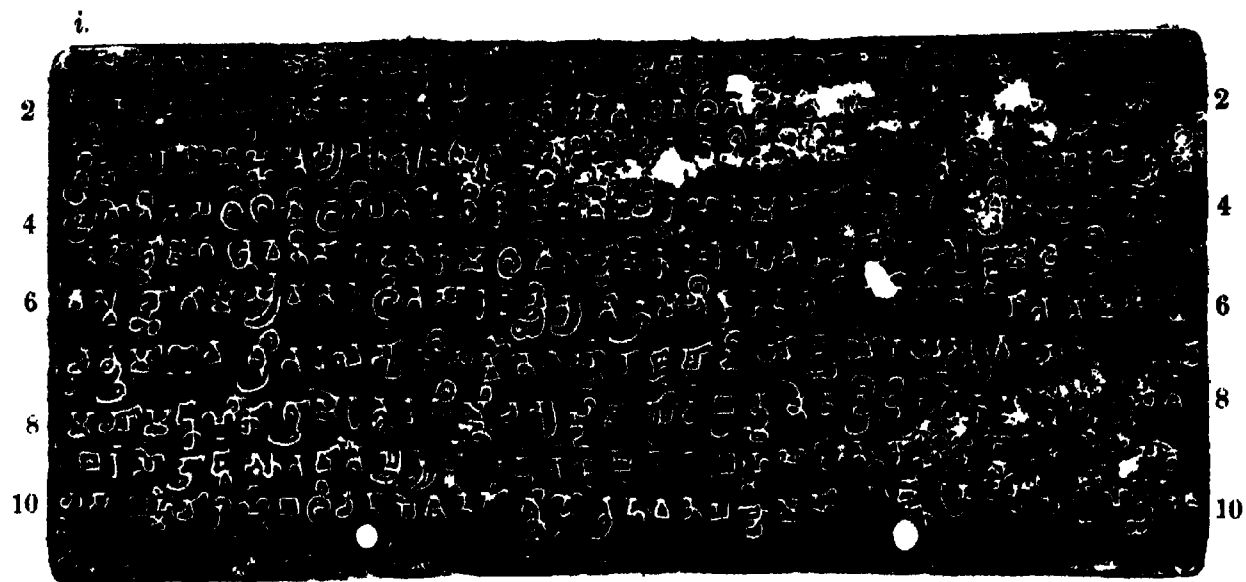
[14] Read षट्चत्वारिंशदुत्तरे.

[15] For this date which is written in decimal figures, see above, p. 161.

[16] *Kumuda* is a white lotus.

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

i.

ii.

fulfilling tree as his undiminishing wealth is enjoyed (*by supplicants*); who resembles the ocean, being pure (*as the ocean is clear*), serene (*as the ocean is deep*), of ungauged strength (*as the ocean's wealth is unmeasured*), and afraid of transgressing the laws of moral conduct (*even as the ocean is afraid of overflowing the shore*); and who overcomes his foes even as the moon dispels a mass of darkness,—informs all his officers as well as those of the venerable King as follows:—

(L. 7) "Be it known to you that for the increase of religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, a field requiring for its seed-grains a *piṭaka* of paddy by the large measure,—which is marked by boundaries in the four directions, (*and is situated*) on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkaṇikā, together with *ŝibara* (*farm-house*) (*and*) *udraṅga*, octroi and excise duties, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshṭhasēna of the Jātūkarṇa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* and *agnihōtra* offerings.

(L. 12) Wherefore, none should act in such a way as to obstruct him while he is cultivating it or causing it to be cultivated according to the manner of a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. And future kings, whether born in Our family or others, considering that the reward of a gift of land is shared in (*by him who for the time being is the ruler of the land*), should consent and preserve this Our gift."

(L. 14) And the holy Vyāsa has said:—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(Line 19) This charter has been written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the *Bhōgika* Āditya. In the year three hundred increased by forty-six, (*in figures*), 346.

No. 34; Plate XXVIII

SPURIOUS KAIRA PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA : (KALACHURI ?) YEAR 394

THESE copper-plates were found together with three other sets[1] of plates about 1827 in the town Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Northern Gujarat, Bombay State. They were published, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series), Vol. I (1865), pp. 247 ff. They were subsequently edited with fresh lithographs and a translation by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 241 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. They are edited here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Society.

Dr. Fleet has thus described the copper-plates:—'The plates are two in number, about 13⅝" long by 8¼" broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings; but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them.' The plates are in a state of good preservation. The record consists of thirty-four lines, of which twenty-one are inscribed on the first plate and the remaining thirteen on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to what Dr. Bühler has called the archaic variety of the southern alphabet[2], which is found used in the charters of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

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[1] Two of these were Nos. 16 and 17 above. The third has not been traced.

[2] *I. P.*, p. 65.

As regards individual letters, we may notice that the initial *u* which occurs in *uktam*, l. 28, is closely similar to *ṭ* as in *Vindhyāṭavī-*, l. 29; the loop of the initial *ē* is closed on the left, see *ēsha*, l. 10; the length of medial *ī* is denoted either by a curve curling to the left as in *-pīḍita-*, l. 7, or by a double circle as in *Hārīti-*, ll. 2-3; the curve of the medial *ṛi* is turned in some cases to the left, see, *e.g.*, *-pitṛi-*, l. 8, *-vṛiddhayē*, l. 11, *-sadṛiś-*, ll. 26-27, and in others to the right, see *-kṛipaṇa-*, l. 8, *-paṭal-āvṛita-*, l. 27; the stroke for the medial *ē* encircles the letter on the left, see *-anvayē*, l. 3; similarly the left-hand *mātrā* for the medial *ō* and the lower of the two *mātrās* representing medial *ai* also encircle their respective letters, see *-dāyō-*, l. 27 and *Vaiśākha-*, l. 11; in *narēndraiḥ*, l. 32, on the other hand, the two left-hand strokes of the medial *ai* are placed one beyond the other; the medial *ō* is, in some places, shown with a loop, see *sva-bāhu-balō-*, l. 6, and consequently medial *au* is bipartite; *kh* appears without a loop except in the last two lines of the record; *ṭ* has a flat horizontal stroke at the top; neither *t* nor *n* is looped, except in their subscript forms, see, *e.g.*, *-prasanna-*, l. 1, *-āgni-*, l. 24, = *saṁyukta*, l. 28 and *haranti*, l. 30; the subscript *th* is roundish in *sthity-*, l. 2 and curled in *-udayasthō*, l. 4; the subscript *v* is distinguished from *y* only by its right arm not being raised to the top-line. In some cases *m* appears similar to *sh*, which has misled the engraver into incising *-mimēvī* for *-nishēvī* in l. 7. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 26, and that of *t* in ll. 28 and 29. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* is seen in l. 32 and the **numerical symbols** for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 4 in l. 34.

The **language** is Sanskrit. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out,[1] the description of the donor's family in the first two lines of the present inscription is identical with that occurring in the beginning of the grants of the Early Kaṭachchuris.[2] Again, the description of Vijayarāja in ll. 5-8 almost literally agrees with that of Śaṅkaragaṇa in the Kaṭachchuri grants.[3] In copying the latter, the draftsman of the present inscription seems to have inadvertently omitted the expression *bhūri-draviṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyaḥ* after *samyak-prajā-pālan-ādhigata* in l. 7. In its absence the latter expression cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. In the next two expressions *dīn-āndha-kṛipaṇa-bhē(śa)raṇ-āgata-vatsalaḥ* and *yath-ābhilashita-phala-pradō* he has, to some extent, altered the original adjectives. Besides, in the formal part of the grant he has drawn upon some inscription, like the Bagumrā plates, of the Sēndrakas, for the expressions in ll. 25-27 of the present record agree almost literally with those in ll. 27-29 of the Bagumrā plates.[4] That the writer had a very imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit language is shown by the expression *-kuvalaya-tara-yaśasaḥ*, in which, while comparing Jayasiṁha's fame with a blue lotus (!), he adds the comparative affix *tara* to a noun and uses the wrong grammatical form *-yaśasaḥ* for *-yaśāḥ*. As regards **orthography**, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in some cases, and *ri* used for the vowel *ṛi* in *prithivyām*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijayarāja**, the son of **Buddhavarman**, who was himself the son of **Jayasiṁha** of the **Chalukya** dynasty. The plates purport to have been issued from the king's victorious camp at **Vijayapura** and to register the grant of the village **Pariyaya** which was situated to the east of **Sandhiyara** in the *vishaya* of **Kāśākula**. The land, or rather the revenue of the village, was divided into 55½ *pattikās*[5] (shares) which were distributed among 63 Brāhmaṇas, each getting from one-half

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

[2] Compare ll. 1-2 of the present inscription with ll. 1-3 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, above, No. 12.

[3] Compare ll. 5-7 of the present record with ll. 10-13 of the Ābhōṇa plates, above, No. 12.

[4] The draftsman has, to some extent, altered the original expressions and changed their order.

[5] *Pati*, *pāti*, and *patti* occur in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Bühler derived them from Sanskrit *prāpti* 'produce' or 'income', see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 8, n. 17.

to three *pattikās*. The donees were all residents of Jambūsara and students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 394 of an unspecified era. Both the *tithi* and the year are expressed in words as well as numerical symbols. The *Dūtaka* was the Vāsāpaka Nanna. The charter was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhikrita* Khuddasvāmin and incised by the Kshatriya Mātṛisiṁha.

Most of the places mentioned in the present grant were identified by Dr. Bühler.[1] Pariyaya, the granted village, is the modern Pariyā, seven miles east of Olpāḍ, the headquarters of the Olpāḍ *tāluka* of the Surat District. Sandhiyara, which lay to its west, is identical with Sandhiyar, two miles to the west of Pariyā. The *vishaya* of Kāśākula, in which these places were situated, must have comprised the country on the northern bank of the Tāpti. The same *vishaya* is mentioned in the Antrōli-Chhārōli plates, dated Saka 679, of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkarāja.[2] I identify Kāśākula with the modern Kachchōl, 4 miles to the south-west of Olpāḍ. All these places are situated to the south of the Kīm which formed the northern boundary of the Chālukyan dominion in South Gujarat. Jambūsara still retains its ancient name unchanged, and lies about 30 m. to the north of Broach. Vijayapura, from which the plates purport to have been issued cannot be definitely identified. It may be either Vijāpur of the Panch Mahals, or the headquarters of the Vijāpur sub-division in the Baroda District.[3] In either case it lies to the north of the Kīm and, therefore, outside the Chālukyan territory. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Vijayarāja made the present grant in the course of a military campaign in the Gurjara kingdom.

The date of the present inscription does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details. The era to which it appertains has long been a matter of controversy. Fleet at first referred the date to the Śaka era and took it as equivalent to 472-3 A. C.[4] He was inclined to identify Jayasiṁha who heads the genealogical list in the present grant with Jayasiṁha I of the Early Chālukya Dynasty, and as the Chālukyas in some of their later records represent themselves as having originally come from the north, he came to the conclusion that Vijayarāja and his ancestors were ruling in Gujarat until their power was subverted and their family expelled by the Gurjara kings or by the kings of Valabhī. Later on, Fleet abandoned this theory and proposed to identify[5] the grandfather of Vijayarāja with Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman, who is represented in the Nirpan plates[6] as a younger brother of Pulakeśin II, or with Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman who appears in the Navsārī[7] and Balsār[8] plates as a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Consequently, he referred the date of the present grant to the Chēdi era and took it to correspond to 643 A. C. These identifications also are not free from difficulties. For, as regards the first, Fleet himself has doubted the genuineness of the Nirpan plates,[9] from which alone we know of a brother of Pulakeśin II, named Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. As regards the second, Pandit Bhagvanlal

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 197.
[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.
[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 359, n. 3.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 242.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 292.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 125.
[7] No. 27, above.
[8] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.
[9] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 358.

pointed out[1] that if the date is taken to correspond to 642-3 A. C., Vijayarāja would be ruling about twenty-five years before his grand-uncle, Vikramāditya I, who flourished between 670 and 680 A. C.[2] The Pandit, therefore, proposed to refer the date to the Gupta era and take it as equivalent to 713 A. C. This presents no chronological difficulties. For, Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, was ruling at Navsāri in Southern Gujarat from 671 A. C. to 693 A. C.[3] If Vijayarāja was his grandson, it is not improbable that he should be ruling twenty-one years after Jayasiṁha's latest known date.

But the grant is probably spurious. As pointed out by Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar,[4] it is not in the regular Chālukyan style. There is no invocation of the boar-incarnation in the beginning, and none of the princes mentioned in it receive any titles and *birudas* as in other genuine Chālukyan grants. In no other record of the Early Chālukyas, again, do we find such a wholesale borrowing from Kaṭachchuri grants. This cannot be attributed to the Gujarat draftsman's ignorance of the forms of Chālukyan records; for the earlier grants of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, which were drafted in Gujarat, are in the approved Chālukyan style. Pandit Bhagvanlal supposed[5] that Jayasiṁha might have conquered part of North Gujarat and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it; but, as shown above, the donated village was situated in the Surat District in South Gujarat. We have, therefore, to suppose that Vijayarāja was ruling over South Gujarat for some time between 693 A. C., the last known date of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, and 731 A. C., the date of his brother Maṅgalarasarāja. In that case this would be the only instance of the use of the Gupta era in South Gujarat; for, so far as our knowledge goes, the Kalachuri era was exclusively used in Gujarat down to the middle of the eight century A. C. It is again noteworthy that the present grant was found with two others of Dadda II at Kairā and that many of the donees mentioned in it figure also in the latter grants.[6] It is therefore, not unlikely that it was forged in favour of the descendants of those Brāhmaṇas by someone who was ignorant of the form of Chālukyan records.[7] Its date 394 was intended to refer to the same era as the genuine Gurjara grants of K. 380 and K. 385, and thus to correspond to 693 or 694 A. C., when the

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

[2] Since then the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign has been fixed in 654-55 A. C., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

[3] Above, Nos. 27 and 30.

[4] *E. H. D.*, pp. 77 f.

[5] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

[6] As many as twelve names are common to the three grants, *viz.*, Ādityaravi, Indraśūra and Īśvara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, Bhaṭṭi and Drōṇa of the Dauṇḍakīya *gōtra*, Viśākha, Dhara and Nandin of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra* and Gōpāditya and Viśākha of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Again, the following persons mentioned in the Chālukya and Gurjara grants respectively are probably identical: Tāpiśūra and Tāviśūra of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Dāma and Dāmadhara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Tāviśarman and Tāpiśarman of the Dauṇḍakīya *gōtra*, Sēla and Śaila of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Vatraśarman and Vāṭaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Rāma and Rāmila of the Māṭhara *gōtra*.

[7] On the back of the plates there is a cancelled inscription, for which, see Dr. Fleet's account in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff. It contains the names of many donees figuring in the present record and has the same date as the latter, but its opening words indicate that it purported to be granted like the spurious plates of Dadda II from the Vijaya-vikshēpa (victorious capital?) Nāndīpurī. It may have been realized after it was incised that the Chālukyas could not have ruled from Nāndīpurī in K. 394 as the Gurjaras were in continuous occupation of the surrounding territory from at least K. 380 to K. 486. So the inscription was cancelled and another written on the back of the plates. The writers of the two inscriptions were different persons, for the characters in which they are incised differ in certain respects as shown by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 251). For another reason conjectured by Dr. Fleet, see *loc. cit.*, p. 253.

Brāhmaṇa donees common to the three grants may have been living. That this date is impossible has been shown above. The borrowing of some expressions from the formal part of Sēndraka grants indicates that the present record must have been forged some time after the middle of the seventh century A. C.[1]

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[3] [।*] स्वस्ति[।*] विजयस्कन्धावा[रात्][4] [वि]जयपु[रवासकात्] शरदुपगम–
प्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपु[ले] [वि]विधपु[रु]षर[त्न]गुण–

2 निकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्त्वा)श्रयदु[र्ल]ङ्घ्ये गांभीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
[मान]व्यसगोत्रा[णां] हा–

3 रीतिपुत्राणां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां चलुक्यानाम[न्व]ये व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलगगन–
तलगतशिशिरकर–

4 किरणकुवलयतरयशसः[5] श्रीजयसिंहराजः[।*] तस्य सुतः प्रबलरिपुतिमिरपटलभि[दु]रः सततमुद–
यस्थो नक्तन्दिव–

5 मप्यखण्डितप्रतापो दी(दि)वाकर इव वल्लभरणविक्रान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्म्मराजः [।*] तस्य सूनुः
प्रिथिव्या[6]मप्रतिरथः चतुरुदधिस[लि]ला–

6 स्वादितयशो[7] धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपार्जि[त]राजश्रीः[8] प्रतापातिशयोपन–
तसमस्तसामन्तम–

7 ण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्म्मा(र्म्मा)र्थकामनिषेवी[9] प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगंभीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यक्प्रजा–
पालनाधिगतः[10] दीना–

8 न्धकृपणशे(श)रणागतवत्सलः यथाभिलषितफलप्रदो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीविजयराजस्सर्व्वा–
नेव विषयपतिराष्ट्र–

9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु[11] वस्संविदितमस्माभिर्यथा काशाकुलविषयान्तर्गत स–
न्धियरपूर्व्विण[12] परिय–

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[1] For another similar spurious grant purporting to have been made by the Chalukya prince Buddhavarasa, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff. Like the present grant, it has borrowed some expressions from the earlier Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti, in ll. 10-11, and seems to have been forged in the second half of the seventh century A. C., as shown by Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

[2] From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

[5] The draftsman evidently had before him the expression व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दु-किरणधवलतरयशोवितानसंछादिताशेषः in some Sēndraka record like Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. He has blundered in substituting कुवलयतर *for* धवलतर. Read धवलतरयशाः.

[6] Read पृथिव्या–.

[7] Read –यशा.

[8] Fleet's proposal to read राज्यश्रीः is unnecessary.

[9] Read निषेवी. Fleet read निषो(र्षी)वी, but the correct reading was pointed out by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296, n. 4.

[10] The writer had before him the expression [illegible] in the Kaṭachchuri grants, but he inadvertently omitted the latter part of it. As it stands, it would be better to read it as सम्यक्प्रजापालनरतः.

[11] Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभिः.

[12] Read –पूर्वेण.

10 य एष ग्रामः सोद्रंगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्व(र्व)वित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः भूमिछिद्र[1]न्यायेना-
चाटभटप्रावेश्यः जंबूस-

11 रसामान्यमा(वा)असनेयकाण्वाध्वर्य्य(र्यु)सब्रह्मचारीणां[2] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-
वृद्धये वैशाखपूर्णमास्यामुदकाति-

12 सर्गेण प्रतिपादितः [।*] भरद्वाजसगोत्रादित्यरवेः[3] पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय
द्वय[र्ध]पत्तिका [ई]श्वरस्यार्द्धपत्तिका

13 दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्धपत्तिका असस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका माइलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्ध-
पत्तिका सोमायार्धपत्तिका रामश-

14 र्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका भाव्यायार्धपत्तिका द्रोणधरायार्धपत्तिका [।*] धूम्रायणसगोत्रावुकाय दिवर्ध[4]-
पत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका ।। दौण्डकीय-

15 सगोत्रभट्टेः पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्ध[4]पत्तिका द्रोणाय पट्टिका[5]त्रयं ताविश[र्म्म]णे पत्तिके द्वे
भट्टि[ने]र्द्धपत्तिका । वत्राय पत्तिका

16 द्रोणशर्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका द्वितीयद्रोणशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका ।। काश्यपसगोत्रबप्पस्वामिने तिस्रः पट्टिका
दुर्ग्गशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका दत्ताया-

17 यार्धपत्तिका ।। कौण्डिन(न्य)सगोत्रवादाया[6] दिवर्ध[7]पत्तिका सेलाय पत्तिका द्रोणाय पत्तिका
सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका

18 वत्रशर्म्म(र्म्म)णेर्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका ।। माठरसगो[त्र]विशाखाय पत्तिका धराय पत्ति-
का नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्तिका

19 रामाय पत्तिका बाभ्रस्या(श्राया)र्धपत्तिका गणायार्धपत्तिका कोर्दुवायार्धपत्तिका भायि[भ]ट्टायार्ध-
पत्तिका नर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका रामशर्म्मणेर्ध-

20 पत्तिका ।। हारितसगोत्रधर्म्मधराय दिवर्ध[7]पत्तिका ।। वैष्णवसगोत्रभट्टिने पत्तिका ।। गौतम-
सगोत्रधरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरा-

21 यार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका ।। शाण्डिलसगोत्रदामायार्धपत्तिका लक्ष्मणसगोत्रकार्क्कस्य पत्तिका [।*]

Second Plate

22 वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखायार्द्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका
यक्षशर्मा-[8]

23 र्धपत्तिका ताविशूराय पत्तिका कक्क(र्क)स्यार्धपत्तिका ताविशर्म्म(र्म्म)णेर्धपत्तिका शर्म्मणे[9]र्धपत्तिका
कुमारायार्धपत्तिका

24 मात्रीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका बाटलायार्धपत्तिका [।।*] एतेभ्यः सर्व्वेभ्यः बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-
क्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षि-

25 तिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः [।*] यत[10]स्मद्वंश्यैर[न्यै]र्वागामिभोगपतिभि-
स्सामान्यं[11] भूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः नलवेणुकदलि-

---

[1] Read भूमिच्छिद्र-.

[2] Read सब्रह्मचारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.

[3] The engraver first incised रविः and then thought of altering it to रवेः .

[4] Read द्व्यर्ध-.

[5] Fleet read पत्तिका, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ṭṭi*.

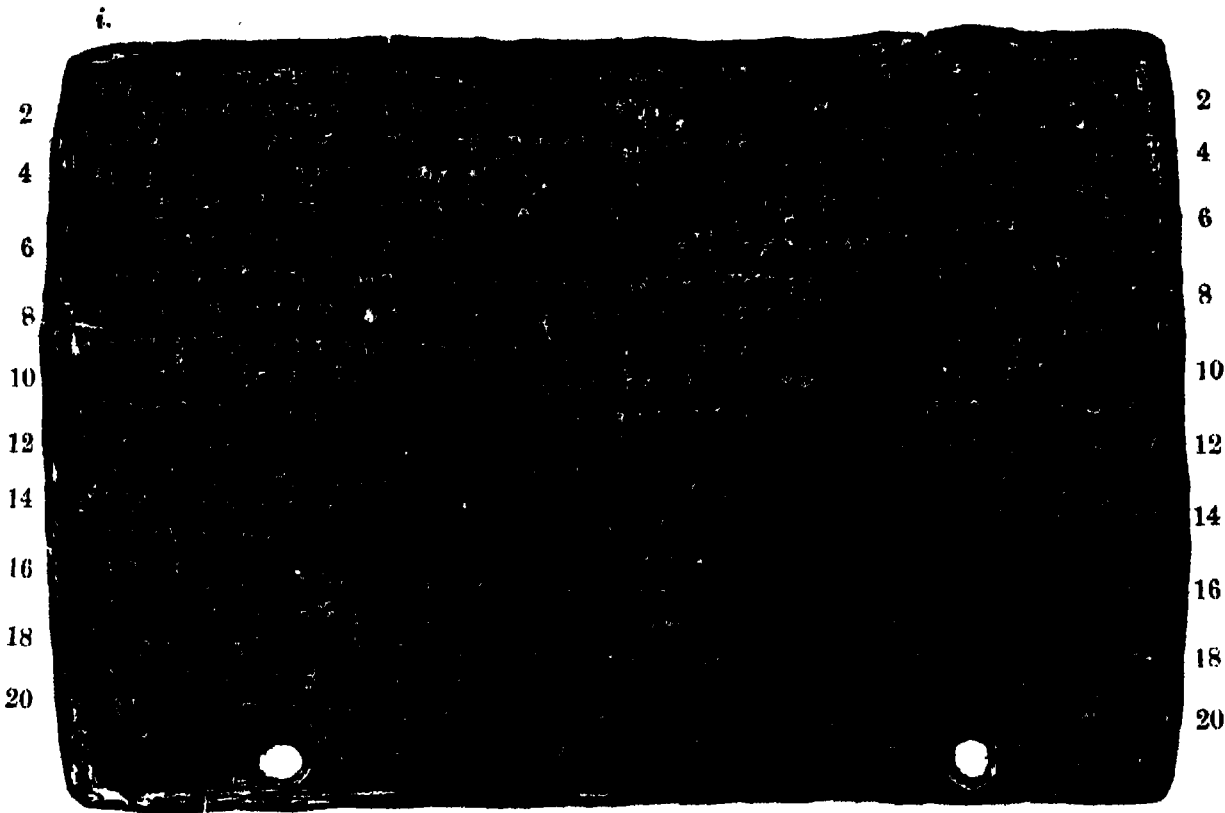
[6] Read वादाय. The following *akshara* which Fleet thought quite unintelligible is clearly *di*. The mark above it is of the subscript *m* in *Drôṇaśarmmaṇê* of the line above.

[7] Read द्व्यर्ध-.

[8] Read यक्षशर्मणे.

[9] The name of the Brâhmaṇa is inadvertently omitted here.

[10] Read यतोस्मद्वंश्यै-.   [11] The *anusvâra* on न्य is clear. Read सामान्यभूप्रदान-.

SPURIOUS PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 394

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: ONE-HALF SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
Rgo No. 3977 E'36—778'62.

26 सारं संसारमुदधिचलजलबिन्दुलोलाञ्च लक्ष्मीम् [illegible] च श्रियं कुसुमित-
शिरीषकुसुमसदृ-
27 शापायं च यौवनमालोक्य सकलमनित्यमिदमुपलभ्य: पालयितव्यश्च[।*] यो चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
28 मानं चानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्त[:*] स्यात् [।*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
29 [र्गे] वसति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चा(चा)नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[2] [॥१॥*] विन्ध्या-
टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।] कृष्णाहि-
30 यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य
31 तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[४॥*] यानीह
32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्व्वान्तिमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुःपुनराददीत[3] ॥[४॥*] संवत्सरश-
33 तत्रये चतुर्नवत्यधिके वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां [illegible] लिखितं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतेन बुद्ध-
(बु?)स्वा-
34 मिना ॥ संवत्सर ॥[4] ३०० ९० ४ वैशाख शु १० ५॥ अनिरुद्धमातृसिंहेनोत्कीर्णानि[5] [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp fixed at **Vijayapura**—

In the **family** of the **Chalukyas**, the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of **Hāriti**, who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* and meditate on the feet of Svāmi Mahāsēna,—which (family),[6] like the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*), as the ocean is by the multitude of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity and is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct, as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(*there was*) the illustrious **Jayasiṁharāja** whose fame was more (*splendid*) than a blue lotus[7] under the rays of the moon in the expanse of the sky from which multitudes of water-laden clouds have disappeared.

(Line 4) His son (*was*) the **Vallabha, Raṇavikrānta,** the illustrious **Buddhavar-marāja,** who, like the sun, was ever-rising, had his brilliance undiminished both by night and by day, and destroyed his powerful foes, even as the sun dispels a mass of darkness.

(L. 5) His son, the illustrious **Vijayarāja,**—who has on the earth no adversary (*worthy of him*) ;[8] whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans; whose prowess equals

[1] Read -राचिह्नया-.

[2] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[4] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[5] Read -नोत्कीर्णम्.

[6] The description of the royal family which follows is taken from the records of the Kaṭachchuris, see above, p. 41.

[7] The writer should have said 'whiter than the rays of the moon *etc.*'. Compare above, p. 119, ll.10-11.

[8] The description is copied from Kaṭachchuri grants, see above, p. 41, ll. 10-15.

that of Dhanada (*i. e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i. e.*, Yama); who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the whole circle of neighbouring kings has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who is engaged in properly protecting his subjects;[1] who is kind to distressed, blind (*and*) poor people and those who seek refuge with him; who grants rewards as desired (*by supplicants*), (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—addresses all the heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* and villages, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, this village (*namely*) **Pariyaya**, (*lying*) to the east of **Sandhiyara**, (*and*) situated in the *vishaya* of **Kāśākula**,—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, exclusive of all gifts, forced labour and special rights, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to all (*the following Brāhmaṇas*) who are students of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Vājasanēya Adhvaryu (Vēda)[2] and belong to the community (*residing*) at **Jambūsara**, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites. (*Their shares are as follows:*—) To Ādityaravi of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* two *pattikās*;[3] to Indraśūra, a *pattikā*; to Tāviśura, two and a half *pattikās*; to Iśvara, half a *pattikā*; to Dāma, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, half a *pattikā*; to Attasvāmin, half a *pattikā*; to *Māila*, half a *pattikā*; to Shashṭhidēva, half a *pattikā*; to Sōma, half a *pattikā*; to Rāmaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyya, half a *pattikā*; to Drōṇadhara, half a *pattikā*;—to Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to Śūra, half a *pattikā*;—to Bhaṭṭi of the Dauṇḍakīya *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Samudra, two and a half *pattikās*; to Drōṇa, three *paṭṭikās*; to Tāviśarman, two *pattikās*; to Bhaṭṭin, half a *pattikā*; to Vatra, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to the second Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*;—to Vappasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, three *paṭṭikās*; to Durgaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Datta, half a *pattikā*;—to Vāda of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to Sēla, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, a *pattikā*; to Sōma, half a *pattikā*; to Sēla, half a *pattikā*; to Vatraśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*;—to Viśākha of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Dhara, a *pattikā*; to Nandin, a *pattikā*; to Kumāra, a *pattikā*; to Rāma, a *pattikā*; to Bāśra, half a *pattikā*; to Gaṇa, half a *pattikā*; to Kōrdduva, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyibhaṭṭa, half a *pattikā*; to Narmaṇ, half a *pattikā*; to Ramaśarman, half a *pattikā*;—to Dharmadhara of the Hārita *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*;—to Bhaṭṭin of the Vaishṇava *gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to Dhara of the Gautama *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*; to Ammadhara, half a *pattikā*; to Sēla, half a *pattikā*;—to Dāma of the Sāṇḍila *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*;—to Kārka of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to Gōpāditya of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Viśākha, half a *pattikā*; to Śūra, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*; to Yakshaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Tāviśūra, a *pattikā*; to Karka, half a *pattikā*; to Tāviśarman, half a *pattikā*; to -śarman,[4] half a *pattikā*; to Kumāra, half a *pattikā*; to Matriśvara, half a *pattikā*; to Bāṭala, half a *pattikā*.

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[1] See above, p. 169, n. 10.

[2] *I. e.*, the *Yajurvēda*.

[3] Both the forms *pattikā* and *paṭṭikā* occur in the text.

[4] See above, p. 170 n. 9.

(L. 25) Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others,—who are desirous of acquiring the common reward of the gift of land, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds and bamboos (*possess sap*), that objects of enjoyment are as impermanent as the waves of the ocean-water, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the *aśvattha* tree struck by a strong wind, (*and*) that youth is liable to fade like a flower of a blossoming *śirisha* tree,—should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins."

(L. 28) And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-four on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (*this charter*), of which the *Vāsāpaka*[1] Nanna is the *Dūtaka*, has been written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhikrita* Khuddasvāmin. The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 4 (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. (*This charter has been*) incised by the Kshatriya Matṛisiṁha.

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[1] *Vāsāvaka* (or *Vāsāpaka*) was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of touring royal officers and strangers, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 202.

No. 35; PLATE XXIX A

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription, though listed in the first edition of R.B. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1931. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined *in situ* and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.[1]

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the State of Madhya Pradesh, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago[2] and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of a military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sand-stone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of those kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.[3]

The record has been very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several *aksharas* in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhōṭi Deori.[4] The form of the initial *i* is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; *ṭ* has not yet developed a vertical at the top; in its subscript form, the letter is laid on its side, see *-bhaṭṭāraka-* in l. 2; *j* still retains its three horizontal bars, see *-Mahārājādhirāja*, l. 1; *p* is open at the top while *v*, which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see *-pravarddhamāna-*, l. 2; the lower end of the wedge of *r* is in some cases very much elongated, see *-Paramēśvara-*, l. 3. These palaeographic peculiarities indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.C.[5] The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva.[6] This is the oldest record in which the name of Vāmarājadēva is mentioned

[1] This inscription has since been edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 f.

[2] *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p. 257.

[3] For a photograph of this panel, see the plate facing p. 154 in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*.

[4] No. 36, below.

[5] Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in Madhya Pradesh), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A.C., as he thought that the king Śaṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kōkalladēva [I]. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 49.

[6] Hiralal doubtfully read this name as *Vāgharājadēva*, *ibid.*, p. 49. My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly *Vāmarājadēva*.

with full Imperial titles.[1] The object of the inscription is to record some religious work done by a lady named Krishṇādēvi for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to Śiva. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at it. The male and female figures in the panel are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who is herself represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious Dēuka who was the son of a king, whose name I have doubtfully read as Rāvārya. He was born in the family of Kalāirēya and was the *Paramēśvara* (Emperor) of Kaśapura.[2]

The inscription is not dated, but as shown above, it may be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.C.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धिः[4] [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्री-
वा[म[5]]राजदेवपा[दानु]-

2 [ध्या]त ।[6] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क-

3 [श]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाइरेयवंशोद्भवज्योतिस(स्स)न्ततिरा[वा]र्यराजपुत्रश्रीदेउक[:*] । तस्ये(स्यै)-
व भा-

4 र्या लोणियवंशे प्र[सूता राज्ञी] श्रीकृष्णा[दे]वी या [वं]तौ[7] मातापितृपुण्ये[8] क्षितितले कीर्तिं
प्रख्या-

5 [9]पयति:[10] । [11]तथालो[का]म[ला इति] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Oṁ! Adoration to Śiva! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva—

(*There is*) the illustrious Dēuka the son of Rāvāryarāja, the mass of light sprung from the family of Kalāirēya, (*who is*) the *Paramēśvara* (*Emperor*) of Kaśapura. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious Krishṇādēvi, born in the family of

[1] In subsequent records the name almost invariably occurs as *Vamadēva*. See No. 48, l. 33; No. 50, l. 33 *etc.*

[2] *Kaśapura* may be a mistake for *Kāśipurī* (Banaras).

[3] From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

[4] Expressed by a symbol. I take the symbol to denote *siddhiḥ* as that is the auspicious word used in the beginning of later records. See, *e.g.*, Nos. 54 and 106.

[5] The loop on the left of this *akshara* has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] The context requires a reading like *dhṛitavatī*.

[8] Read *-puṇyārtham*.

[9] This line commences in the centre.

[10] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[11] I am not certain about the reading of these eight *aksharas* at the end. Perhaps, the intended reading is यथ लोका अमला इति।

Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (*kīrti*)[1] on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (*her*) mother and father. May you attain the stainless worlds!

No. 36; Plate XXIX B

CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

This inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1883-1884. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.[2] The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 54 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar.*[3] Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked 'what the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here from ink impressions supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.[4]

Chhōṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jōkāhi, in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in the State of Madhya Pradesh. The village is so-called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Maḍhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (*maṭhīs*) from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Śaiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Śaiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female;[5] and below, there is a standing male figure'[6].

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' ½" broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription.[7] They are very carelessly written. Several groups of *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated in ll. 4 and 5 as well as in ll. 10 and 11. The marks for medial vowels and *visarga* are omitted in many cases. The form of *kh* in *khaṇḍa-*, l. 1, *likhataṁ*, l. 9 and *likhitaṁ*, l. 10, is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct *ksha*, with this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of *p* in *kapāli-*, l. 2 and *puna*, l. 9, which closely resembles that of *d* is also noteworthy. *L* has three different shapes in *lighataṁ*, l. 8, *likhataṁ*, l. 9 and *likhitaṁ*, l. 10. The form of *ś*, the left limb of which has developed a curve and that of *k* which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.C. On the other hand *j*, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical; *ṭ* has not developed a vertical at the top; *d* and *r* show no tail, and the upper part of *p* is not closed. In these respects the characters

[1] This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.

[2] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 100 and 159, Plate XXVIII.

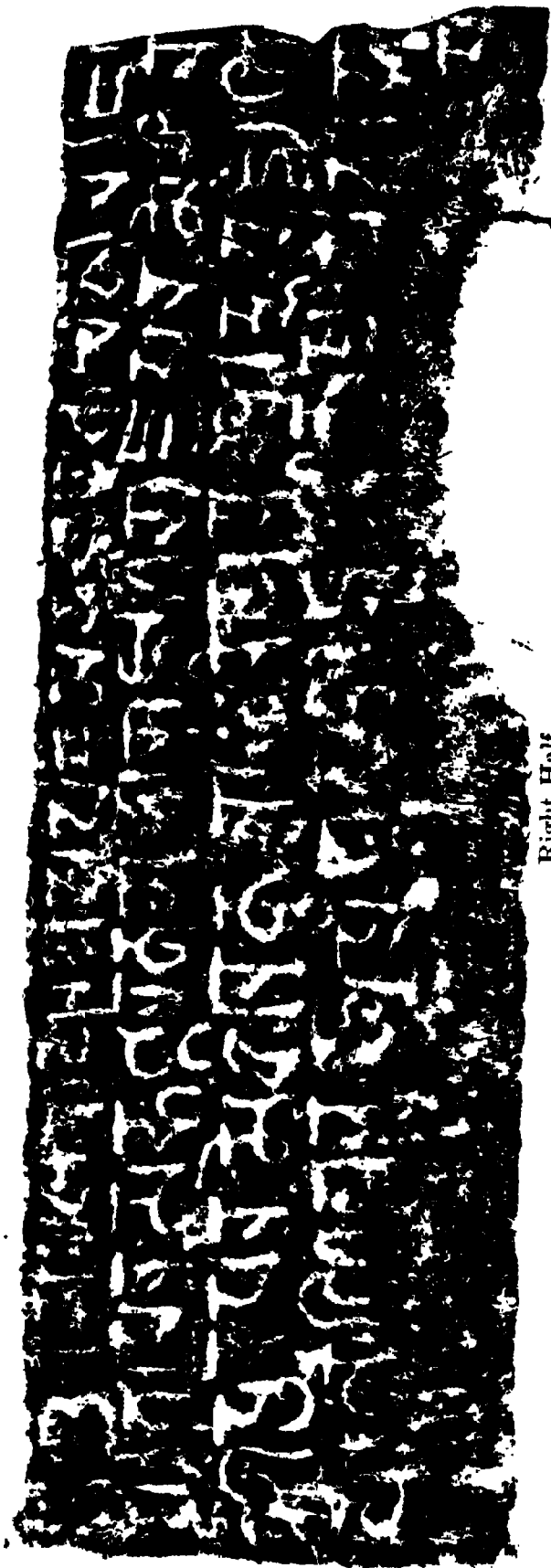
[3] Second edition, p. 38.

[4] This inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVII, pp. 17 ff.

[5] R. D. Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pārvatī. See *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 77.

[6] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillar, see *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), Plate XXVIII (a).

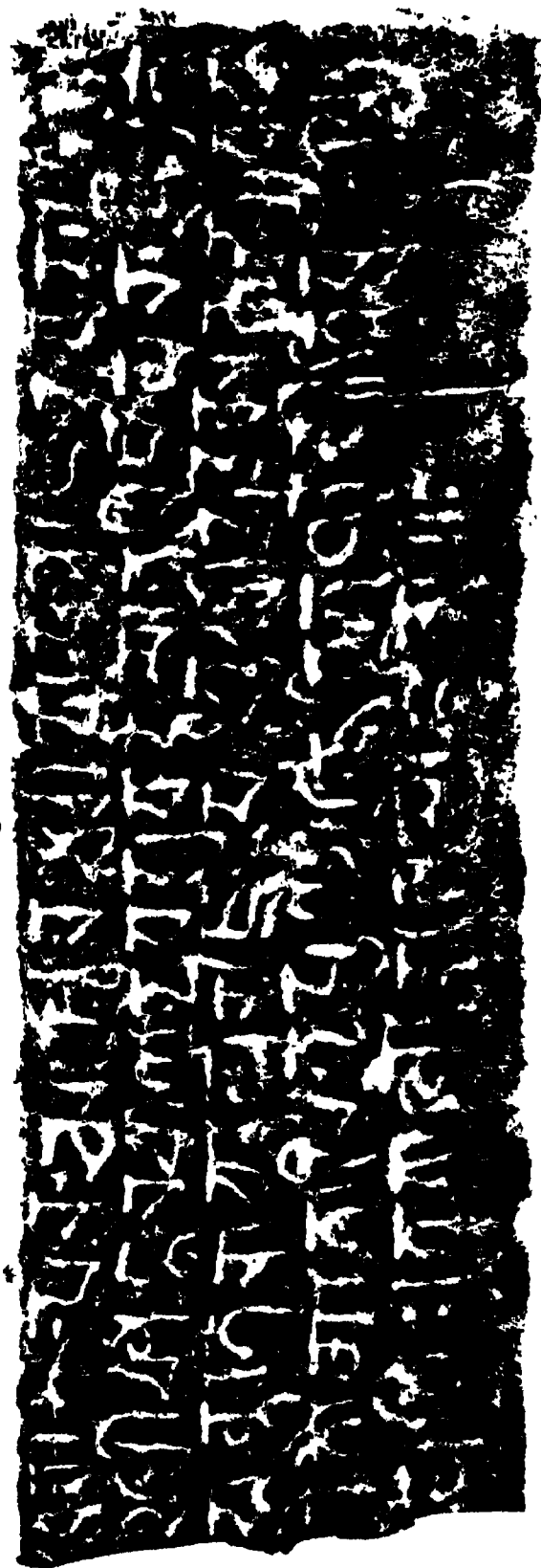
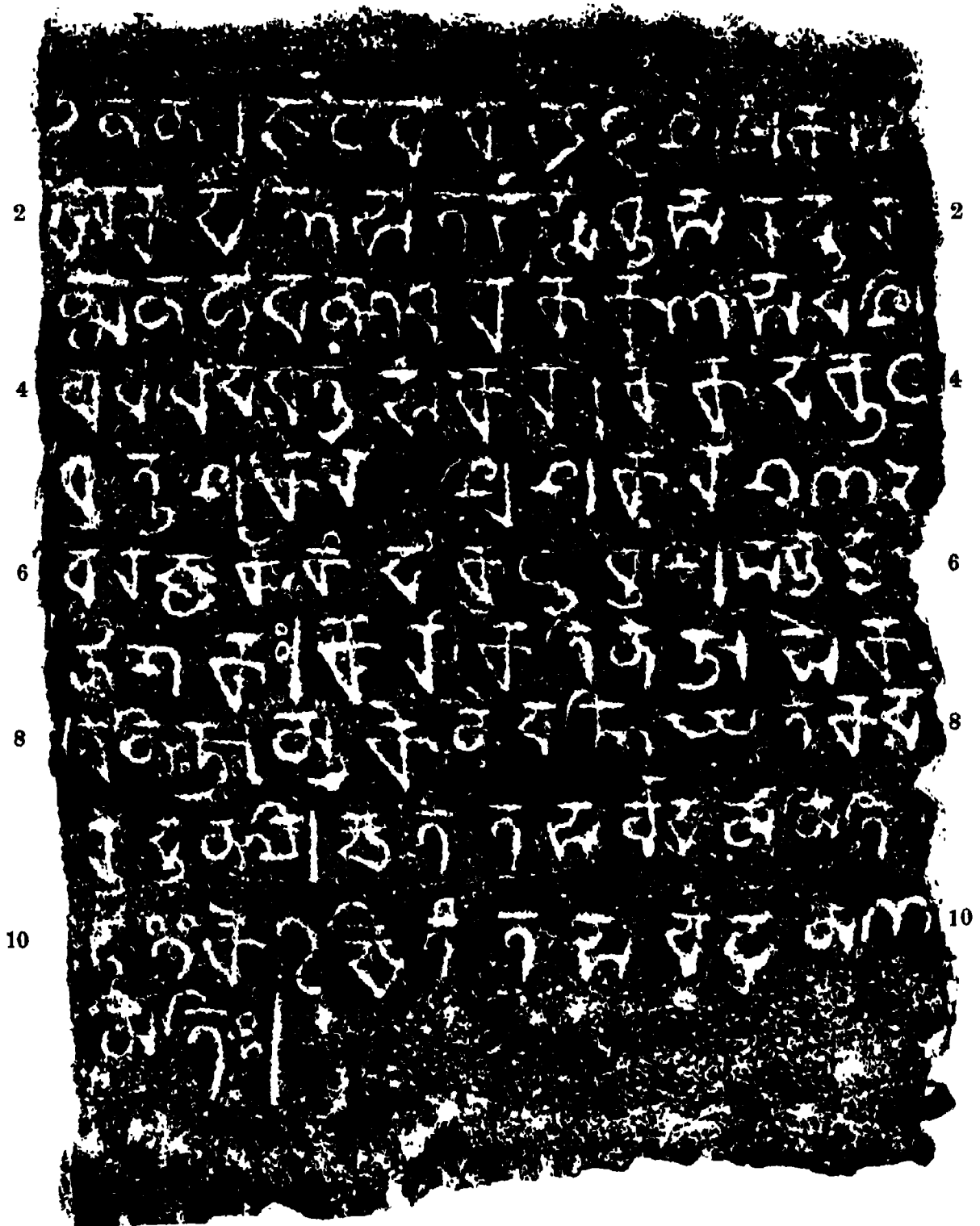
[7] No. 35, above.

A.—SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778 51.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

B.—CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kāritalāī stone inscription[1] of Lakshmaṇarāja I, dated K. 593 (841-2 A.C.). It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.C.[2]

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. *Vishayē*, for instance, is written as-*vuśē*, l. 6, and *haïkē* used in the sense of *iha*. Except for a verse in praise of Śiva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

After the opening *siddhiḥ namaḥ*, the inscription has a verse in praise of Śiva, which indicates that the temple, to which the inscribed pillar belonged, must have been dedicated to the worship of Śiva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa there was the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (charge of) the *vishaya* of Kakandakuṭu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (*kadaru*, Sanskrit *kṛtāra*) in Karikatin and Asēkatin which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present inscription, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kakandakuṭu may be identical with Khaṭundā about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Karīkatin, which in its initial portion resembles Kārītalāī (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurāi, 4 miles to the south of Deori Maḍhā. Asēkatin cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धिः[4] [।*] नमः । जटाधर[:*] शं[क]शसं(शां)कं[5] ।[6] [शे]–

2 [ख]र[:*] कप[ा]लि(ल)[माल:*] स(सि)तमस्मधु(धू)सर[7][: ।*] दुरा–

3 त्मनहा[8] पनगघ[र]ककण[9] सद(दा) शि–

4 वं ब(वो) विदध[ा]तु सं(शं)कर[:*] ।[10][।१॥*] क[11]कदकुटु–

5 कुटु शकर[12] श्रि(श्री)शंकरगणदे–

6 वरज्य(राज्ये) कमंदकुटुकुसे[13] श्रि(श्री?)चु[टु]–[14]

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[1] No. 37, below.

[2] Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are 'perhaps as early as the 7th century.' (See his *A. S. R*, Vol. XXI, p. 159). R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Śaṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmaṇarāja (II), whom he placed about the middle of the tenth century A.C. (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 15). But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.

[3] From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The *anusvāras* on ख and श are very faint.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read कपदशशाङ्कशेखर:.

[7] What looks like an *anusvāra* on म is due to a fault in the stone.

[8] Read दुरात्महा.

[9] Perhaps पन्नगधारिकंकण: is intended, but it does not give a good sense. Read पन्नगेन्द्रकंकण:.

[10] Metre: *Vaṁśastha*. Some of the epithets of Śiva in this stanza occur in the following verse in ll. 8 and 9 of the Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadēva (below, No. 107): —जटाध[रं] शंकशशाङ्कशेखरं सदामहापन्नगवक्त्र(स्त्र)कंकणं(णम्)[।*]कपालमालासितभ[स्म]धूस(र)पं न पुन्य(ण्य)हि(ही)ना[:*] प्रणमंति शंकरं(रम्) [॥*].

[11] There is a curve on क here and also in l. 6 where the same name is repeated. This word is superfluous here.

[12] These five *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated from l. 4.

[13] Read कमंदकुटुविषये, The name of the *vishaya* is given as ककदकुटु in l. 4.

[14] I am not certain about this *akshara*. It differs from *ṭ* which occurs in ll. 4 and 6 in that it has a

7 नागकः । करीकतिनि असेक-
8 तिनि अमुकेनैव[1] लिषतं[2] कद-
9 रु[3] पुन लि [4]। सतं त[5] सर्वप्रमा[6]मिति [।*]
10 इहके[7] लिखितं त[5] सर्वं प्रम(मा)ण-[8]
11 मिति:[8] ।

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration!

(Verse 1) May (*that*) Śaṅkara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has bracelets of serpents,—always cause your welfare!

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa (I)**, (*there is*) the illustrious **Chuṭu Nāgaka** in (*charge of*) the *vishaya* of **Kakandakuṭu.**

(L. 7) He has himself recorded (*the gift of*) a granary in (*the villages of*) **Karīkatin** and **Asēkatin.** Again, whatever is written here is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

No. 37; Plate XXX A

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 593

This inscription was discovered by R.B. Hiralal in 1928. A short notice of it appeared in the second edition of his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, published in 1931. The record was, for the first time, edited, with a lithograph, by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 f. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Kārītalāi is now a small village, twenty-nine miles north by east from Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for, an inscription in shell characters[9] and another of the Gupta period[10] have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kārītalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, another inscription[11] of the time of Lakshmaṇarāja II, was brought over to Nagpur and is at present deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The present inscription is affixed to the temple of Dēvī Maḍhiā at Kārītalāi. It is fragmentary. Its preserved portion measures 10½" broad and 1' 10½" high. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *aksharas*. The fourteenth line runs

horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like *d*, see *durān-mana*—, l. 3.

[1] अमुकेनैव is used here in the unusual sense of 'by the same'.

[2] Read लिखितं.

[3] The medial *u* of *ru* is faint. Read कुदरं.

[4] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read पुनर्लिखितं.

[5] Read तत्.

[6] Read सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ।

[7] This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning इह.

[8] I am indebted to Dr. Chhabra for the reading of this word.

[9] *I. C. P. B.*, p. 45.

[10] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

[11] No. 42, below.

along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left-hand side; but on the right hand-side, sixty to seventy *aksharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space 4′ 6″ in breadth. Of this, only about a fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost. The average size of the letters is .8″.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *ṇ*, one in -*Lakshmaṇarāja*-, l. 14 and the other in *Druhiṇaḥ*, l. 2 *etc.* and to those of *gh* in =*Amōghavarsha*-, l. 12 and *Ghaṭ-āmnaya*-, l. 14. The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *g* in *jagat* and *drāg=iva* both in l. 2, *Nāgabhaṭī* in l. 9 *etc.*, with *rā* in *yair=āsantati* in l. 6; *ṭh* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *pariluṭhanti*, l. 4. Similarly *th* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see, *prithuni*-, l. 4. The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsur*=, l. 3; *nag-ānukāri* l. 13 *etc.*), but in some cases, by a curve turned to the left as in *kshiṇōtu*, l. 2. The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō*= and -*ūpēndra*,- l. 1), but in two cases, *viz.*, in -*Rudrēbhyaḥ*, l. 1 and *śrī-Lakshmaṇa-rājadēvē*, l. 14, the medial *ē* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed *prishṭha-mātrās* also, (see -*vēdhō*-, l. 3 and *pādau* l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A.C.[1]

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date *etc.*, the record is metrically composed throughout. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the consonant preceding and following *r* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chāturvarṇṇyaṁ*, l. 1, and -*mittraṁ*, l. 2; *v* has been used for *b* in *vala*-, l. 7 and the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *kshiṅ-āśhasō*, l. 6.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record, it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhiṇa (Brahmā), Upēndra (Vishṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses, invoking the blessings of the three deities. Lines 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaity, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage, who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of **Nāgabhaṭa**, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛiti*. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king **Amōghavarsha** bowed to the feet of someone who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. Finally, the marginal line states that the record was composed by **Prasannāditya** of the **Ghaṭa** family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the king, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇarājadēva**.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first noticed the inscription, read the date as 693[2] and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri era, which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A.C. in Baghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to 941 A. C.,

[1] The form of *j*, *d*, *p*, *r* and *v*, all of which show considerable development here, leave no doubt that the present record is much later than the preceding inscriptions (No. 35 and 36) of the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.

[2] *I. C. P. B.*, p. 45.

obviously identifying the Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in it with the homonymous king who was the son of Yuvarājadēva I *alias* Kēyūravarsha. The mention of Amōghavarsha in l. 12 seems to have corroborated this view; because a king of that name, *viz.*, Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūravarsha, flourished in that period.[1] But R.B. Hiralal's reading of the date is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva[2] and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn. Other instances in which the figure stands for five can also be cited.[3] So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this, being referred to the Kalachuri era, corresponds to 841-2 A.C. The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshṭrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from *circa* 814 to 880 A.C. We know that the royal families of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were matrimonially connected in the ninth century also; for Amōghavarsha I's son Kṛishṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter,[4] though this marriage may not have taken place before 842 A.C.[5] Besides, Amōghavarsha I was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahālakshmī to ward off a public calamity.[6] It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amōghavarsha had gone to the Chēdi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhaṭa is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty who was completely routed by Amōghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.[7] Nāgabhaṭa was not living in 841-2 A.C., the date of the present inscription; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāvaka-charita*,[8] he died in V. 890 (833-4 A.C.); nor is Amōghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grand-father. The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before 800 A.C. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as the destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*saṁjahrē*) is lost at the end of the line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in l. 9; but as the name of Amōghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amōghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III. Lakshmaṇa-rāja, during whose reign the present inscription was put up, was, therefore, the predeces-

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[1] For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 A.C. (See *E. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30).

[2] No. 44, below.

[3] See, for instance, the figure of the year and the *tithi* of the Bālērā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurāhō inscription of Kōkkala, *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX, and that of the *tithi* in the Pālanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 172.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 f.

[5] As I have shown elsewhere (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 217), Amōghavarsha I was born about 799 A.C. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in 841-2 A.C. his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Lakshmaṇarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till 914 A. C. Perhaps Amōghavarsha had gone to Tripurī to seek the Kalachuri king's help, when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, p. 247.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

sor and probably the father of Kōkalla I, who heads the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription[1] and the Banaras plates of Karṇa.[2] He may be called **Lakshmaṇarāja I** of the main Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī.

The date of the inscription is thus the year 593 of the Kalachuri era. It would correspond to 840-1 A.C. if the year was current, and to 841-2 A.C. if it was expired.[3] It does not admit of verification.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धिः[5] [।*] ओं नमोस्तु द्रुहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्यं [नि][6]....

2 नमात्मं जगत् [।*] ब्रह्मेव द्रुहिणः क्षिणोतु[7]....

3 रुद्रवेषोद्भुसः(शः) । पायासुर्म्मंचूडूवसा[न्त][7]....

4 कपर्द्दात्पृथुनि परिलुठन्ती यस्य मूर्द्ध[स्य]–[8]....

5 नक्रमः परमिति स्वान्पुरःकान्पाठ[ये]–[9]....

6 क्षीणाङ्कहसो[10] अशिरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत–[7]....

7 वृत्तिः । ब(व)लविभवविलासस्यामदा[11]....

8 महाभूमिभृद्वपाता(तः) संजज्ञे ह्रा[ि][12]....

9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ चग्गे नागभटे[7]....

10 कषग्रावदलको बराहव्याहारः स्म[13]....

11 [14]सिस्मृत्याचारप्रवणधिषणः पु[ण्य]–[15]....

12 [16]श्रीमदमोघवर्षनृपतिः पाद्मो [न]–[17]....

13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि ग[18]....

14 सिद्धिः[19] [।*] सम्वत्[20] ५९३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि घटान्वयश्रीप्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरि–
यम् [।*][21]

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[1] No. 45, below.

[2] No. 48, below.

[3] In stating the Christian equivalents of this and other *later* dates of the Kalachuri era, I have adopted the epoch 247-248 A. C. finally determined by Kielhorn. See *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 f. Differing from him, I have, however, taken the Kalachuri year as commencing with the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika.

[4] From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Read मूर्द्धस्थले. Metre: *Mālinī.*

[9] Read पाठयेत्. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[10] Read क्षीणांहसो.

[11] Read दाक्षिण्य–. Metre: *Mālinī.*

[12] Perhaps क्ष्मारक्षिणी was written here. Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[13] Metre: *Śikhariṇī.*

[14] Read श्रुतिस्मृत्याचार–.

[15] Read पुण्यचरितः Metre: *Śikhariṇī.*

[16] Read यस्य before श्रीमद–.

[17] Read नवस्त्यर्यम्. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[18] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[19] Expressed by a symbol.

[20] Read संवत्.

[21] This line is written along the margin. Another line below it, incised recently, reads श्रीस[म्व]त १९८१.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Om! May there be adoration to Druhiṇa, Upēndra and Rudra! The four castes . . . .

(L. 2) The world consisting only of . . . . . May Druhiṇa quickly destroy . . . . . . !

(L. 3) May (*they*) who obstructed the eyes of the creator . . . protect . . . . , from Madhusūdana.

(L. 4) On whose broad forehead, (*the Gaṅgā*) rolling down from the matted hair . . . . .

(L. 5) . . . . . would teach (*his*) little sons, (*thinking*) that the course (*of teaching*?) is the best . . . . .

(L. 6) (*They*), whose sins had diminished, were born; by whom . . . . . always down to their descendants.

(L. 7) The course of conduct (*consisting of*?) strength, wealth, gaity, liberality (*and*) courtesy . . . . .

(L. 8) (*He*)[1] who was a thunderbolt to the great mountains that were powerful kings, destroyed . . . . . (*while*) . . . . . (*was*) resounding . . . . .

(L. 9) . . . . . after a long time. When **Nāgabhaṭa (II)** was routed.

(L. 10) The roar of the Boar that rends rocks . . . . .

(L. 11-12) . . . . . . of holy deeds, whose mind was intent on (*observing the rules of*) conduct laid down in the *Śrutis* (Vēdas) and *Smṛiti* . . . . . (*and*) whose feet [*this*] illustrious **Amōghavarsha**[2] salutes.

(L. 13) . . . . . . like a second . . . . . . By him (*has been*) constructed (*this temple*) resembling a hill . . . . . .

(L. 14) Success! (*In*) the year 593, while the king, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇarāja-dēva (I)** is reigning, this (*praśasti*) was composed by the illustrious **Prasannāditya** of the **Ghaṭa** family.

No. 38; Plate XXX B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage kindly supplied by him.

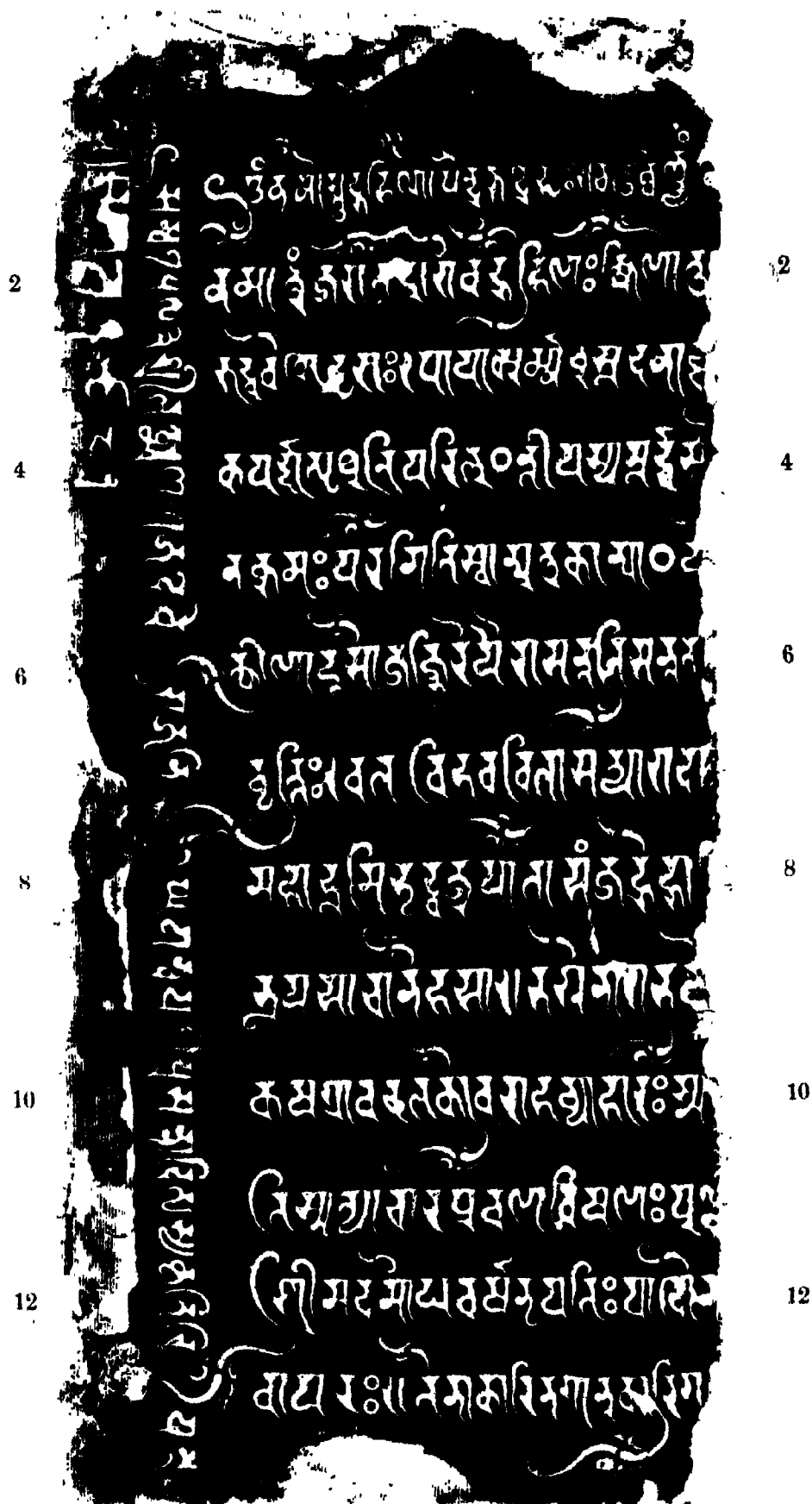
The inscription is incised on the inside of the western wall of the **Fish temple** in the fort of **Bāndhōgarh** which lies about 65 miles south by west of **Rewa**, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh. The record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of only two lines of bold and deeply incised letters. The first line is 4′ 5″ and the second 4′ 9″ long. The average size of the letters is 4.5″.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the tenth century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note that the lingual *ḍ* is round-backed in *Gauḍ-*, l. 2; the right-hand up-stroke of the subscript *y* is not brought down, see *-āmātyasya*, l. 1 and the left limb of the palatal *ś* is not separated from the right-hand vertical, see *śrī-*, in. l. 1 The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. It consists of only a single sentence. The **orthography** does not call for any remark except that the conjunct *tsya* has been written as *chchhya* in *machchhya-*, l. 2.

---

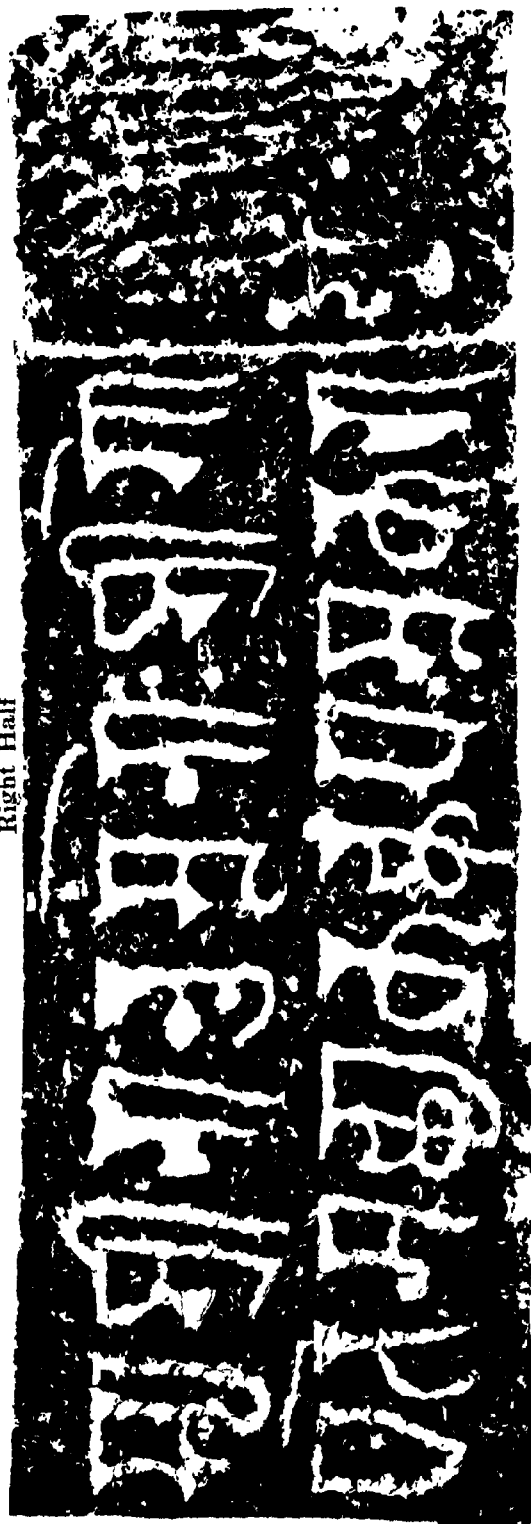
[1] This was probably Gōvinda III of the Rāshṭrakuṭa dynasty, see above, p. 180.

[2] This seems to be Amōghavarsha I, the son and successor of Gōvinda III.

A.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 593

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'51

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (NO. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

SCALE: ONE-QUARTER.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the fish, the tortoise, the boar and others were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Gōllāka**, also known as **Gauḍa**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva**. The palaeography of the record indicates that this Yuvarājadēva is the first king of that name who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.C. The figures referred to are evidently the rock-cut images of the fish, tortoise, boar and other incarnations of Vishṇu, which Gōllāka had caused to be carved. Some of them can still be seen near the present inscription.

TEXT[1]

1 श्रीयुवराजदेवामात्यस्य श्रीभानुसूनोः श्रीगो-

2 ल्लाकस्य गौडापरनाम्न एते मत्स्य(त्स्य)कच्छपसूकरा[द्य²]: [।*]

TRANSLATION

These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and others are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Gōllāka**, (*who is known*) by the other name of **Gauḍa**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu** (*and*) a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarāja-dēva (I)**.

No. 39; Plate XXXI A

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription, like the preceding one, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is at **Bāndhōgarh**, about 65 miles south by west of **Rewa** in Vindhya Pradesh. It is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuḍa to the west of a colossal rock-cut figure of Ādivarāha, placing the left foot on a Nāga figure. The record consists of only two lines, the first of which measures 11′ 10″ and the second 2′ 11″ long. Several *aksharas* in the middle of the first line and a few in the second have now become illegible, but some of them can be restored with the help of the preceding epigraph. The average size of the letters is 5″.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. They closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is wholly in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any remark.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Ādivarāha and Paraśurāma (?) were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Gōllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva**. This Yuvarājadēva was evidently Yuvarājadēva I-Kēyūravarsha. The figure of Ādivarāha referred to here is plainly the colossal rock-cut image of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, near which the inscription is incised. Some of the other figures also can still be seen carved out of rocks in the same place.

---

[1] From an inked estampage.

[2] What appears like a broken curve over the ligature *dya* is probably due to a fault in the rock. Read —सूकराद्याः.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं श्रीयुवरा[जदेवामात्यस्य]. . . . .[2][श्रीभा]नुसूनोः श्रीगोल्लाकस्यैते मत्स्य-कच्छ-

2 पादिवराहप[रशुरामाः[3] ?] [।*]

TRANSLATION

Om! These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the primeval Boar (*and*) Paraśurāma (?) are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Gōllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu** . . . . . . who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarāja-dēva (I)**.

No. 40; Plate XXXI B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADĒVA I

This inscription, like the preceding two records, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from a good estampage kindly sent by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock facing south-west near the rock-cut image of a Tortoise at **Bāndhōgarh** in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The record consists of eight lines, of which the first seven were probably 2′ 11″ long while the last one measures only 9½″. The epigraph has suffered very much by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Nearly half the portion on the right-hand side of lines 3-7 has been completely lost. Besides, several *aksharas* here and there have become illegible. The average size of the letters is 2.3″.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. Attention may be drawn to the expression *sāhitya-vidyā-lala*[*nā-bhujaṅga*] which is adopted in some later records[4] for the description of Yuvarājadēva II. In the last line *utkīritaṁ* has been wrongly used for *utkīrṇaṁ*. The **orthography** does not call for any **remark**.

The inscription is one of the illustrious **Gōllāka**, the **son** of **Bhānu**, who is known from other records to have been a minister of Yuvarājadēva I. The object of it was evidently to dedicate[5] the image of the Tortoise near which it is incised, but the portion of the record where this was stated has now become illegible. In lines 4-6 the inscription seems to have contained the description of a battle, for the extant words in line 5 speak of a great river of which the waves were enemies.

The record was written by **Guṇanivāsa**, and incised by **Bhāka**.

---

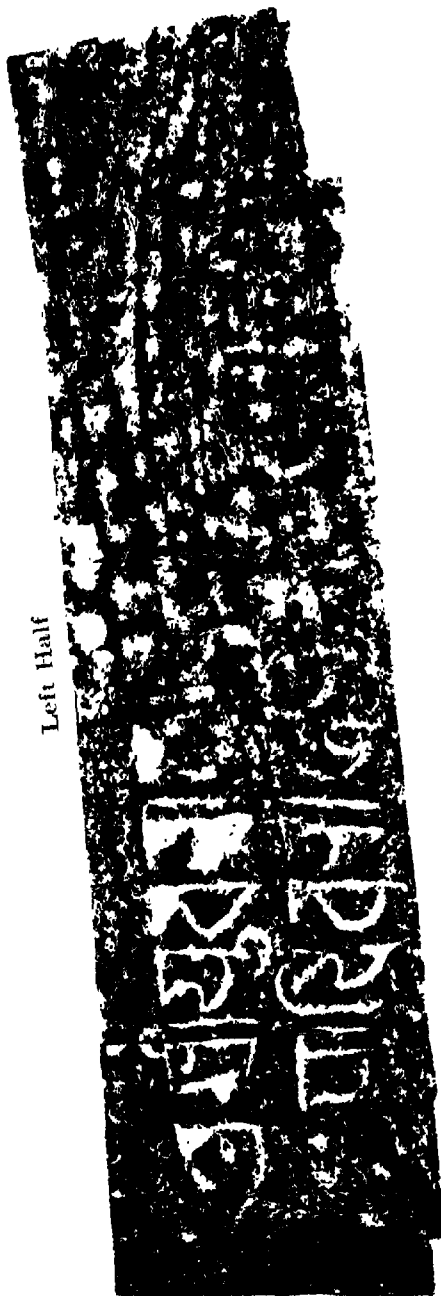
[1] From an inked estampage.

[2] About 11 *aksharas* are completely lost here. The last seven of them may have been श्रीपोशापरनाम्नः. See line 2 of the preceding inscription, page 183, above.

[3] The reading of these *aksharas* is not quite certain.

[4] Below, No. 50, l. 10 and No. 51, l. 7.

[5] Line 4 contains the word *nividitaṁ* which means 'dedicated'.

A.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

Left Half

Right Half

SCALE : ONE-SEVENTH

B. CH. CHHABRA

Reg. No. 3977 E'36 · 778' 31

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

SCALE - ONE-FIFTH

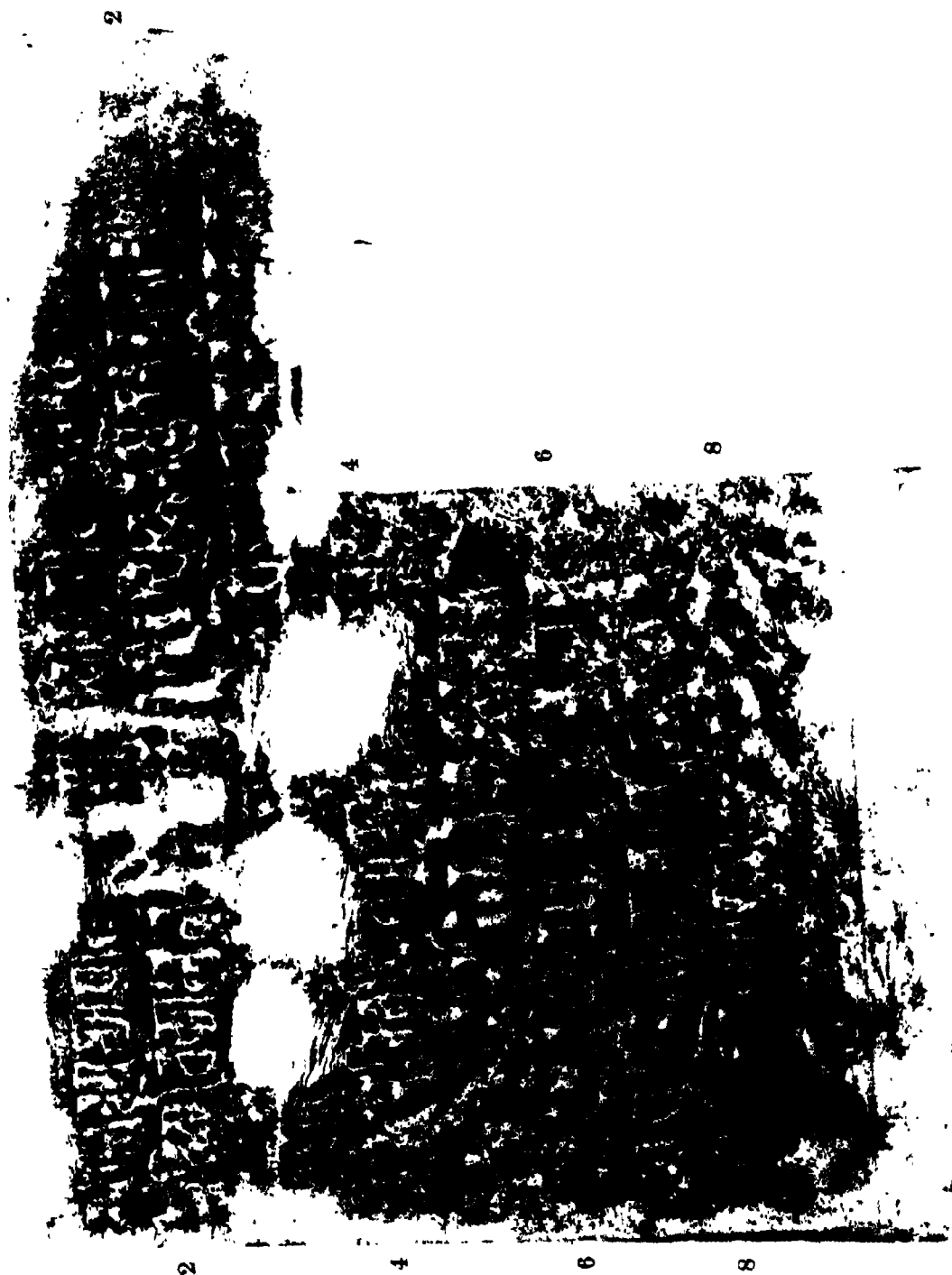
TEXT[1]

1 [ओं । गजे]न्द्रगत्या परि– ⏑ – मां[2] [म]हीपतेः श्री[ग्वाल]को[ल्ल][केन ।*]

2 [सा*]हित्यविद्याललना[भुजङ्गा][?*]तीयदेहेन सुतेन भानोः[4] ॥ [१॥*]

3 [वि]ष्णोः ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ विष्णो ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓,

4 ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ न निवेदि[तं (तम्)][5] ॥ (२॥*) क्ले[श*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – मयं, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑–

5 ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ [अस्त]भरिकल्लो[लं] नदं [शङ्के] ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ ॥ [३॥*]. . . . . .

6 [लक्ष्मी] विष्के[द]. . . . .

7 गुणनिवासेन लिखि[तं]. . . . .

8 भाकेनोत्कीरितं[6] ।

TRANSLATION

OM!

(Verses 1-2) By **Gōllāka**, the son of Bhānu, (*who is*) a devotee of Vishṇu, (*and a minister*) of the king, (*who has delighted*) the earth by his gait (*resembling that*) of a lordly elephant, who has a matchless person and [who is the lover of] the lady, namely, literature, ... has been dedicated . . . . .

(V. 3) I fancy that the great river, of which the waves are the enemies . . . . .

(Lines 6-7) (*This record has been*) written by **Guṇanivāsa** (*and*) incised by **Bhāka**.

No. 41

GOPALPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was, like the preceding three records, discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock at the back of the Śēshaśāyī image to the south-west of Gopālpur, a village, one mile to the north of Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It consists of three lines of bold and deeply incised letters, but owing to the constant trickling down of water on them, many *aksharas* especially in lines 2 and 3 have now become illegible. The lines are 4′ 8″ long. The average size of the letters is 6″.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet closely, resembling those of the three preceding epigraphs. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription was apparently similar to that of the last three epigraphs, *viz.*, to record that an image (of Haladhara ?[7]) was caused to be carved by the illustrious **Gōllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**.

[1] From an inked estampage.

[2] Restore परितोषिणेयां.

[3] The expression साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्ग– occurs in connection with Yuvarājadēva II in verse 10 of the Goharwa plates (No. 50, below) and in verse 13 of the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below).

[4] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[5] Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Read भाकेनोत्कीर्णम्.

[7] Only the first two *aksharas* of this name have left faint traces. I do not know if there is any rock-cut image of Haladhara or Balarāma near by. It may be noted that in some panels of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, Balarāma takes the place of Kṛishṇa. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 103.

TEXT[1]

1 [ओं श्री युव]राजदेवामा[त्यस्य]श्रीभानु-

2 [सूनोः*] श्रीगोल्ला[कस्य]. . . .[2]

3 . . .[3][नाम्नो] हल[4]. . . .

TRANSLATION

Ōṁ ! [This figure of Haladhara[5](?) is] of (*i.e.*, is caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Gōllāka**, [named] . . . . . ., the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who is a minister of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**.

No. 42; Plate XXXII

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a large slab of sand-stone. It was discovered at **Kārītalāi** (lat. 24° 3′ North, long. 80° 46′ East), a village in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh. The stone, which was first removed to the Jabalpur Museum, is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. General Cunningham first published a short account[6] of the contents of the inscription in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 81. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The inscription is much mutilated. It has lost a considerable portion at the top. Again, a large piece, measuring 1′ broad by 1′ 8″ high, has been broken off at the lower proper right corner, and a small one, 5″ broad by 3″ high, has been lost at the upper proper left corner. Besides, some letters have been lost in two cracks, of which the longer one cuts the inscription transversely. The cracks seem to have widened in the process of removing the heavy stone from Jabalpur to Nagpur and some letters, which were clear in the rubbing supplied to Dr. Kielhorn, have since disappeared.[7] The preserved portion of the inscription covers a space 3′ 8″ broad by 4′ 3½″ high, and consists of thirty-four lines, of which the first thirty-one are inscribed on the sunken panel of the slab, and the last three on the stone border below. The average size of the letters is 1″, except in l. 32, which is engraved on the inside edge of the border, and in which the letters are smaller, being only .6″ in height.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. They are well-formed and deeply engraved. In some cases the *aksharas* which were inadvertently omitted at first, were incised subsequently below the line, see *ya* of *yad-antaḥpurē*, l. 14 and *ka* of *-kalaśa-*, l. 20; while in others the wrong *aksharas* and strokes have been

[1] From an inked estampage.

[2] Three or four *aksharas* are gone here.

[3] About three *aksharas* are illegible here. One would expect a word like श्रीगोडापर– at the end of the second and in the beginning of the third line, but the *akshara* preceding *nā* in line 3 appears more like *ya* than *ra*. Perhaps श्रीगोविन्दीय– is meant.

[4] Perhaps हलधर: was intended.

[5] *Haladhara* 'the plough-holder' is a well-known name of Balarāma.

[6] As pointed out by Kielhorn, this account is very incorrect.

[7] See, *e.g.*, the *aksharas* *-tu=ity=ā-* in l. 13.

cancelled, either by incising a vertical stroke at the top or by chiselling off the wrong portion; see *achikarat*=and *anityadhat*=, both in l. 5, =*adhahkrit-anya*- in l. 18 *etc.* As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare initial *ri* in *rijur*-, l. 18 and to *dh*, the upper part of the left limb of which, for the first time in the records edited here, appears well-developed, though it is not yet joined to the right-hand vertical see *dharmma*, l. 3. The letter *ś* appears in two slightly different forms, see, for instance, *kuśalō* and *hasty-aśva*-, both in l. 8; so also *ṇ* in =*guṇ-ānatō* and -*praṇamyaḥ*, both in l. 3; *r*, as the first member of a conjunct, generally appears as a *rēpha* above the line, but in -*chārur*= *yad*= l. 11, it is horizontal in form and prefixed to *ya* on the left below the line. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are fully developed, but in some cases, as for instance in -*mahā-pātrāya*, l. 2, -*jātavēdas*-, l. 4, *ēkā*, l. 8, the vertical stroke on the right, representing medial *ā*, is only half drawn. In a few cases, both the strokes of the medial *ō* appear horn-shaped above the line, see *prāp=ōnnatim*, l. 6 and *yad=yōshitām*, ll. 11-12. A final consonant is indicated by its short form as well as by the addition of a small curve below it, see, *e.g.*, *kathaṁchit*, l. 5. The form of *th*, which has a slightly developed vertical stroke on the right, shows that the present inscription is later than inscription No. 37, which comes from Kāritalāi itself.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in the later *kāvya* style, abounding in figures and hyperbolical descriptions. Except for the words *yaś=cha* in l. 5 and *kiṁ vahunā* in l. 26, the record is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled rightly in =*anabhyartthitō*, l. 2 *etc.*, but wrongly[1] in *sudarśśanaḥ*, l. 21, and the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see *vahutarāṁ*-, l. 2, *vōddhā*, l. 7 and so forth. The sign of the *jihvāmulīya* occurs in l. 9 and that of the *upadhmānīya* in l. 30.

The inscription mentions three Kalachuri princes, **Yuvarājadēva**, **Lakshmaṇarāja** and **Śaṅka[ragaṇa]**. Their names occur only incidentally in the extant portion. The earlier portion which probably contained a glorification of the first two, has been lost. Of the forty-two verses which have either wholly or partially been preserved, the first describes the great liberality of some person whose name is lost, but who was probably Lakshmaṇarāja. The next five verses eulogize **Bhākamiśra**, the minister of Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently the first prince of that name in the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripuri.. Bhākamiśra was born in the family (*gōtra*) of the sage Bharadvāja, performed many sacrifices, erected temples and dug wells in numerous places. His son **Somēśvara** is eulogized in the next twelve verses. He was proficient in various arts, sciences and systems of philosophy and performed many sacrifices. Even the king Lakshmaṇarāja is said to have once shouldered his palanquin to prevent it from falling down. Then comes, in eleven verses, the description of a very high temple of Vishṇu, erected by Sōmēśvara at Kāritalāi. The image installed therein was probably of the boar incarnation, which is referred to in vv. 27 and 35, and was called *Sōmasvāmin* after the founder of the temple. The next thirteen verses enumerate the various donations made to the deity. In the town (*pura*) near the temple, eight Brāhmaṇas were caused to settle. To them the king, evidently Lakshmaṇarāja (II), donated the village **Dīrghaśākhika** (v. 30). He also gave another village, the name of which is lost, to the god on the occasion of a solar eclipse. His queen **Rāhaḍā** gave, with his consent, the village **Chakrahradī** and the illustrious **Śaṅka[ragaṇa]** who is probably identical with Lakshmaṇarāja's son and successor and who was then the crown-prince, gave the god another village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (v. 33).

[1] This is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

He is called *parama-vaishṇava*, a devoted worshipper of Vishṇu. Two other villages, **Chhallipāṭaka** in the *āhāra* of **Dhavala** and **Antarapāṭa**, were donated to the god at a solar eclipse (v. 34). The next verse mentions donations of a small field and another yielding twelve *khaṇḍis* (of corn) to the Boar. A potentate who was named **Vallē[śvara]** gave the village **Vaṭagartikā** in the Mālā group of twelve in his own territory, while another, who had come to the place, donated a field requiring a *khārī* of seed-corn.[1] Besides these, several taxes and tolls are mentioned in the last five verses, the income from which was assigned to the deity.

The inscription is not dated, but it was probably put up towards the end of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign (*circa* 940-965 A.C.).

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription, Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of **Dīrghaśākhika** with Dighī, about six miles south-east of Kāritalāi, and Rai Bahadur Hiralal that of **Chakrahradī** with Chakadahī, seven miles south of Kāritalāi. I could not, however, trace the latter village either in the list of villages in the Murwārā *tahsil* or on the Degree Map. I identify **Dhavala**, the headquarters of an *āhāra*, with Dhawaia, 4 miles south of Dighī. The *pura*, where eight Brāhmaṇas were made to settle, is still known by the name Bamhōri (Brāhmaṇapurī) and lies about two miles east of Kāritalāi. **Chhallipāṭaka** is probably Chilhāri, about 11 miles east of Dhavala, in the adjoining territory of Vindhya Pradesh. **Vaṭagartikā** may be identical with the modern Barhaṭi, 10 m. west by south of Kāritalāi, and **Antarapāṭa** with Amaturrā, 7 miles east of Kāritalāi. The Mālā group of twelve cannot be located.

TEXT[2]

1 नितरान्दलेन ॥ ताम्रपर्ण्णीतटप्राप्ते[3]. . . . .
॥. . . .ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – – ᴗ – – ᴗ –, [भू*]–

2 मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कृच्छ्राद्ददौ । प्रत्यक्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रावावनभ्यर्त्थितो ग्रामान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणजातये व(ब)हुत[रां]स्तुष्टान्तरा[त्मा] ᴗ –[4] [॥१॥*]

3 वंशाङ्कुरद्वाजमुनेरनूनाद्गुणानतो[5] धर्म्म इवापरो[भू]त् । श्रीभाकमिश्रः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कृ–
तार्त्थीकृतमार्ग्गणौघः[6]॥[२॥*] कुण्ठितधिषणो धिष– – –[7]

4 सौम्यो वु(बु)धो न वु(बु)धः । अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित्रं(त्रम्)[8]॥[३॥*]
यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततततरखरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री । दिग्गिभभुज[ग]–

[1] Kielhorn remarked:—'The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārīvāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean a field sown with a *khārī* of corn, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of *Kāritalāi*'. The latter supposition is unlikely; for the verse clearly means that some person, whose name is lost, donated to the god a field in his own territory when he came *here* (*iha*), *i. e.*, to Kāritalāi. Khārīvāpa, therefore, cannot be identical with Kāritalāi.

[2] From the original stone and ink impressions.

[3] Only the lower portions of nearly half the number of the *aksharas* in this line are preserved. The reading of the fourteen *aksharas* given above is almost certain.

[4] The missing *aksharas* were probably मना. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] It would be better to read वंशो भरद्वाजमुनेरनूने गुणोन्नतो– as suggested by Kielhorn.

[6] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[7] Read धिषणोऽसौम्यः.

[8] Metre: *Udgīti*.

5 रुजालम्तकूर्म्यां: समूहे कलितत्रवपुपीडामत्वर्थैः कर्षमित्[1]॥[४॥*] यस्य ॥ अवीकर[2]स्कृत
न देवदेवकान्तवीक्षनत्कृत न का सरांसि । अविव्यक्[3]स्कृत न कूपवा[पी]–

6 रकूपशाम्रवणानि कृत[4]॥[५॥*] अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधरं भाष्वमिवांशुमाली ।
प्राप्तोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्ततोयं मणिमयानां कुलमोक्षकार्य(र्यम्)[5]॥[६॥*] स संविग्ने वे–

7 दे इवनकधि यो(यो)द्या क्वचिद्विवेकलवर्कसलर्कमनवमवतिस्तव्यमनशिषु । य आसी बेदान्ते स्मरण-
निपुणः काव्यसरणिः[6] स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति[7]॥[७॥*] पुस्ते–

8 नपास्तकलितप्रतिभम्लानिने मीमांसके किमपि यः कुशलो व(ब)भूव । हस्त्यश्वपाकपरीक्षणकर्म–
शास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धुरि धीमतां यः[8]॥[८॥*] एका कला मूर्ध्नि यथा–

9 कूलीन्दोरन्यैः कलाः यमन्वया प्रतिष्ठाः । श्रीमद्सोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः[9] कलाः कीर्तयितुं
कुतो कः[10]॥[९॥*] मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुष्यत्तुषारोत्करैस्तुङ्गो[तुरगा]–

10 रूप एव हिमवान्तौ गिरिः स्फाटिकः । सर्वांप्रसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेङ्खकयो(यो)न्ताचधिः सौम्यो–
सावुपमीयते कथमिव व्यामृत्यमेणामुना[11]॥[१०॥*] अपा[स्तकु]कुमं ये–

11 न नवनीतमतीयत । वसुप्रणयितां[12] यतो वशिविद्रुकरं[13] हि किं(किम्)[14]॥[११॥*]
अपास्तकाञ्चनमूंत[मुंज]रज्जुर्गलद्दुगू(कू)लो वृतवूर[15]वासाः । कल्पोकिकलो[न विधो]यथावदंशो–

12 पितां पर्वांणि वेष एवः[16]॥[१२॥*] अग्नीनग्नीनिवहन् विविधवहिनि होमोपयुक्तामञ्जर्यो गां
सुवन्नपि सम्यं ज्ञात्यासु सुवेण । सप्तैर्वाणिमिमंगतु [प्रति*]थे गार्हपत्यस्य प–

13 [लीत्ये][17]यं प्रोन्मुर्गृहसुकमणा यज्वनो यस्य सच्यौ[18]॥[१३॥*] अन्तर्व्वेशिक वासमन्दिरमही
मन्त्रोदकैः क्षाल्यतां यास्त्वीजन देहि भास्वरवि[तात्रत्न][17]प्रदीपान्य(न्य)हून् ॥ (।) त्वं से–

14 [19]रिकेन्द्र नि[ये]हि यन्त्रमखिलं राशि त्वमप्यावृत्त वेवे स्या इति शारिकोचितममूत्सायं यदन्तः–
पुरे[20]॥[१४॥*] विस्मेपि विस्वविस्कोटिमगमन्सन्ततस्तय[: । सर्व्व*]त्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीम–
न्वेदीन्द्रम–

15 न्त्रिणः[21]॥[१५॥*] [शस्तं] यजज्जनो रणशिरसि सदा शंसितं होतृसूतैर्गीतं यजुर्जादिभेदैरति–
मधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्जाभिकीत्य । अध्वर्युः [क*][र्म]मर्व्वैः प्रचरति च करी यायसंसि–

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[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[2] The engraver at first incised अवीकरकरत्कृत, but subsequently cancelled the first *ka* and *ra*.

[3] The engraver first incised अविविव–, but subsequently struck out the stroke for the medial *i* of वि.

[4] Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

[5] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[6] This word is quite clear. Read काव्यसरणी.

[7] Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[9] Originally कल्पः was engraved. Subsequently one vertical stroke was added inside *ya* to make it कल्याः.

[10] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] Read वसुप्रणयितां.

[13] Read –ङ्करं.

[14] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[15] The reading here is quite certain. Kielhorn doubtfully read वृ[?]लदू[?]ररात.

[16] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[17] These *aksharas*, which were unimpaired in Kielhorn's time, have since been damaged.

[18] Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

[19] This *akshara* is quite certain.

[20] पु, which was at first omitted, is written below the line. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[21] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

16 वत्तहस्तस्तस्य [श्री]भट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के क्षमं तुल्लवाचः[1] ॥[१६॥*] वातन्वमाधिरोहे[2] भ्रमयति दोलाभृति भ्रमात्किञ्चित् । श्रीम[ल्ल]क्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदास्य दोलायां(याम्)[3]॥ [१७॥*]

17 प्रासादोयमका[रि] तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुहः श्रीमच्चेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः । यस्योच्चैः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्खन्वियद्गामिनां[4] संज्ञां व्या-

18 घुटने करोत्यविरतं वद्धाध्वलोतिध्रुवं(वम्)[5]॥[१८॥*] स्फुरति व(ब)हिरन्तरावधानः कुटि- लतरत्वमधःकृतान्यकीर्त्तिः । पि[शुन*] इव समुद्धतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एषः[6] [॥१९॥*]

19 लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रो] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शितविश्वरूपः । [क]क्षामगाहिष्यत दानवा- रेरेषोप्ययया – ᴗ ᴗ[7][वा]मनत्वं(त्वम्)[8]॥[२०॥*] अलमलमुरुवंशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लांशुक- घटितश-

20 रीरेणोच्छ्रितेन ध्वजे[न*] । कनकक[9]लशरोचिर्दण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं- (त्यम्)[10]॥[२१॥*] [उ]न्नतानां परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यतः । अपि दुर्द्दर्शनो भानुर्भवत्य-

21 त्र सुदर्शनः[11]॥[२२॥*] ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरित्केवश्यमस्योत्तमा- [ङ्गे] । तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द-[12]

22 [दा]ति[13]॥[२३॥*] अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्घृष्टिलीलप्रयाङ्गः प्रातः प्रातर्द्दिनेशो घ[ट]यति युगलं चक्रयोर्व्वीतसंख्यं(ख्यम्) । शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23 ᴗ – – ᴗ[14] [द]ण्डः । सायं सायं जनानां[15] कलयति नितरामक्षवर्म्मं समग्रं(ग्रम्)[16]॥[२४॥*] नय[ति] रथमुदञ्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्यु[17]रति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि । त-

24 ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – [मे*]त्यातेप्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनभिविलंघ्यं प्राप्य सीदत्यम[न्दं](न्दम्)[18]॥[२५॥*] अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव । पातङ्गिरङ्घ्(ङ्घ्र)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-

25 ᴗ ᴗ[19][॥२६*] – – – ᴗ ᴗ – वराहचरणक्षोदावुदञ्चत्किणं पृष्ठं मे तव तत्क्षणो[द्ध]तवि(बि)स- प्राया शिरःसन्ततिः । मा गाङ्कङ्क्रमितोपसर्प्प निदधे तत्तावदेतद्ध्रुवं कूर्म्मस्यापि व-

26 – ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – – – ᴗ वाहे भवन्[20]॥[२७॥*] किं व(ब)हुना ॥ सर्व्वप्रासा[दरा]जोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः । यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रायते विधुः[21]॥[२८॥*] स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

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[1] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[2] Kielhorn read वात त्वमाधिरोहे, but he admitted, that he did not understand its exact meaning.

[3] Metre: *Āryā.*

[4] Kielhorn proposed to change this into वियद्गामिन:, but this is unnecessary.

[5] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

[7] Read –प्ययास्यथदि.

[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[9] The क of कलश, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

[10] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[11] Read सुदर्शन:. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[12] Kielhorn's suggestions to read –रननुभूतां and वातवृष्टि are unnecessary. See the translation below.

[13] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[14] The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied as –पनेनात्र.

[15] This has not been altered to क्षतानां as Kielhorn thought.

[16] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[17] This *akshara* is certainly not स्म. It resembles स्यु more than any other.

[18] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[19] Read –दिह. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[20] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[21] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II.

27 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [रा]मुख्य[1] ब(व)ह्वाम्बरवरमुख्यैः [पुन]रश्वमतीनिरमलीमावमावकोः ।
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्पुरस्थितरणं यावदेतच्चकास्तीत्येतच्चार्यासनं

28 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [क]श्यं(पम्)[2]॥[२९॥*] त्यबीविध[तुरे] चास्त्विषष्टौ भट्टान्वसु-
निव । दीर्घसात्विकधामातलेभ्यो ग्राममदातृप:[3]॥[३०॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्रामं देवा-

29 ......[।]........[भा]वाबस्ते यहे मानो:[4]॥[३१॥*] नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया
तस्य राहृज । ग्रामं चक्रह्नवीमस्ते महादेवी व्यधिश्रणत्[5]॥[३२॥*] श्रीसङ्क-

30 ....स्वै । देवाय वानलोभ्दो महूणे सोमस्य वैष्णवः परमः[6]॥[३३॥*]
धवलहरासंव(ब)द्धं[7] ग्रावच्छच्छल्लिपाटकं ग्रामं(मम्) । मालोरन्तरपाटं महूणे देवा-

31 .....[8][॥३४॥*]⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ [ल]वेनकं ददौ । तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डि-
कं(कम्)[9]॥[३५॥*] माल्यवादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्त्तिका(काम्) । स्वकीय[10]शासने श्री-
मान्वल्ले-

32 ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [॥३६॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ शासने[11]। श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय सारीवाप-
मिहागत: ॥[३७॥*] पुरपत्तनयो: स्थान: शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ । द्वादशीमपि शाणाया: षो-

33 ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[३८॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ कां तथा । नित्यमेकां घटीं गोष्ठ्यां षोडशी-
द्वितयं तथा ॥[३९॥*) कषायपञ्चके देशिड्गनिमध्ये व्यबोधयत् । सार्द्धद्वाविंशमंशं च वाह्यं पाद-

34 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[४०॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ — ⏑ ⏓ । [वाग्]लिकप्रधानस्य षण्णांपञ्चाशतं
ददौ॥[४१॥*] षण्णांपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा । सलभिकाप्यतलस्य मण्डलं सकलं
ददौ ॥ [४२॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) [Bali][12] unwillingly gave land measuring three footsteps to Vāmana, the great recipient (*of the gift*); this (*Lakshmaṇarāja*) on the other hand, whose charity is witnessed by the people, has always (*and*) with gratification given numerous villages to (*members of*) the Brāhmaṇa caste, (*though*) not entreated (*by them*).

(V. 2) In the glorious lineage of the sage Bharadvāja was born, like a second Dharma, the illustrious **Bhākamiśra** who, modest by his virtues, was venerable to kings, (*and*) always rendered multitudes of supplicants happy.

(V. 3) On account of him[13], oh, what a wonder! Bṛihaspati became confounded, the moon ugly, Budha unwise, Uśanas ignorant, and the oppressive planet (Saturn ?) incapable of overtaking (*the people*).

(V. 4) With its body oppressed by the very excessive and intense heat of the fires of his endless sacrifices, the earth was borne with great difficulty by the quarter-

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[1] Kielhorn read [रघुष्य], but the reading given above is quite certain.

[2] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre: *Āryā.*

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Metre: *Udgīti.*

[7] Perhaps धवलाहार is meant, but it would not suit the metre.

[8] Metre: *Āryā.*

[9] Metre of vv. 34-42: *Anushṭubh.*

[10] Kielhorn read स्वकीये, but there is no sign of any *mātrā* on य.

[11] This word is quite clear on the original stone. Kielhorn, however, read [शते].

[12] The few legible words in l. 1 do not admit of a coherent meaning. They seem to refer to Lakshmaṇarāja's army encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī.

[13] In the original, verses 3-6 contain relative clauses, having for their correlative *Śrī Bhākamiśraḥ* in verse 2.

elephants, Sesha, the lord of serpents and the Tortoise, who lost their patience on account of the pain they (*had to*) bear.

And he—

(V. 5) Where did he not cause temples to be constructed, tanks to be excavated, wells with steps and those without them to be dug, and gardens of mango trees to be planted?

(V. 6) Having obtained him, eminent by noble descent,[1] as his Prime Minister, the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)** attained prosperity free from all deficiency, just as the sun being united with the eastern mountain—which, being a principal mountain, appears beautiful,—attains high altitude, completely dispelling the night.

(V. 7) His son was that **Sōmēśvara,** well-known here, who felt no doubt in (*interpreting*) the Vēdas; who was a complete master of grammar; who was (*an*) inconceivable (*adept*) even in logic; who had a superior intellect in the interpretation of Tantra (*works*); who was the foremost in Vēdānta, (*and*) clever in remembering poetic compositions.

(V. 8) His intellect did not discard painting;[2] he was incomparable in conduct and quite skilful in triple symphony; he was matchless in the sciences of the care and examination of elephants and horses and in (*the testing of*) the three (*kinds*) of jewels (*and*) was at the head of the intelligent.

(V. 9) There is only one *kalā* (*i.e.*, digit of the moon) on the head of Siva; the *kalās* of the moon are well-known to be fifteen (*in number*); (*but*) who is able to enumerate the pleasing *kalās* (*arts*) of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa, the *Dīkshita* Sōmēśvara?

(V. 10) (*The mountain*) Mēru is one mass of hoarded gold; the Himālaya has become extremely frigid by its increasing heaps of snow; the mountain of crystal (*i.e.*, Kailāsa) appears dreadful.[3] How can he (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara) who has bestowed on supplicants his entire store of gold, who has reached the limit of highest knowledge (*and*) who is gentle (*by nature*), be compared to this triad of mountains?

(V. 11) In the sacrifice, he smeared his body with butter, discarding saffron;[4] for, what is difficult to be accomplished by the self-controlled?

(V. 12) Of his wives this was the dress on (*the days of*) *Parvan*, specially charming, being uncommon,—in which the girdle was set aside (*and*) a rope of *muñja*[5] was worn (*instead*), the silken garment dropped down (*from their bodies*), (*and*) the linen cloth was chosen (*in its place*)[6].

(V. 13) The multitudes of the house-parrots of him, the sacrificer, said thus at (*each*) twilight:—'O Agnīdh[7]! kindle the fires according to prescribed rules. O Adhvaryu!

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[1] There is a play on the words *unnati*, *dōsha* (or *dōshā*) and *kula-gōtra*, in consequence of which the expressions in which they occur can be understood in connection with both Yuvarājadēva I and the sun.

[2] Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *pusta* in the sense of painting. It can also be taken in the sense of a book or a record. Compare *pustapāla* which occurs in several Gupta records in the sense of a record-keeper, see, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81.

[3] There are puns on the words *jāḍya* and *raudra*, which besides the meanings given above convey those of 'dullness' and 'belonging to Rudra' respectively.

[4] In the initiatory rite (*dīkshaṇīy-ishṭi*) of the Agnishṭōma sacrifice, the sacrificer is required to anoint himself with butter. See *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (ed. by Caland), p. 157.

[5] In an *ishṭi*, the wife of the sacrificer ties round her waist a threefold girdle of *kuśa*, called *yōktra*.

[6] The meaning of *vāra* is uncertain, but the context shows that some coarse garment (as contrasted with *dukūla*, a silken raiment) is meant. On the occasion of *agnyādhāna*, the sacrificer and his wife are required to dress themselves in garments of linen (*kshauma*) which may be meant here.

[7] The priest who kindles fire in a sacrifice.

milk the cow (*which is*) useful for the sacrifice, and wash quickly the *sruch* together with the *sruva*.[1] Let the wife (*of the sacrificer*) attend the Gārhapatya fire with hot water'.

(V. 14) In his harem, this was said by the *sārikā* (*every*) evening:—'O Superintendent of the harem! let the floor of the residential mansion be washed with scented water. Courtezans! give (*us*) numerous jewelled lights with bright flames. O maid-servant! keep ready all (*the*) scents. O Queen! You also mind (*your*) dress!'

(V. 15) All the sacrifices of the illustrious minister of the lord of Chēdi, who gave away (*in charity*) all his wealth, reached the standard of the *Viśvajit* sacrifice.[2]

(V. 16) How insignificant are we of worthless speech in enumerating the merits of that illustrious Bhaṭṭa Sōmēśvara,—at the place of whose sacrifices and in the fore-front of whose battles, hymns and eulogies are recited by the Hōtṛi priests and bards (*respectively*); (*sāmans and panegyrics*) are sung in *shaḍja* and other notes and in an extremely sweet voice by the Udgātṛi priests[3] and musicians (*respectively*); (*and*) there moves about (*respectively*) the Adhvaryu priest, foremost in sacrificial work, whose hand is wet with (*the water poured in making*) gifts, and the elephant whose trunk is wet with rutting juice!

(V. 17) To his palanquin the illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja (II) put his shoulder, when the bearer of it ascending to an airy place[4] was stumbling a little on account of the fatigue of carrying it.

(V. 18) This temple of the god (Vishṇu) the enemy of demons, which has covered the faces of (*all*) quarters, has been constructed by that virtuous and foremost minister of the illustrious lord of Chēdi,—(*the temple*) whose banner-cloth, which is incessantly fluttering, being struck by wind, is most assuredly making a sign to such as go through the sky to turn back (*from the temple*) which has blocked their path.

(V. 19) This high temple which appears very straight outside, but is very curved inside, which has surpassed (*in height*) the temples of others, (*and*) which has manifestly risen above the whole world, appears like an insolent calumniator who shows himself very straight-forward outwardly, (*but*) is crooked at heart, who has disparaged others' fame, and openly insulted all people.[5]

(V. 20) This temple also, which, though possessing splendour, confers liberation, showing all forms (*by its sculptures*) in front would have borne resemblance to (*Vishṇu*) the enemy of gods (*who, though he deprived Bali of his fortune, conferred liberation, showing him his all-embracing form*), if (*only, like the latter*), it had been small (*in size*)[6].

(V. 21) On account of the upraised flag (*of this temple*) made of a white (*piece of*) cloth attached to the (*upper*) end of an extremely high staff, the heavenly river, with its stream flowing along the staff which looks splendid with the golden jar (*on the spire of the temple*), appears always to assume the very form of a banner.

(V. 22) Association with the exalted leads to great excellence; for even the dazzling sun can be easily looked at from here.[7]

(V. 23) On the top of this temple which can be reached (*by the sun*) after a pair of watches (*i.e.*, six hours), where there is a (*cool*) breeze produced by the flapping of the

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[1] *Sruch* means a sacrificial ladle in general, while *sruva* is a sacrificial ladle of *khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), measuring a cubit (*aratni*) in length.

[2] Because he gave away all his wealth in each sacrifice.

[3] The priests who sing the hymns of the *Sāmavēda*.

[4] *Vātandhama*, an airy place, is mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, III, 2, 30.

[5] There are puns on several words here, on account of which they can be construed with the temple and the calumniator.

[6] Vishṇu was *vāmana* (dwarfish).

[7] For it is connected with the *high* temple.

large hem of the banner-cloth (*and*) where the heavenly river meets, the sun invariably gives a currying to his horses (*such as they had*) not enjoyed before (*at that time of the day*).

(V. 24) Morning after morning the sun, the wheels of whose (*chariot*) break down, colliding against the high spire of this temple during his incessant roaming (*through the sky*), repairs both of them innumerable times. I fancy that every evening the banner-staff (*of this temple*) completely counts to the people all the axles[1] (*that had broken*) owing to (*the sun's chariot*) jolting in the cavity of the sky (*caused*) by the peak (*of this temple*).

(V. 25) If he (*i.e.*, the sun's charioteer) were to take the chariot by the south or the north of this (*temple*), there would be the (*untimely*) shortening and lengthening of the days;[2] . . . . . . (So) expert as he is in crossing even the Mēru mountain, he is not a little confounded when he reaches this (*temple*) which is firm (*and*) impossible to be crossed.

(V. 26) The son of the sun (*i.e.*, Saturn) suffered (*here*) the pain caused by the injury to his legs[3] as if because of his inordinate fondness for crossing the impassable row of the spires (*of this temple*).

(V. 27) 'My[4] back is becoming scarred, being trampled under the feet of the Boar! Let not the row of your hoods, which is (*soft*) almost like lotus-stalks just drawn (*out of water*), break (*under my weight*)! Turn aside. Let me place this (*my body*) on (*the back of*) the Tortoise! . . . . . .'

What is the use of saying more?

(V. 28) This certainly appears to us to be the best of all temples, since the moon (*when*) joined to the top of its flag staff, appears like an umbrella.

(V. 29) May this . . . . of this (*temple*), the top of which supports the egg of Brahman, and which is the peg that renders the earth immovable, last as long as the world! (*And*) may the world endure as long as this temple of (*Vishṇu*), the enemy of Mura, will shine . . . . . . Such is (*our*) wish!

(V. 30) The king made eight Brāhmaṇas, resembling (*as many*) Vasus, settle in this city (*and*) gave them a village named **Dīrghaśākhika.**

(V. 31) The illustrious **Lakshmaṇarāja (II)** gave the village . . . . to this god on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 32) His great Queen **Rāhaḍā,** with her devotion and the king's consent, gave this (*god*) the village **Chakrahradī.**

(V. 33) The illustrious **Śaṅka[ragaṇa] (III)** the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, skilled in charity, gave . . . . . on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the moon.

(V. 34) (*He*) gave the village **Chhallipāṭaka,** which is situated in the *āhāra*[5] of **Dhavala** and **Antarapāṭa** on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 35) (*He*) gave the (*divine*) Boar the field . . . . . and also another yielding (*a crop of*) twelve *khaṇḍis.*

(V. 36) The illustrious **Vallē[śvara]** gave as a grant,[6] the village **Vaṭagartikā** (*situated*) in the **Mālā** (*group*) of twelve (*villages*) in his own territory.

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[1] The stars are probably intended to be referred to as 'axles'. The staff as it points to different stars during the night is said to count them to the people.

[2] For these are caused by the *dakshiṇāyana* and the *uttarāyaṇa* of the sun.

[3] Hence he is called *Śanaiścbara* (one who walks slowly).

[4] This is evidently said by the Earth to the serpent Śēsha. The temple was dedicated to the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu. Hence the Earth says that her back bears the scars of the wounds caused by His hoofs.

[5] See above, p. 191, n. 7.

[6] *Śāsana* is used here in the sense of 'a village granted by a charter'. Compare *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

(V. 37) (*He*) . . . . who had come here, gave a field, sown with a *khārī*[1] of grain, in his own territory, to the god, the holy Sōmasvāmin.

(V. 38) The Superintendent[2] of the city and the town gave (*to the god*) (*the income?*) on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight and also on the twelfth day during the fair (*of the god*) . . . . . .

(V. 39) (*He*) . . . . always gave a jar (*of corn*[3]) for every *gōṇī*,[4] and also a couple of *shōḍaśīs*[5] (*i.e., karsha*).

(V. 40) The Dēśi[6] offered one and a half times the one-twentysecond portion of the five spirituous liquors and a quarter of the goods carried (*into the town?*) among (*these*) donations.

(V. 41) . . . . . . And the Chief of the Vāgūlikas[7] gave (*a bundle of*) fifty leaves.[8]

(V. 42) The Pāyaṭis gave another (*bundle of*) fifty leaves. And the whole *Maṇḍala* gave the alms at four threshing floors.[9]

No. 43 ; Plate XXXIII

BARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚABARA

This insciption is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces* and *Berar*[10] and was edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 278 ff. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters has disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consits of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2′ from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The average

[1] A *khārī* is a measure equal to sixteen *drōṇas*.

[2] *Sthāna* seems to be used here in the sense of the *sthān-ādhikṛita* or *sthāna-pati*. Cf. No. 88, l. 15.

[3] *Ghaṭī* as a measure is mentioned in the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, III. 2.30. If it is the same as *kumbha*, it would be equal to twenty *drōṇas*.

[4] A *gōṇī* is a measure equal to four *khārīs* (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 537).

[5] Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *shōḍaśikā*, meaning 'sixteen *māshas*', that is, equal to one *karsha*. Or, on the analogy of *vimśōpaka* it may have been so called, because it was equivalent to one sixteenth of a *dramma*.

[6] *Dēśi*, which occurs as *Dēśī* in the Pehevā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187), means probably the foreman of a guild, or the guild itself. See the Harsha stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 124) and the Nāḍlai stone inscription, (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 43).

[7] The lexicons give *vāguli* in the sense of a kind of plant, perhaps the betel-plant. *Vāgūlika* used here may in that case denote 'a seller of betel-leaves'.

[8] The Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva also mentions the tax of fifty leaves on every *chōllikā* (of leaves), brought from outside the town, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 267.

[9] See below, p. 198, n. 1.

[10] First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 45.

size of the letters is 1.5." The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters, we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *r* exhibits two forms,—one with a loop as in *kṛīḍaraṁ*, l. 3 and the other without it in *-Śavara-*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A.C., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A.C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthī* for *atō='rthī* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath=ēdaṁ* for *śapathō='yaṁ* in the same line.) The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-Śavara-* and *-Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1, and *-vrahma-stamba-* in l. 2.

The record opens with *ōṁ namaḥ* and refers to a Commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of Śabara. His name, which is partly mutilated, appears to be Siva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.C. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Siṁha, mentioned in the fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F.E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa, after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara named Siṁha, placed the king of the Rālā *maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Vidiśā near Bhilsā, where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.[1] From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śabara chief Siṁha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chēdian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription too was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king; for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon, to which General Cunningham[2] has drawn attention, refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one Narasiṁha of the Śulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Kṛishṇarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood.[3] As Kēsari, the son of Narasiṁha was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister of Home Affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 972-995 A.C.), Kṛishṇarāja can be placed about 950 A.C. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (982 A.C.) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde discovered on a pillar

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[1] See '*Chēd-īśam samarē vijitya Śabaraṁ saṁhṛitya siṁhāhvayaṁ | Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādy-avanipō (pau) bhūmyāṁ pratishṭhāpya cha || Dēvaṁ drashṭum=ih-āgatō rachitavān(n) stōtraṁ pavitraṁ paraṁ | śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛipaika-mantri-pada-bhāk-Kauṇḍinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||* cited by F. E. Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

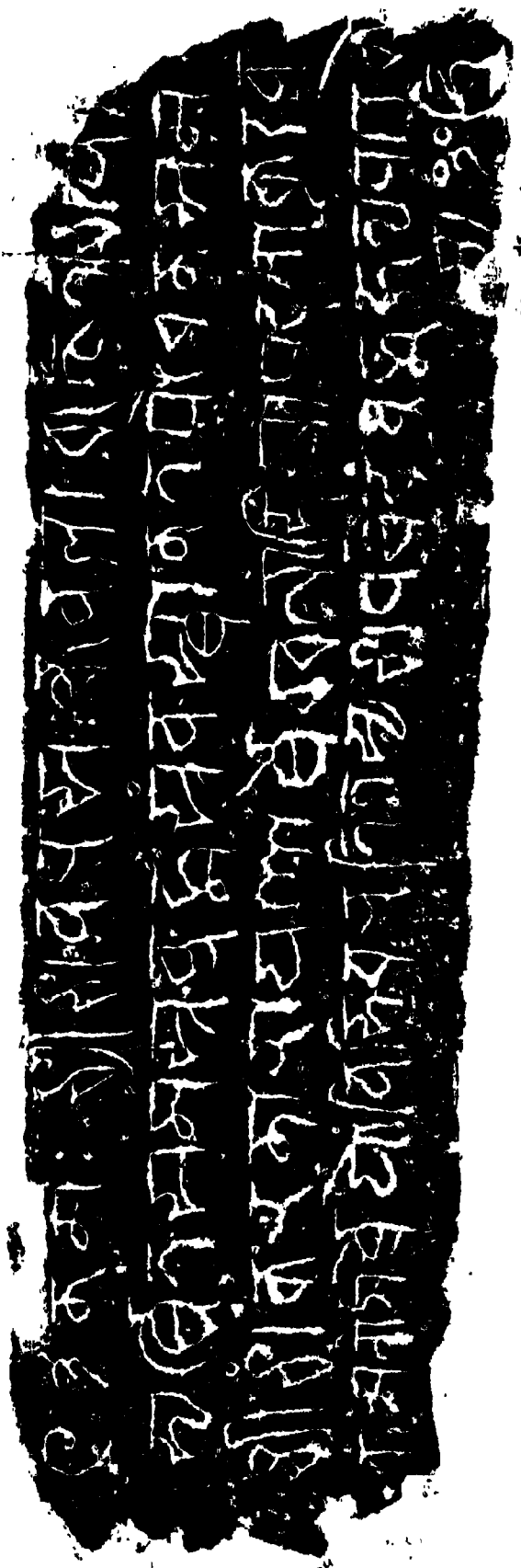
[2] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101 and 165.

[3] *A. R. A. D. G. S.*, (1930-31), p. 10.

BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36 - 778 '51

SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

of a dilapidated medieval temple at Gyātaspur.[1] This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as *Krishṇīśvara*. The god was evidently so named after a king named Krishṇa who consequently must have flourished before 981 A. C. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the aforementioned date for Krishṇa. This Krishṇa is probably identical with Krishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions[2] at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 954 A.C. to 1002 A.C. Krishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period 960-85 A.C. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga dated V. 1011 we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.[3] It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Krishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Krishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. The Kalachuri suzerain, to whom he owed allegiance, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara,[4] who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kārītalāi stone inscription[5] of Lakshmaṇarāja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Vishṇu in that record.

TEXT[6]

1 सिद्धिः[7] [।*] ओं नमः श्रीशव(ब)रसत्कव(ब)लावीकृत[8][शिव] . . .

. . . . . .

2 श्यर्थित[9]समस्तव्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंव(ब)स्यानतपोधनसंम . . . .

. . . . . .

3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थे खला(ल)भिषा(क्षा) प्रदत्ता कुदर[10] . . .

. . . . . .

4 कं अतो अर्थे[11] यो वि(व्य)भिचरति तस्य शपथेद[12] व्र(ब्र)ह्महस्य(स्या)पातके[13] . . . .

5 स्य इति[14] [।।*]

[1] I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

[2] These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham see his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94 and 95, plate XXXII. They were edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 129.

[4] For an analogous case, see the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the image in the temple erected by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Indra III at Bodana in the Hyderabad State, *H. A. S.*, No. I, p. 2.

[5] Above, No 42, line 29.

[6] From ink impressions.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] Read –भिक्षा–.

[9] Read अभ्यर्थित–.

[10] Perhaps some word like *cha* is lost after कुदर.

[11] Read अतोर्थे, used in the sense of अस्मिन्नर्थे.

[12] Read शपथोयं.

[13] Read –पातकेन संयुक्तो भविष्यति ।

[14] Read –स्येति.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōṁ! Adoration! [Siva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara . . . . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor[1] and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to . . . . . . the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas[2] venerated by . . . . .

(Line 4) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa . . . . .

No. 44; Plate XXXIV

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Beglar[3], one of the Assistants of Sir A. Cunningham at **Chandrēhi** or **Chandrēhē**[4] (long. 81° 32′ E. and lat. 24° 18′ N.), a small village about a mile from the right bank of the Sōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās, in the District of Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh. The record was first noticed by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 85, and again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 354, n. 1. A transcript of its text, together with a translation, was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 23), pp. 110 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited it, with a lithograph and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on two **slabs of stone** 'which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door . . . . The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is, on the whole, in a very good state of preservation.'[5] The record consists of twenty-seven lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first stone (marked A, below) and thirteen on the second (marked B). The average size of the letters is 1″. The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet and show some development over those of the Kāritalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.[6] *Kh* and *g*, for instance, show an acute-angled triangle in their left limb; *dh*, on the other hand, shows no development in its left limb, but closely resembles *v*, except that it has no line at the top; two forms of *k* are used, one generally in ligatures, see *-kvaṇaḍ-*, l. 5, *kshaṇaṁ*, l. 13, and the other elsewhere; *th* has a vertical on the right; *ph* exhibits two forms; for the first, which is developed from the old type, see *phaṇi-*, l. 1, *-phaṇ-īśvara-*, l. 4 and *-dvirēpha-*, l. 20, and for the second, which survives in the later Nāgarī, see *sphārī-*,

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[1] *Khala-bhikshā, lit.* 'alms at a threshing floor', was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee, the record does not make clear. The Kārītalāi stone inscription (above, No. 42) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khalabhikshās*.

[2] *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, Nos. 56 and 57 below, but there too the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas'.

[3] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 ff.

[4] The place is called Chandrē in the Degree Map No. 63 H.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 148.

[6] No. 42, above.

l. 2 and *-phaṇaṁ*, l. 4; the left limb of *ś* is joined to the vertical on the right, see *Śivāya* l. 1; the right-hand stroke for the medial *ā* and *ō* occasionally appears crescent-shaped, see *vidyuch-chhaṅkāṁ*, l. 20; the medial *ī* and one of the components of *ai*, *ō* and *au* are in some cases formed by lengthening the top stroke to the left to end in a small curve, while in others they are shown by a fully developed *prishṭha-mātrā*, see, *e.g.*, *-bhāvī*, l. 16, and *vairaṁ*, l. 21.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the customary obeisance to Siva in the beginning and certain names and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty verses in all. The record is, on the whole, carefully composed and incised, such mistakes as *dadan=* for *dadad=*, l. 13 and *charaṁñ=jagati* in l. 16 being rare. As regards orthography, we note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see, *e.g.*,*-vrahmāṇḍa-*, l. 4; *n* is used for *anusvāra* in *hansa-*, l. 2, and *-dhvansa-*, l. 18, and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *saśvad=*, l. 12.

After the introductory *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, the record has three verses which describe Siva and his *tāṇḍava* dance and invoke his blessings. Then comes the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva ascetic **Prabōdhaśiva** who put up the record. In the spiritual succession of the **Mattamayūra** (clan) there was **Purandara**, the preceptor of kings. His disciple was **Śikhāśiva**, who is later on referred to as the lord of **Madhumatī**. His disciple was **Prabhāvaśiva**, who was invited to accept some land by **Yuvarājadēva**. He was followed by **Praśāntaśiva**, who built a hermitage at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill at the confluence of the **Śōṇa**. His disciple was **Prabōdhaśiva** who is said to have practised penance even in his boyhood and constructed roads through mountains and across rivers and streams. He constructed the monastery, where the inscription was put up, close by the temple erected by his preceptor Praśāntaśiva, excavated a tank by the side of the hill and dug a well near the monastery. He also repaired and further excavated the well, dug by his preceptor, which had become dilapidated and full of wood in course of time. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Dhāṁsaṭa**, the son of Jēika and Amarikā and grandson of the *Dikshita* Mēhuka. It was written by **Dāmōdara**, the son of Lakshmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva, and incised by **Nīlakaṇṭha** by the command of the *Sūtradhāra* **Sūrāka**.

The date of the inscription[1] is given in the last line as **Saṁvat 724, Phālguna śudi 5**. Both the year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only. The palæography of the inscription clearly indicates that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 724, to Monday, the 10th February, 973 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription refers to a temple built by Praśāntaśiva which was close to the monastery erected by Prabōdhaśiva. The former is, therefore, as Mr. R.D. Banerji has shown,[2] the temple of Śiva, which is still standing within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery at Chandrēhē. The *āśrama* at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill, which is now in ruins is still called **Bhramarsēn**.

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[1] The date was first read by Beglar as *Saṁvat* 524, *Phālguna-sudi* 6. He, however, changed the year to *Samvat* 1524, see *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 8. Kielhorn gave the correct reading of the date for the first time and referred it to the Kalachuri era in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354. Banerji, however, gave the *tithi* as 6 in his transcript of the text published in the *Haihayas of Tripurī etc.*, Appendix C, p. 119, but it appears as 5 in his article on the inscription published posthumously in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 149. For a similar figure denoting 5, see above, p. 181.

[2] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, (1921), p. 53; *H. T. M.*, pp. 32 ff.

TEXT[1]

A

1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ फणिश्वासश्यामे स्वनदमरनद्यम्भसि च यज्जटाजूटाम्भोदे नयनशिखिविद्यु-
द्विलसति । तथा चूडाचन्द्रद्युति-

2 निकरधारेव ककुभं कपालानां माला तुलयति स शर्व्वो विजयते[2]॥ [१॥*] हृन्सश्येनी हसित-
महसां संहतिश्शङ्करस्य स्फारीभूता वदनमभितो

3 नाग[च]र्म्मावृतस्य । कि[ञ्चि]त्कण्ठच्छविकलुषिता मेघनिर्यन्मृगा[ङ्कच्छा]यां स्वच्छां सपदि
दधती सम्पदं वो ददातु[4]॥ [२॥*] चारीसंचरणप्रवीणचरणव्या-

4 पारणाघूर्ण्णितक्षोणीकुण्डनमत्फणीश्वरफणं विद्राणदिग्वारणं(णम्) । दोर्द्दण्डभ्रमणादकाण्डचलित-
व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डं मुदे भूयाद्वो निवि(बि)ड-

5 क्वणड्डमरुकं चण्डीपतेस्ताण्डवम्[5]॥ [३॥*] श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरसन्ततिरियं यंगेव लोकत्रयं पूया-
[द्य]त्र पुरन्दरः कृततपा जज्ञे गुरुर्भूभुजाम् । शिष्यस्त-

6 स्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो वि(बि)भ्रत्तपस्तेजसा दीपत्वं विनिपाति[ता]न्धतमसो निर्व्वाणमार्ग्गे
[स्थि]तः ॥ [४॥*] ततो मधुमतीपतेः कृतमहातप-

7 स्सञ्चयः प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणिः । अनेकनृपवन्दि[त]: स युवराजदेवेन [य]स्त-
पोधनपतिः कृतश्चरणपूतगोलग्निकः[6]॥ [५॥*]

8 प्रशान्तशिवचन्द्रमास्तदनु तस्य शिष्योभवत्तमःप्रमथनोद्यमप्रकटितस्वरूपः शुचिः । व(ब)भार गु-
णिषु श्रियं कुमुदकल्पशैवेषु यः समुज्व(ज्ज्व)ल-

9 यशःप्रभाधवलिताखिलाशामुखः ॥ [॥६*] स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुलं प्रियालवनसंकुले
फलमृणालकन्दाशनः । चका-

10 र विदितं जनैर्मुनिसखः प्रशान्ताश्रमं स्वपादपदपंक्तिभिः पवितभूतलो यः कृती ॥ [७॥*] देवो-
द्यानगतेन्द्रसंसदि मुदा गन्धर्व्वविद्याधरै-

11 रानन्दाय च धूर्ज्जटेः श्लथयता वाद्यादरं नन्दिना । लीलालोलितमौलिना करगलद्वल्गेन
यस्योच्चकैर्भास्वत्सारथिना तथा

12 प्रतितपः स(श)श्वद्यशो गीयते[7]॥ [८॥*] प्रवो(बो)धशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशिष्यवर्ग्गाग्रणीः स
तस्य मदनद्विषः परशुरामनामा यथा । यशःखचित-

13 दिङ्मुखो गुणिजनाय वित्तं दद[नृ][8]णीकृतवसुन्धरो विजितशत्रुवर्ग्गश्च यः[9] ॥ [९॥*] उद-
ग्रशिखितर्प्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणिः क्षणं कुमार

14 इव सर्व्वदा परिहृताङ्ग[ना]संगमः । समुन्नतमहीभृति प्रकटि[ता]त्मशक्तिक्र[मो] मनोभव-
रिपुप्रियो विहितदेवकार्यश्च यः ॥ [१०॥*]

B

15 विचार्य निखिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवु(बु)द्धेश्वरः प्रियालफलमूलकामलकशाकशालूकभुक् ।
नदोक्षितधरातले गुरुजनानु-

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[1] From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
[2] Metre: *Sikharini.*
[3] Read हंस-.
[4] Metre: *Mandākrāntā.*
[5] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[6] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Pṛithvī.*
[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[8] Read ददृ -.
[9] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Pṛithvī.*

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36 – 778'51.

SCALE: SIX-TWENTYFIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B

16 कारी तपश्चरंश्चयति[1] विस्मयं व्यधित बा(बा)लमावेपि यः ॥[११॥*] महीभृन्मूर्द्धन्यप्रगु-
णतरपादः सनुपमी बभन्मिन्नत्वं बस्तिमिरभिदु-

17 रं कार्यमकरोत् । तथा सन्ध्यारम्भे निखिलजनवन्द्यः किमपरं प्रतापेन व्याप्नोत्त्रिभुवनमपि प्राप्त-
महिमा[2] ॥ [१२॥*] गुरुप्रावग्रामोल्लन-

18 नवकमध्वन्स[3]विधिना महीध्रोध्वानं यो व्यधित जलधौ राघव इव । सरित्स्रोतःस्वेवं विपिनगह-
नेष्वद्भुतकरं जगत्यास्वयं हि प्रथय-

19 ति महत्कर्म्मं महताम् ॥[१३॥*] अडतरमरुच्छोणस्याम्भःकणैरयमाश्रमो मृगपतिमहाध्वानै
रात्रौ प्रतिध्वनिताम्ब(म्ब)रः । शिखरिशिख-

20 रप्रान्तप्रेङ्खद्बृहिरेफपयोधरो जनयति जने विद्युच्छङ्कां महौषधिरोचिषा[4]॥ [१४॥*] [चु]म्ब(म्ब)न्ति
वानरगणा मृगशत्रुपोतान्सिंहीस्तनं पिब(ब)ति चा-

21 रु शिशुर्मृगस्य । वैरं निजं परिहरन्ति विरोधिनोन्ये सर्व्वस्य शाम्यति मनो हि तपोवनेषु[5]॥
[१५॥*] गुरुकृतसुरागारागारावमुं म-

22 ठमुन्नतं स्वकमिव यशः शुभ्राकारं विशालमचीकरत् । अनुगिरमथो सिन्धुप्रख्यं तडागमचीखन-
त्प्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्र

23 प्रबो(बो)धशिवः शमी[6]॥[१६॥*] श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवकारितमत्र कूपं कालेन शीर्ण्णपतिताखि-
लदारुपूरम् । भक्त्या गुरोर्गुरुशिलारचना-

24 विचित्रं सोचीकरत्तदनु दूरमचीखनच्च[7]॥[१७॥*]ब(ब)भूव भुवि दीक्षितो विहितकीर्त्तनो
मेहुकः स सज्जनगणाग्रणीरजनयत्सुतं

25 जेह्कं(कम्) । ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे समभवत्कविर्द्धा सटः प्रशस्तिमकरोदसौ विकटवर्ण्णब(ब)न्धा-
मिमाम्[8]॥ [१८॥*] पशुपतिजटाजूटभ्रान्ता हिमा-

26 द्रिशिलातलस्खलितसलिला यावद्वीचिः पवित्रितभूतला । व्रजति सरितां नाथं यावद्भगीरथ-
वर्त्मना सुरसरिदियं तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरास्तु भुवि स्थिता[9] ॥ [१९॥*] क-

27 र्मीधरसुतः ख्यातो वासुदेवानुजः सुधीः । इमां दामोदरोल्लेखीत्प्रशस्तिं प्रवराक्षरां(राम्)[10]॥
[२०॥*] सूत्रधारसूराकाख्योत्कीर्ण्णा नीलकण्ठेन॥ सम्वत्[11]७२४ फाल्गुन शु दि ५ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Oṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Glorious is that Śarva (Śiva), —in whose coiled matted hair, which is like a cloud, being dark with the hissing of serpents (*on his body*), and which resounds with the water of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā) (*as a cloud resounds with thunder*), there flashes the fire of (*his third*) eye like lightning (*flashing in a cloud*); and whose wreath of human skulls resembles a garland of *champaka* flowers,[12] even as the shower of the accumulated lustre of the moon on his head !

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[1] Read –श्चरञ्चयति.

[2] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śikhariṇī.*

[3] Read –ध्वंस–.

[4] Metre: *Hariṇī.*

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[6] Metre: *Hariṇī.*

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[8] Metre: *Pṛithvī.*

[9] Metre: *Hariṇī.*

[10] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[11] Read संवत्.

[12] Banerji first translated *kakubhaṁ tulayati* by 'brightens the different quarters' and afterwards

(V. 2) May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant-skin,—which, white like the goose, is spread round his face and which, being slightly darkened by the effulgence of his (*blue*) neck, at once assumes the clear splendour of the moon emerging from a cloud,—grant you prosperity!

(V. 3) May the Tāṇḍava dance of (Śiva), the husband of Chaṇḍī, give you delight! (*the dance*) which makes the hoods of the lord of serpents bend under (*the weight of*) the bowl-like earth which revolves on account of the movements of his feet, skilled in the *chārī* step; which puts to flight the elephants of the quarters; which causes a sudden movement of a part of the universe by the revolutions of his staff-like arms[1] and which is accompanied by the deep sound of the *ḍamaru*!

(V. 4) May this continuous succession of (*the Śaiva ascetics of*) the **Mattamayūra** (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Gaṅgā!—in which was born **Purandara**, who performed austerities, and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) **Śikhāśiva**, (*who was*) like fire and who, (*refulgent*) with the lustre of his austerities, stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude, having dispelled the pitchy darkness (*of ignorance*).

(V. 5) From him (*i.e.*, Sikhāśiva), who was the lord of **Madhumatī**, was (*spiritually*) descended **Prabhāvaśiva**, who accumulated great austerities, was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas, and was revered by many kings. He, who was the foremost among ascetics, was made by **Yuvarājadēva (I)** to sanctify, by his feet, the wanton woman that was the earth.[2]

(V. 6) After him there was his disciple, the moon-like **Praśāntaśiva**, who was pure[3] (*even as the moon is bright*); whose real nature was manifested in his attempt to destroy ignorance (*as the moon's form is seen dispelling darkness*); who brightened the faces of all quarters by his bright fame (*as the moon does with her lustre*) and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas (*as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night-lotuses*).

(V. 7) He, the virtuous one, the companion of sages, who lived on fruits, lotus-stalks and roots, (*and*) who sanctified the surface of the earth by the rows of his foot-prints, built an incomparable and quiet hermitage, well-known to the people, at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill covered with the forest of *priyāla*[4] (*trees*) (*and situated*) at the confluence of the river **Śōṇa**.

(V. 8) His[5] fame is continuously sung with delight and in a high tone in every (*month of*) Māgha[6] by the Gandharvas and Vidyādharas, in the assembly of Indra held in the celestial garden,—by Nandin who, to please Śiva, pays less attention to instrumental

by 'elevates the quarters.' But both these renderings are unsatisfactory; for the verb *tulayati* never conveys the sense of 'brightening' and the garland of skulls can scarcely be described as 'elevating the quarters'! For our rendering of *kakubh* by 'a garland of champaka flowers' see *Kakup striyāṁ pravēṇī-dikō-bhāsu champaka-sraji* cited in Mahēśvara's com. on *Amarakōśa*, II, 45.

[1] For the idea compare the *Mahimnaḥ stōtra*, v. 16.

[2] Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *lagnikā* (which is a wrong form of *nagnikā*) in the sense of 'a wanton woman'. The poet has here evidently the story of Ahalyā in mind. As Rāma purified Ahalyā by the dust of his feet, so did Prabhāvaśiva sanctify the land that was presented to him by Yuvarājadēva (I).

[3] There is a play on several words here, in consequence of which they can be construed with both the sage and the moon.

[4] *Buchanania Latifolia.*

[5] In the original this is a relative clause having for its correlative *saḥ* in v. 7.

[6] The month of Māgha, in which the Śivarātri occurs, is held sacred by the Śaivas.

music[1],—(*and*) by the charioteer of the sun, who gracefully waving his head from side to side in joy, allows the reins (*of his horses*) to slip from his hands.

(V. 9) There was the foremost of his disciples named Prabōdhaśiva, as Paraśurāma was of (Śiva) the enemy of Madana, —who, conquering all his enemies, adorned the faces of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed the earth under obligation.

(V. 10) He[2] was like Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (*as Kumāra's hand is in feeding his mighty peacock*); who (*like Kumāra*) always avoided the company of women; who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (*as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krauñcha mountain*), who was devoted to (Śiva) the enemy of the mind-born (*as Kumāra also was dear to him*); and who performed (*all*) his duties towards the gods (*as Kumāra accomplished the work of the gods, viz., the destruction of the demon Tāraka*).[3]

(V. 11) He, having thought over all the scriptures, realized God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of *priyāla*, *āmalaka*,[4] greens and *śālūka*[5], caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank (*lit.*, the surface of the land) washed by the river (Sōṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

(V. 12) He, having attained power, has acted like the rising sun,—whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (*jewelled*) crests of kings (*who bowed to him, even as the sun's rays are when they fall on the peaks of mountains*); who has done the work of destroying ignorance (*as the sun dispels darkness*); who is revered by all people at the time of making peace (*as the sun is at the beginning of twilights*); (*and*)—what more (*need be said?*)—who, having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power (*as the sun does by its heat*).

(V. 13) He, by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming[6] heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through mountains (*and*) across rivers and streams, and also through forests and thickets, as Rāghava (*did*) across the ocean. A great deed of the mighty proclaims wonder in the world!

(V. 14) At night this hermitage,—(*which is wafted*) with breezes, extremely cool with the sprays of the water of the Sōṇa, which makes the sky reverberate with loud roars of lions, and which has bee-like clouds hovering round mountain peaks,—causes people to suspect lightning on account of the phosphorescence of great medicinal plants (*growing near it*).

(V. 15) In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, (*and*) the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (*natural*) antipathy (*to one another*); for the minds of all become tranquil in penance-groves.

(V. 16) Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabōdhaśiva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame resembling white clouds. Thereafter he caused to be excavated a sea-like lake,[7] by the side

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[1] *I. e.*, in order to enable Śiva to hear his devotee's fame sung in heaven.

[2] In the original vv. 10-13 are relative clauses, having for their correlative *Prabōdhaśiva* in v. 9.

[3] There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Kārttikēya.

[4] *Emblic Myrobalan*.

[5] *Śālūka* is 'the esculent root of different kinds of lotus'. (M. W.)

[6] The process of making roads described here shows that macadamising was well known in those days, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 152, n. 1.

[7] *Prakhya* at the end of a compound means 'resembling.' Banerji, however, takes *sindhu* to be the name of the lake.

of the mountain, and (*also*) a well having copious water.

(V. 17) On account of devotion to his preceptor he caused to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (*very*) deep the well, which had been dug by the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva** at this place, (*but*) which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it, in course of time.

(V. 18) There was a *Dīkshita* named Mēhuka, whose fame was known on the earth. He, who was foremost among good men, begot a son named **Jēika**. To him was born, from the womb of Amarikā[1], the poet **Dhāṁsaṭa**. He composed this *praśasti* couched in beautiful arrangement of letters.

(V. 19) May this eulogy endure unchanged on this earth as long as the divine river (*Gaṅgā*), meandering through the coiled matted hair of Paśupati (*i.e.*, Siva), with its waters shattering on the surface of the rocks on the Himālayas, flows to (the sea), the lord of rivers, along the path (*shown*) by Bhagīratha, sanctifying the earth with its bounding waves.

(V. 19) The wise and renowned **Dāmōdara**, the son of Lakshmīdhara and the younger brother of Vāsudēva, wrote this *praśasti* in excellent letters!

(*This praśasti*) has been inscribed by **Nīlakaṇṭha** by the order of the *Sūtradhāra* **Sūrāka**. The year 724, (*the month*) Phālguna, the bright (*fortnight*), the (*lunar*) day 5.

No. 45; Plate XXXV

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

The stone, which bears this inscription, is said to have been found at **Bilhāri** (lat. 23° 48′ North, long. 80° 19′ East), 9 miles west by south of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone which was at first removed to Jabalpur[2] has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. It seems to have broken in transit, as it shows now a large crack which cuts it vertically right across. Fortunately, it has not resulted in the loss of more than one or two letters.

The inscription was first published with an abstract of its contents by Dr. F.E. Hall in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXX, pp. 317-334. Its contents were next discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 80 and 102-5. It was subsequently edited, with an excellent translation and a lithograph, by Prof. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 251-270. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The record, which consists of thirty-three lines, is inscribed on the counter-sunk surface of a large panel of grey sandstone. The inscribed space measures 6′ 3″ broad by 3′ high and is surrounded by a plain border 3.5″ broad. The first thirty lines of the inscription are very well preserved, except for a few letters at the end of each line; the latter can, however, be read without much difficulty from the traces left on the stone. On the other hand several letters at the end of the last three lines have been almost completely effaced by the wearing away of the inscribed surface. The average size of the letters is .5″ in the first three lines and .75″ in the rest.

The characters, which are beautifully written and deeply engraved, belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription.[3] The

[1] The position of *Amarik-ōdarē* after *tataḥ* in the second half of the verse clearly shows that Amarikā was the mother of Dhāṁsaṭa and not of Jēika as Banerji has taken.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXX, p. 322.

[3] Above, No. 44.

only points that call for notice here are that the left limb of *kh* is drawn below the apex of its triangle in some cases, see, *e.g.*, *sukha-vishēshāḥ*=, l. 30; *ṭha* of *maṭha* has ornamental additions below the circle in ll. 22 and 32; the loop of *n* is open at the top, see =*atalina*-, l. 4; and *ph* has everywhere the later form, see -*phaṇa-phalaka*-, l. 7.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning, *api cha* and *kiṁ=cha* in ll. 1 and 19 respectively, and some short sentences in ll. 32 and 33, the record is in verse throughout. It falls into three parts.[1] Verses 1-45 were composed by Śrīnivāsa, the son of Sthirānanda, verses 46-78 by Sajjana, the son of Thira and the rest by the Kāyastha Sīruka. The record, especially the portion composed by Śrīnivāsa, is written in an artistic *kāvya* style. The composition of Sajjana is inferior; it does not contain any flights of imagination and suffers also from the use of wrong forms like *akṛita* for *akāri* in verse 54 and ambiguous compounds like *ahita-janita-bhītir*= in verse 59. As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* almost throughout, and the dental for the palatal sibilant in -*saurya*-, l. 14 and -*Saiv-āgama*-, l. 20; the consonant following or preceding *r* has been doubled in many cases, see *e.g.*, -*Sarvva-parvvata*-, l. 5, *ttri-bhuvana*-, l. 6 *etc.*; the *visarga* before *s* is generally changed to the sibilant and in one case dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII., 3., 36, see *bandhō styān-ākṛiti*-, l. 17; the *anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* has been wrongly changed to the dental nasal in many places, see *e.g.*, -*vanśa*, l. 21, and -*vidhvansa*, l. 4; final *m* has wrongly remained unchanged in such cases as -*ḍaṁvaram=vaḥ*, l. 3, *yam=vīkshya*, l. 14; so also *n* in *bhagavān=jyōtsnām*=, l. 16, *vairāg yēna*, l. 21 and *guṇān=śakshyati*, l. 26, while it has been wrongly changed to *ṇ* in *dhīmur=ṇṇanu*, l. 15. Other instances of wrong *sandhi* are the elision of the *visarga* in -*Nāgabalā Khaila*-, l. 18, and the addition of *ch* in *marud-gaṇānāṁ chchhāy*-, l. 16. *Ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in -*dripta*, l. 12 and =*saty-ādrita*-, l. 14. Finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in several places, see -*lasadyu*-, l. 1, -*ujvalim*-, l. 3, *āsī=dvishad*-, l. 4, *kōpa-valyāḥ*, l. 8, *datvā*, l. 24, *satva*, l. 26, *etc.*

As stated above, the inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which was composed by Śrīnivāsa, opens with four verses invoking the blessings of Śiva and the moon. The poet then proceeds to state the genealogy of **Kēyūravarsha**, whose queen **Nōhalā** erected the temple, at which the inscription was originally put up. From the moon sprang the family of the **Haihayas**. In this family was born the king Arjuna (*i.e.*, Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna) who defeated the lord of Laṅkā and was favoured by the god Dattātrēya with the promise of a son. Among his descendants was **Kōkalladēva (I)** who, having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known **Kṛishṇarāja** in the south and **Bhōjadēva**, the store of royal fortune, in the north. This statement evidently means that by his help Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. A statement to the same effect is made in the Banaras plates[2] of Karṇa also.

Kōkalla (I) was followed by his son **Mugdhatuṅga** who conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. This statement also is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavala (who is identical with Mugdhatuṅga) which occurs in the Banaras plates.[3]

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[1] Kielhorn thought that the inscription was composed by only two poets,—verses 1-45, which originally formed an independent *praśasti*, by Śrīnivāsa and the remaining verses by Sajjana. Further, he took the *Kāyastha* Sīruka to be the scribe of the first *praśasti*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 251 and p. 270, n. 50. It would, however, appear that Sīruka was the author of verses 79-85. Had he been the scribe of the first *praśasti*, his name would have been either mentioned immediately after v. 45 or omitted altogether.

[2] See verse 7 of No. 48, below.

[3] *Ibid.*, verse 12.

The inscription then proceeds to describe in verses 24-29 Mugdhatuṅga's son **Yuvarājadēva (I)** *alias* **Kēyūravarsha.** He is said to have fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, to have sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karṇāta, to have applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa, to have enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra and to have been fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga. Curious as it might appear, a similar description of Yuvarājadēva occurs in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśēkhara, who, in the later part of his career, flourished at his court. From the fourth act of this play[1] we learn that its hero Kēyūravarsha had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avantī, Jālandhara and Kērala. These statements are evidently intended to convey that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karṇāṭaka, Gujarat, Kashmir and other parts of India and married the princesses of those States. The present inscription further states that he caused endless trouble to his enemies from the Himālaya in the north to the bridge in the south, and from the eastern to the western sea. The description of Yuvarājadēva to which the poet has devoted as many as six verses is otherwise conventional and contains no histroical information.

The next eight verses (30-37) introduce a digression and describe the pedigree of Yuvarajādēva's wife **Nōhalā.** From a handful (*chuluka*) of water taken by the sage Bhāradvāja (*i.e.*, Drōṇa) to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended from whom came to be known as **Chaulukya.** This legend about the origin of the Chaulukyas, it may be noted in passing, differs from that given by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikaramāṅkadēvacharita*, Canto I, verses 46-55. According to the latter, the progenitor of the clan was born from the handful of water taken by the god Brahmā for his morning libation when he was requested by Indra to create someone for the punishment of the haters of religion. Again, a third legend occurs in a later inscription, according to which the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the water-pot (*chulkā*) when Hārītipañchaśikha was pouring out a libation to the gods.[2] Our inscription next proceeds to state that in the family of the Chaulukyas was born **Avanivarman.** His father was **Sadhanva** and grandfather **Simhavarman.** Avanivarman had a daughter named **Nōhalā.**

This Nōhalā was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva. She constructed a lofty temple of Siva. We are further told that she gave the villages **Nipānīya** and **Ambipāṭaka** to the Saiva ascetic **Īśvaraśiva** as a reward for his scholarship. This Īśvaraśiva was a disciple of **Śabdaśiva** who was himself a disciple of **Pavanaśiva,** also called **Mādhumatēya** (the lord of Madhumatī). Further, Nōhalā donated the villages **Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Viḍā,** Sajjāhalī and **Gōshṭhapālī** to the god Siva.

The second part of the present record, which commences with verse 46, opens with a description of **Lakshmaṇarājā (II),** the son of Yuvarājadēva I and Nōhalā. Verses 46-58 again introduce a digression and give the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva pontiff, **Hṛidayaśiva,** who was invited by Lakshmaṇarāja to his country and was placed in charge of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha. We are told that at the venerable place called **Kadambaguhā** there lived a sage named **Rudraśambhu.** His disciple was **Mattamayūranātha** who initiated the king of Avanti in the Saiva faith. His disciple was **Dharmaśambhu,** and the disciple of the latter **Śabdaśiva.** Sabdaśiva was followed by **Mādhumatēya,** and the latter by **Chūḍāśiva** who, again, was the spiritual preceptor of **Hṛidayaśiva.** Lakshmaṇarāja respectfully invited Hṛidayaśiva to his country and

[1] See the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, (ed. by B. R. Arte), p. 114.

[2] See Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom., Gaz.* Vol. I, part ii, p. 339.

made over to him the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, which is called Nauhalēśvara in the next verse. Hṛidayaśiva placed it in the charge of his disciple Aghōraśiva. As Hṛidayaśiva was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja, his spiritual preceptor Chūḍāśiva lived in the same period as Lakshmaṇarāja's father Yuvarājadēva I. He is, therefore, probably identical with the Sikhāśiva of the Chandrēhē inscription[1] and the Chūḍāśiva of the Gurgi inscription,[2] whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva I to accept a monastery at Gurgi.

Lakshmaṇarāja, then, proceeded to conquer the regions in the west and reached the shores of the western ocean where he worshipped Śiva at the well-known temple of Sōmanātha in Kathiāwāḍ, and presented the deity with the effigy of the serpent Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the king of Ōḍra (Orissa) after defeating the lord of Kōsala. This statement indicates that the kingdoms of Dakshiṇa Kōsala and Ōḍra were at this time probably ruled by the scions of the same family.[3]

Lakshmaṇrāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa (III), about whom the present record furnishes no historical information. He was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II, whose adventure in killing a huge tiger is graphically described in verse 68. As many as five verses are devoted to this king's description, but they contain mere conventional praise. Verses 71-76 contain a hymn which Yuvarājadēva II is said to have composed in praise of Śiva.

The third part of the inscription opens with an enumeration of the taxes in cash or kind, which manufacturers and traders had to pay at the market-place in the town (Bilhāri) for the benefit of the monastery and the support of its occupants. Next comes a verse in praise of Aghōraśiva, the head of the Nauhalēśvara monastery. He is said to have put this *praśasti* together. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out 'What is now its first portion from verse 1 to 45 originally was or formed part of an independent *praśasti* and this original *praśasti* was renewed and enlarged by the addition of verses 46-86 of the present inscription two or three generations after the composition of the first part'[4].

The record next mentions the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura and some others, whose names are lost, in connection with the celebration of a fair in honour of the deity. Finally, there occurs a curious reference to the Sanskrit poet Rājaśēkhara. The present eulogy is said to have deserved praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśekhara. Kielhorn who translated the expression *vismita-kavi-Rājaśēkhara-stutyā* as 'which would deserve praise (*even*) from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara[5]', evidently took it to mean Rājaśēkhara would have been struck with wonder at this composition if he had been living. The expression can be taken either as instrumental singular meaning '(May this composition live to the end of the world) as it has evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara', or as nominative singular conveying the sense, '(this composition) which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara'. In either case we need not suppose that Rājaśēkhara was dead at the time. From his *Karpūramañjarī* we learn that he was at first called *Bālakavi* probably on account of his precocious poetic talent. He was patronised by the Gurjara-Pratihāra princes Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpala and afterwards by Kēyūravarsha-

[1] See above, No. 44, line 6.

[2] See below, No. 46, line 8.

[3] We know that the two countries were ruled by the princes of the Kēsari dynasty later on in the 10th and 11th centuries A. C.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 270.

Yuvarājadēva I, whom he has made the hero of his Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. If we suppose that he was a young man of sixteen when he went to the court of Kanauj towards the end of Mahēndrapāla's reign (in *circa* 905 A.C.), his age at the beginning of the reign of Yuvarājadēva II (*circa* 975 A.C.) when the present inscription seems to have been put up, would be about eighty-five years, which is not altogether improbable.[1] Such a long life is also warranted by the poet's prolific literary activity.

It is not difficult to conjecture why this eulogy of Kalachuri princes pleased Rājaśēkhara. The characteristics of his own poems as noted by ancient critics[2] are his fondness for the metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and the poetic quality *samādhi* which means an alternate combination of heavy and light syllables.[3] A third mannerism noticed in his works is his reference to the several parts of India on some pretext or other. All these qualities can be illustrated from the present inscription. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to read that it evoked or deserved praise from Rājaśēkhara, who must have seen in it a clever imitation of his own style.

The last verse states that the eulogy was written by **Nāī**, the son of Dhīra who was a writer of legal documents, and incised by **Nōnna**, the son of the artisan Saṅgama.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present inscription, **Madhumatī**, from which the name of the sage Mādhumatēya was evidently derived, is probably identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. It contains the ruins of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Śiva. From the characters of the inscription incised on the front lintel of the porch of one of them, it appears that the shrine dates back to the seventh century A. C.[4] The river which flows by Mahuā is mentioned as Madhuvēṇī in an inscription found at Tērahi.[5] It seems that Mahuā was an important seat of Śaivism in mediæval times. **Kadambaguhā**, which is mentioned in the present inscription as the original seat of the Śaiva sect, figures also in an inscription at Rāṇōd. In his article on the latter Dr. Kielhorn identified it with Kadwāha about six miles south of Tērahi.[6] It may, however, be noted that Kadambaguhā is mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara who was brought from Upēndrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. Kadambaguhā and Upēndrapura are not, therefore, likely to have been situated in the latter's territory. Kadambaguhā may be identical with Kadambapadraka situated in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadēva.[7] It will, therefore, have to be searched for in Mālwā. Of the villages granted by Nōhalā, **Nipānīya** is probably Nipāniā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, 10 miles south-west of Bilhāri.[8] **Ambipāṭaka** may be Āmkuhi, 8 miles north by east, and **Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka** Dungarhai, 7 miles south of Bilhāri. **Pōṇḍī** which still retains its old name lies 4 miles to the northwest.[9] **Nāgabala** and **Khaila-**

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[1] Like Rājaśēkhara, Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of three successive kings, *viz.*, Vijayasēna, Ballālasēna and Lakshmaṇasēna, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306.

[2] See '*Śārdūlakrīḍitair=iva prakhyātō* Rājaśekharaḥ | *śikhar=iva paraṁ vakraiḥ s-ōllēkhair=uchcha-śēkharaḥ* ||' in the *Suvṛittatilaka* of Kshēmēndra; and '*Samādhi-guṇa-śālinyaḥ prasanna-paripaktrimāḥ* | *Yāyāvara-kavēr=vāchō munīnām=iva vṛittayaḥ* || in the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla.

[3] See the definition of *Samādhi* in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* of Vāmana, III, 1, 12.

[4] M. B. Garde, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, pp. 100 ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 202.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

[8] *I. C. P. B.*, p. 24.

[9] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 104.

द्रै रव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्स्यातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ।।[1] [९।।*] दत्तात्रेय इति प्रकामकमलालीला-यितानाम्पदं यो देवः स सुतप्रतिश्रुतवचःप्रीत्या यमन्वग्रहीत् । के वा तद्गुणवर्ण्णने वयमहो किं फल्गुभिर्जल्पितैर्म्मन्ये सापि च वाग्वपुर्भगवती तत्र स्फुटं मुह्यति ।।[१०।।*] अथ ततस्त-तसत्पुरुषव्रतव्रततिपर्व्वततः कति ना–

6 भवन् । तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसनि[2]कीर्त्तिभुवः पतयो भुवः ।।[3][११।।*]तेष्वेवन्तस्म[4]वस्तु क्रममनु मनुजाश्चर्यतामादधानो धन्यानामेकसीमा समुप[न]तमहीमण्डलाखण्डलाभः । जातः कोकल्लदेवो दलदहितलतादाहदावायमानो मानोत्तन्सस्य[5] यस्य त्रिभुवनवलयव्यापनो-भूत्प्रतापः ।।[6][१२।।*] भुवनविजयहेतोर्म्मुक्तमर्यादयादस्सदनलडितलोलैर्यद्वलैस्सम्वलद्भिः[7] । अतलितरभारभ्रश्यदुर्व्वी–

7 विधीदत्फणफलककलापो भोगिभर्त्ता व(ब)भूव ।।[8][१३।।*] श्यामाशङ्किभिराकुलैर्व्विजयटे चक्राह्लयानान्द्वयैरम्भोदागमविभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सवः केकिभिः । भस्मालोकमकाण्ड एव च दृशामान्ध्येन लेभे पदं यत्सेनारजसि क्रमादवनितस्तारापथे लुम्पति [9]।। [१४।।*] वेलावनप्रणयिनि भ्रमरे च यत्र मज्जद्भिराकुलकुलाद्रिनिभैरिभेन्द्रैः । संभ्रान्तमन्दरगिरेस्सभयस्य तस्य कालाद्र(ब्ध)–होः स्मरणमाप निधिर्ज्जलानां(नाम्) ।।[10] [१५।।*] यत–

8 श्च वैन्ध्यस्तटमाददाने दानेद्धसेनागजभञ्जनेन । अमञ्जुशिञ्जानशकुन्तचक्रञ्चक्रन्द दुःखादिव वृक्षजालं(लम्) ।।[11][१६।।*] जित्वा कृ[त्स्नां] येन पृथ्वीमपूर्व्वङ्कीर्त्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते स्म । कौम्भोद्भव्यान्दिश्यसौ कृष्णराजः कौवे(बे)र्याञ्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ।।[12][१७।।*] व(ब)भूव तस्मादथ मुग्धतुङ्गस्तुङ्गस्त्रिलोक्यामपरो न यस्मात् । दिशश्च यः किञ्च विजेतु-कामः कामस्तथात्मुनं भुवम्विलेभे[13] ।।[14] [१८।।*] शय्या संग्रामलक्ष्म्याः परव(ब)लपरिघः पल्लवः कोपवल्या[15]: प्रेयो दर्प्पस्य मित्रं सुचरितसलि–

9 लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणालः । शाखा शौर्यद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसरणिश्शाश्वती साहसानामासीद्यस्यासिरेव प्रधनपरिकरारम्भिणः प्रीतपात्रं(त्रम्) ।।[16][१९।।*] वल्गद्वेतालवर्गं स्त्रुटितनिजशिरो-धारिधावत्कव(ब)न्धषण्डात्कुर्व्वङ्काकिडिम्वं(म्बं) मुखवि(बि)लविलसत्सम्मुखोल्कामुखोल्कं(ल्कम्) । मान्स[17]ग्रासाभिलाषस्वनदशिवशिवाभैरवारावरौद्रं रौद्रं यो धाम वि(बि)भ्रत्प्रतिसमर-मिति द्वेषिचक्रञ्चकार ।।[18][२०।।*] उपविपिनभुवो निधेर्ज्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन यस्य या[तु]: । अथ–

10 चयविचलद्वधूकराग्रद्विगुणितविद्रुमपल्लवा व(ब)भूवुः ।।[19] [२१।।*] इह विहितविलासा वीच्यो

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[1] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] It is not quite necessary to change व्यसनि into व्यसन as proposed by Kielhorn.

[3] Metre: *Drutavilambita.*

[4] Read तेष्वेवं सम्म–.

[5] Read मानोत्तंसस्य.

[6] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[7] Read यद्बलैस्संवलद्भिः.

[8] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[9] It would be better to read लुटयति as suggested by Kielhorn. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[10] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[11] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[12] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[13] Read भुवं विलेभे.

[14] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[15] Read कोपवल्ल्याः.

[16] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[17] Read –मांस–.

[18] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[19] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

15 यंक्षितिधरपरिपाटीसूत्रिते तत्र गोत्रे रचितचटुलचापाकृष्टिकृष्टाहितश्रीरभवदवनिवर्म्मा विश्व-
विख्यातकर्म्मा ॥[1] [३४॥*] पितामहो यस्य खलु सिंहवर्म्मा पिता च मन्त्रीश्वररत्नजन्यः । जनात्यतीता-
तिशयोमुनैव महानुभावत्वमतोपि यत्सु ॥[2] [३५॥*] यस्य त्यागः सकलजनतापास्तदारिद्र्यमुद्रो
वेला व(ब)न्धुक्षितिधरदरीचारितारिः प्रतापः । इंष्टे स्पष्टन्स[3] यदि गणनान्तद्गुणानाम्बिधातु-
न्वाचा[4]न्धेनुण्णं(र्ण)नु भगवती भारती यस्य वश्या ॥[5] [३६॥*] रुद्राणीमिव भूभृतां परिवृढो

16 लक्ष्मीमिवाम्भोनिधिः कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्स भगवान्ज्यो(ज्ज्यो)त्स्नामिवात्रेस्सुतः । वैदेहीमिव
जानकः क्रतुविधिः श्रीनोहलेत्यद्भुतं कन्या नाम ललाम तान्स[6] सुषुवे सामन्तचिन्तामणिः ॥[7]
भर्तुः [३७॥*] पुलोमतनयेव मरुद्गणानां च्छा(छा)येव दृष्टतमसां महसाञ्च पत्युः । देवस्य सा
रतिरिवेक्षुशरासनस्य केयूरवर्षनृपतेर्द्दयिता व(ब)भूव ॥[8] [३८॥*] देव्या [त]या मवकलच्छटयेव
दन्ती वा(बा)लप्रवाललतयेव तटः पयोधेः । पुष्पश्रियेव च तरुस्तडितेव मेघः शोभां स

17 कामपि व(ब)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ [३९॥*] निर्म्मापितन्सुकृत[9]सङ्गतये तयेदमभ्रङ्कषाग्रशिखर-
स्खलितोष्णरश्मि । देवस्य मन्दिरमुमाप्रणयैकव(ब)न्धो[10]स्त्यानाकृति स्वयशसामिव(ब)
चक्रवालम् ॥ [४०॥*] आकाशयानक्रमखेदितानामह्नोधिनाथस्य तुरङ्गमाणाम् । फेना-
म्वु(म्बु)भिर्न्नित्यनिषिच्यमाना मन्ये समुद्भ्रान्ति न यत्पताकाः ॥[11] [४१॥*] विटङ्कभागेषु वृ(बृ)-
हत्सु यस्य वर्षासु तुङ्गामलसारकस्य । आश्लेषवत्यो नवमेघमालाः पारावतालीतुलनाम्वहन्ति[12]
॥[13] [४२॥*] आसीन्माधुमते-

18 यः पवनशिवस्तमनु जयति शब्द(ब्द)शिवः । ईश्वरशिवः पुनाति च तस्यान्तेवासितान्सुकृती[14] ॥[15]
[४३॥*]तस्मै तपोनिधानाय निपानीयाम्बि(म्बि)पाटकौ । दत्तौ विद्याधनत्वेन ग्रामावग्राम्यया
तथा ॥[16] [४४॥*] घङ्गटपाटकपोण्डीनागव(ब)ला[:*] खैलपाटको वीडा । सज्जाहली च दत्ताः
स्मरारये गोष्ठपाली च ॥[17] [४५॥*] ख्यातः श्रीयुवराजदेवनृपतेस्तस्याभूद्भूपतिः श्रीमल्ल-
क्ष्मणराज ऊर्ज्जितमहाभास्वानिवाभ्युन्नतः । भूभृत्तुङ्गशिरोभिरङ्घ्रिरुचयो यत्सेविताः[18]
श्रीश्रि-

19 ताः कामं यः कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैर्भ्रव्यैर्ज्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥[19][४६॥*] यस्याहवे दृढनिपीडितखड्ग-
कोटिनिर्द्दारितारिकरिकुम्भसमुद्भवेन । वीरश्रियः क्षितितले विततञ्चतुष्कं मुक्तादलेन ननु

[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[2] Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

[3] Read स्पष्टं य. Kielhorn's suggestion to change यदि गणनां to परिगणनां is gratuitous. See below, p. 219, n. 3.

[4] Read -णानां विधातुं वाचा-.

[5] Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

[6] Read तां स.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Metre of this and the next verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[9] Read निर्म्मापितं सुकृत-.

[10] It is not necessary to restore the *visarga* here as done by Kielhorn. It is correctly dropped according to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

[11] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[12] Read तुलनां वहन्ति.

[13] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[14] Read -वासितां सुकृती.

[15] Metre: *Āryā*.

[16] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[17] Metre: *Āryā*.

[18] As Kielhorn has observed, the context requires some reading like यस्यार्पिताः in place of यत्सेविताः.

[19] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

24 तस्सोमेश्वराभ्यर्च्चनम् । दत्वा(त्त्वा) यः करिवाजिशुभ्रवश(स)नस्वर्णादिरत्नोत्करान् संसार[1]भ्रमशा-
न्तयेतिविनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥[2] [६२॥*] असारं सन्सारं[3] य इह मनुते कोपि नृपति[4]स्त्व-
दंघ्रिध्यानत्या विगलिततमास्तस्व(स्य)निरतः । न तस्य श्रीभूयो विकृ[ति]कृतये जन्मविरहा-
दिति ध्यानाविष्टः शिवमहसि चि[त्तं] विहितवान् ॥[5] [६३॥*]श्रीशङ्करगणस्तस्मादभूद्भूमी-
श्वरो महान् । यत्पादद्वन्द्वमद्वंद्वं द्विषद्भिरपि सेवितम् ॥[6] [६४॥*] संख्येसंख्यविपक्ष-

25 पक्षदलनव्यासङ्गि खड्गव्रतं यस्यासीद्बृहत्साहसस्य सततन्दानं जनानन्दकृत् । रूपेणाप्रतिमो मनो-
भवभवं दर्प्पं जहारोद्धतं यः सर्व्वत्र च सर्व्वकालमवनीनाथः स्तुतः कोविदैः ॥[7] [६५॥*]
यत्पादद्वयपद्मसद्म विततं भूतेरभूद्भूषितं भूपालानां नमतां किरीटविकटप्रान्तस्थरत्नांशुभिः । वक्षो-
रत्ननिधिन्समाश्रितवती[8] लक्ष्मीः क्रमेणागता वीरश्रीरपरैव यस्य नृपतेः कौक्षेयधाराश्रया ॥
[६६॥*] तस्य श्रीयुवराजदेवनृ-

26 पतिर्भ्राता कनीयानभूद्भूपैर्यंच्चरणारविन्दपतितैर्भृङ्गैरिवा[ङ्क]स्थितम् । यः सत्यव्रतसत्व(त्त्व)-
सूक्तिवसतिः श्रीविक्रमैकाश्रयः प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तुं गुणान्श(न्क्ष)म्यति ॥
[६७॥*] दंष्ट्राकोटिविपाटनोग्रवदनः क्रूर[9]स्वरो भासुरो नेत्र[10]प्रान्तविकीर्ण्णकोपरुधिरः
पादप्रचारायुधः । येनाक्रम्य भुजेन भूमिपतिना लाङ्गूलव(ब)द्धक्रमो दैत्यो व्याघ्रवपुर्हतोतिभयदः
शस्त्रीभृता पाणिना ॥[६८॥*] कन्दर्प्पोभिनवः पुर-

27 न्ध्रिनयनप्रीतिप्रदोप्यन्यथा यः कालः करवालकोटिविहतस्थूलेभकुम्भस्थलः । चित्रं यश्च सर-
स्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरश्चातुर्व्वर्ण्यविचारचारुचतुरो यश्चार्थिचिन्तामणिः ॥ [६९॥*]
यस्योत्तु(त्तु)ङ्गगजेन्द्रमज्जनगलद्दानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्म्मिश्रितं रेवावारि विविक्ततिक्तमुचितस्नानेन
तन्वीजनः । संप्राप्योरुनितम्व(म्ब)ताडनवशाव्यस्तास्तवीचीचयं स[द्यो] स्मरसौरभेण महता
निर्व्याजमायोजितः ॥[७०॥*] रामाणां कु-

28 चमण्डलेषु नियतं हारप्रकारक्रमात्संपूर्ण्णे शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लम् ।
मन्ये[11] मानसवारि यस्य वितते हन्सावली[12]विभ्रमाद्भ्रान्त्वाशेषमुमापतेस्तु वसतौ
विश्रान्तिमागाद्यशः ॥[७१॥*] संपूज्य देवमीशानन्विभवैः[13] स्वैर्यथोचितैः । यथागमं
यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्त्रन्विहित[14]वान्नृपः ॥[15][७२॥*] अविचलितमनोभिर्यस्त्वमीश क्षितीशैर्विभव-
विहितकृत्यैरिज्यसे [ते] कृतार्थाः । य इह कृ[तवि]-

29 कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता(त्ता) भवति वरद तेषां संपदुन्मादहेतुः ॥[16][७३॥*] समदकरिघटाभिः
किं किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिर्म्मदनशयनलीलां भावयन्तीभिराभिः । कनकतुरगवासोरत्नजातैश्च कृत्यं न हि
भवति भवानीवल्लभस्यार्च्चनं चेत् ॥[७४॥*] भवति नृपतिवन्शो[17] जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुत-

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[1] Read संसार-.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Read संसारं.

[4] The *akshara* प, which was omitted, is written below the line.

[5] Metre: *Śikhariṇī.*

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Metre of this and the next six verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Read -रत्ननिधिं समाश्रितवती.

[9] The *visarga*, which was at first incised after र, is cancelled.

[10] The त्र of नेत्र is written below the line.

[11] Originally मान्ये, changed to मन्ये.

[12] Read हंसावली-.

[13] Read -मीशानं विभवैः.

[14] Read स्तोत्रं विहित-. The change of स्तोत्त्र into स्तोत्र has not been made in the original.

[15] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[16] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Mālinī.*

[17] Read -वंशे.

सुविदितविचारसंभारचरणाः । समरविजयसंपन्नस्य श्री मित्रप्रकट¹स्वरणवृत्तमूलं संचितः
शङ्करस्य ॥[७५॥*] किमिह

30 च(ब)हुभिरुक्तैर्यावत् सर्वस्य हेतुरेव भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो मनीषः । सकलसुखविशेषाय
पीयूषवर्षैः स्वयमनुभवनाय भवतो स्वसमाधात् ॥ [७६॥*] भूपवयपयोराशिवर्णनं प्रथमं
कृतम् । धीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्थिरादित्यसूनुना ॥² [७७॥*] भूपतीनां त्रयाणां तु कीर्तिकीर्त-
नमुत्त(त्त्व)मम् । विहितं सज्जनेनाय सुधिया धीरसूनुना ॥ [७८॥*] पत्तनमण्डपिकायां ॥
लवणस्य वणिजका[यां यो]-

31 [ड]सि(षि)का पणके च पोड³ षोडसि(षि)का । तैलस्य मासि मासे दिनमनु च युगायुगे
च पीरस्तु ॥⁴ [७९॥*] पूगफलमरिचसुण्ठीप्रभृतिषु भाण्डेषु भरकपोरस्तु । वीथीं च प्रति च
कपर्दी भूतकपर्⁵दास्तु शाकवार्ताकम् ॥⁵ [८०॥*] एवमपि बाणारामस्तुणपूलकमी[मं]रादि घ-
टिकाम्भस् । दत्ते करी चतुष्टयमङ्क तुरङ्गो द्वयन्तु पीराणाम् ॥ [८१॥*] यद्वहृद[न्य]दानं
किमपि च विज्ञापनस्तदुद्दिष्टम् । य[त्र] . . . . दः [पुण्यवी]-

32 [र्थी]र्थैः प्रवर्तन्ते ॥[८२॥*] यत्र च श्रीनोहलेश्वरमठे श्रीमदघोरशिवा[चा]र्योऽभूत् ॥
क्वचिद्रू[क्षावृ]त्तिः क्वचिदपि च शाकाभ्यवहृतिः क्वचिन्मूलाहारः क्वचिदपि च कंदांश्च
बु(बु)भुजे । परं ज्योतिः शैवं विगलितरजस्कान्धतमसं नि(वि)चिन्वतो यातो विषविषयवै-
[रा]स्य कल्पनाम् ॥⁶[८३॥*] तेनेयं प्रशस्तिः सङ्गतिमानीता । श्रीत्रिपुरी[सौ]भाग्य-
पुरलक्षणनगरहुकंभपुरविमानपुर[म्]. . . . . .⁷

33 . . . . . मिः काष्ठ[वृ]षः प्रत्यहमथ रचितः समालेयः । देव . . . . . म्बर्णाचारार्य⁸ [चार]-
दारुणि ॥⁹[८४॥*] सुश्लिष्टव(ब)न्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या । आस्तामियमा-
कल्पं कृतिरेव कीर्तिरेव पूर्ण्णा च ॥¹⁰[८५॥*] कायस्थश्रीधीरकस्य ॥ करणिकधीरसुतेन
तु नार्ईनाम्ना प्रशस्तिरालिखिता । सत्सूत्र[धा]र[स]ङ्गमतनूजनोभेन चोत्कीर्ण्णा ॥[८६॥*]
स्वकी[यदायावजय्यपु(प्र)दानम्] ॥¹¹ द . . . . .¹²। [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Oṁ ! Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1) May the mass of Śambhu's matted hair, the store of all blessings, protect you !—(*the mass of matted hair*), on which the rolling waters of the Mandākinī (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā), flowing down from the bright vault of heaven, appear like a white umbrella, being upheld by the wind from the opened mouths, dreadful through the large expanding hoods, of the lord of serpents (*which is*) greatly afflicted, being drawn into a tight knot !

Moreover—

(V. 2) May the flame of the fire of the eye of the moon-diademed (Śiva) protect

[1] Read त्रिपुरपत्त—.

[2] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Delete पोड. There is no indication that these *akshara*s have been cancelled.

[4] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Gīti*.

[5] The *akshara* द which was at first omitted is written below the line.

[6] Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

[7] About eight *akshara*s are illegible here.

[8] Perhaps स्वर्णाचार्य is meant.

[9] Metre: *Āryā* (?).

[10] Metre of this and the following verse: *Āryā*.

[11] These *akshara*s are fairly legible on the original stone.

[12] One *akshara* is indistinct here, and two or three more have been lost by the breaking off of the corner of the stone.

you,—(*the flame*) which rises up as if to burn the moon, because it is a friend of the god of love!

(V. 3) May the nectar-rayed (moon) of Śarva, the unique flower in the forest of his matted hair, protect you!—that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, persistently asks for,[1] in order to play with; which is the stake when (Śiva), the destroyer of the cities, plays at dice with the goddess (Pārvatī); (*and*) which Pārvatī uses as a missile when she is talking angrily (*with Śiva*) in amorous sports!

(V. 4) May the gigantic dance of the conqueror of Tripura (*i.e.*, Śiva) in which he indulged to his heart's content[2] protect you!—(*the dance*) during which the quarters were pushed back by the exceedingly strong blasts of wind, caused by his massive arms, which suddenly became terrific through his graceful movements as he energetically applied himself to it (*i.e.*, to the dancing); and during which the sky rose higher as the earth bent down under (*the weight of*) his mighty *chārī* step!

(V. 5) Using my speech to (*describe*) the family which has sprung from the moon, I, alas! have, through folly, begun to measure the sky with my hands.

(V. 6) Even though my speech has no brilliance, it will attain it from this great family of the moon whose rise is being described. Or, do not, mark! the streams of rut of the elephants of the quarters, though naturally black, attain the (*white*) colour of the milky ocean, when they come into contact with it?

(V. 7) That abode of lustre which obtained its rise from the eye of Atri, which befriends the earth by whitening it, which rises up to the Lōkālōka mountain (*and*) dispels great darkness, is called the moon. The crescent of that very (*moon*) adorns the forehead of Śambhu. From the same moon sprang, what more (*need I say?*), this family also of the **Haihayas**.

(V. 8) And in this (*family*) which was rendered the highest object of reverence by (*those*) primeval kings, Budha and others, there was a noble prince named Arjuna who covered the wide quarters with the lustre of his fame, which deserves praise because he cut down his enemies like forests.

(V. 9) What happened even to that lord of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa) when he was engaged in hostility with him—(*the lord of Laṅkā*), who with ease had lifted up[3] (Kailāsa) the lord of mountains belonging to Śarva, (*and before whom*) the lord of gods went, none knew where, on his elephant which was terrified by the fire issuing from the thunderbolt as it vibrated and broke in striking (*Rāvaṇa's*) broad chest—that indeed is the measure of his glory!

(V. 10) Who are we, oh! to describe the merits of him whom the god Dattātrēya, that abode of unrestrained amorous endearments of the goddess of fortune, favoured

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[1] Kielhorn, who made the *pada-chchhēda* as *kritvā grahaṁ mārgati*, translated—'that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, lays hold of and seeks to play with'. It is better to construe the words as *āgrahaṁ kritvā khēlāya mārgati*.

[2] Kielhorn translates *avyāhat-ēchchham* by 'to the full extent of your desires', evidently treating it as an adverb modifying the verb *avyāt*. The tenor of the whole verse, however, requires that it should be taken as an adjective to *tāṇḍav-āḍambaram*. Śiva could indulge in the dance to his heart's content, because the quarters were pushed back, the sky rose higher and the earth bent down, thus affording more space for his dance.

[3] Kielhorn translated 'of that lord of Laṅkā even, who with ease had coaxed Śarva and the lord of mountains', evidently deriving *ullālita* from *ullal* to coax, to fondle. But the word is clearly used here in the same sense as *ullāsita* (lifted up) in *līl-ōllāsita-v(b)āhu-daṇḍa-vihita-Śrīkaṇṭha-śail-ōddha(ri)tiḥ* in line 6 of Goharwa plates of Karṇa (No. 50, below).

with the gracious promise of sons? What is the use of vain prattle? In this case even the goddess of speech is, I fancy, clearly perplexed!

(V. 11) Then, from him who was a mountain[1] for the creepers that were the far-reaching vows of good men, how many lords of earth did not spring, the fame springing from whom was in the habit of defeating (*i.e.*, surpassing in lustre) the young (*i.e.*, full) moon?

(V. 12) Among those who thus appeared successively was born **Kōkalladēva (I)**, who caused the wonder of men; who marked the highest limit of blessedness; who was like Indra on the orb of the earth that submitted to him; who was the wild fire in burning the spreading creepers that were his enemies; (*and*) whose valour, adorned as he was with pride, pervaded the circle of the three worlds.

(V. 13) On account of whose forces, when they met together for the conquest of the world, marching like the waves of the ocean overflowing its bounds, the multitude of the broad hoods of the lord of serpents sank under the earth which was pressed down by their excessive weight.

(V. 14) When the dust raised by his forces gradually rolled on from the earth to the sky, the pairs of Chakravāka birds, apprehending (*the approach of*) night, separated in grief; the peacocks, mistaking it for the approach of clouds, performed a joyful dance; and on the disappearance of all light, the eyes suddenly became blind.

(V. 15) When the lords of elephants in his vast army, which was fond of the forests on the sea-shore, plunged into (*its*) water like the principal mountains crowding together, the ocean after a long time was reminded of that occasion when the Mandara mountain revolved in it.

(V. 16) While he was occupying the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, the forest, with its multitudes of birds chirping harshly, cried out, as it were, in pain, as (*the trees were*) being broken by the rutting elephants of the army.

(V. 17) Having conquered the whole earth, he planted two unique pillars,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya)[2] that (*well-known*) **Krishṇarāja**, and in the quarter of Kubēra[3] **Bhōjadēva** the treasure-house of fortune.

(V. 18) From him then was born **Mugdhatuṅga**, than whom (*there was*) none exalted in the three worlds. And when he was desirous of conquering the quarters, what country did he not obtain, having destroyed his enemies?

(V. 19) His sole object of affection, when he was preparing for fight, was his sword,—(*which was*) a couch for the goddess of battle, a bolt for (*the destruction of*) the enemy's army, a sprout of the creeper that was his anger, a dear friend of haughtiness, a channel (*made*) of sapphire for the water of good deeds, a branch of the tree of bravery, and an endless path for the movements of his adventurous deeds.

(V. 20) Possessed of the prowess of Rudra[4], he so dealt with the hostile forces

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[1] It is not necessary to translate [illegible] by 'a tree' as Kielhorn does. Again, his translation of the expression *taruṇa-tāraka-rāja, etc.* as 'renowed for their zeal in defeating kings who were like newly risen Tārakas' and his remark 'Tāraka was a Daitya who was killed by Indra' are manifestly wrong. *Tāraka* (n.) means 'a star' and *tāraka-rāja*, 'the moon'.

[2] *I. e.*, in the south.

[3] *I. e.*, in the north.

[4] Kielhorn translated *raudraṁ yaḥ dhāma ni(bi)bhrat* by 'possessed of terrific splendour'. The whole verse is, however, intended to compare the battlefield, where the king slaughtered his enemies, with the cemetery where Rudra revels in the company of his hosts of spirits and goblins. Besides *raudra* is used before in the sense of 'terrific' and it is not likely to have been used in the same sense again in the last quarter. I, therefore, prefer to take *raudraṁ dhāma* as 'the prowess of Rudra'.

in every fight that crowds of goblins stalked about, headless trunks (*of warriors*) were running (*here and there*), carrying their own heads (*which had been*) cut off, small imps were howling, confronting goblins had fire blazing forth from the hollows of their mouths and (*the battlefield*) appeared dreadful with the terrific cries of ill-omened jackals howling in their desire for devouring flesh.

(V. 21) The forests near the sea-shore where his forces were encamped during his expeditions, had their coral sprouts doubled on account of the foreparts of the hands of women moving (*among them*) to gather them.[1]

(V. 22) 'Here the waves of the ocean are playing, here the wind is blowing which makes the women of Kērala sport, here the serpent is taking away the fragrance of the trees'.—Thus wandered his thoughts in the vicinity of the Malaya mountain!

(V. 23) Having conquered the rows of countries along the shore of the eastern ocean, and having taken the country of **Pāli** from the lord of **Kōsala**, he, who continually destroyed the abodes of (*his*) enemies, was the ablest master of the sword.

(V. 24) From him was born that **Kēyūravarsha**[2], who was guided by polity[3]; who fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of **Gauḍa**; who sported on the breasts of the ladies of **Karṇāṭa** even as a deer does on a pleasure-hill; who applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of **Lāṭa**; who enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of **Kāśmīra**, (*and*) was fond of the excellent songs of the women of **Kaliṅga**.

(V. 25) Even when his forces marched for vanquishing the guardians of the quarters, sporting as at the time of world-destruction, so as to rouse the apprehension of the three worlds, no mass of dust could rise from the ground, inundated as it was with the streams of tears flowing from the eyes of the wives of (*his*) enemies who were again and again taken captive.

(V. 26) In battle that king wielded his large sword, which, being covered with a multitude of pearls from the pitcher-like frontal globes of elephants which were clearly broken open, appeared, as it were, to be strewn with the particles of the enemy's fame, which it had often drunk but subsequently emitted, under the pressure of the king's firm grasp.

(V. 27) Up to the Kailāsa mountain, the friend[4] of Pārvatī's continuoulsy charming sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (*of the south*) and then up to the western lord of waters (*i.e.*, the western ocean) the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies.

(V. 28) He strew the battlefields all over with the heads of his proud enemies who, exasperated with rage attacked him—(*the heads*), the skull-bones of which were falling off, being pressed by the machine-like hands of the exulting female goblins, eager for the blood dripping from (*the parts*) struck by his vibrating swift arrows, (*and*) which were honoured with side-glances of (*heavenly*) damsels moving in the sky.

(V. 29) "(*Our*) king is Rudra incarnate; (*our*) king is the support of the mansion of the three worlds; (*our*) king is an iron fetter for curbing the wayward princes;"—When multitudes of excellent bards continuously uttered such brilliant words of flattery, the minds of his enemies who were present in his hall of audience were incomparably afflicted.

[1] The idea suggested is that the fingers of the women were like coral.

[2] He is identical with Yuvarājadēva I mentioned in verse 46 below.

[3] Kielhorn translates *nīti-nayanaḥ* by 'the observer of good conduct', but the idea that the science of politics is an eye of the kings is often met with in Sanskrit literature. Compare *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom. Sansk. Series ed., 1919), p. 130.

[4] *I. e.*, where Pārvatī is always sporting.

(V. 30) There was (*a sage*) named Bharadvāja, (*who was*) free from the blemishes of sin, (*and*) who was the sole lord of those whose wealth is tranquillity. What sprang from his male energy deposited in a jar—that verily was Bhāradvāja, *i.e.*, Drōṇa whose deeds excited the wonder of the three worlds.

(V. 31) His fame gracefully roamed throughout the three worlds; his fortune was limited (*only*) by his desires; his rage, (*manifested both*) by his curse and his bow, was terrible, such as would be suitable for the destruction of the world. What can we describe of that sole ocean of policy and valour, whose disciple was that husband of Subhadrā (*i.e.*, Arjuna) who with ease humbled the great pride of Sarva.[1]

(V. 32) Seeing him whose strong arm was skilful in wielding the bow, and who with his many powerful arrows exterminated the Pāṇḍava army, even that son of Dharma, who was honoured for veracity, swerved (*from the truth*)[2] when he lost (*all*) hope of defeating the enemy.

(V. 33) Now, in the water, of which he in the act of cursing had taken up a handful (*chuluka*) with his trembling hand, in rage to bring calamity on Drupada when insulted (*by him*), there sprang a man like victory incarnate; from him is descended the family of the Chaulukyas of great merit.

(V. 34) In that powerful family, in which was produced a series of kings eminent in spreading valour and beauty, was born Avanivarman whose deeds were well-known in the (*whole*) universe, (*and*) who drew to himself the enemy's fortune when he bent his beautiful bow.

(V. 35) That his grandfather was Siṁhavarman and his father was Sadhanva the best of heroes,—this by itself rendered him exceedingly great in the world. To add to this was his great dignity.

(V. 36) Of him, whose liberality has broken the seal of poverty of all people, (*and*) whose valour has made the enemies take shelter in the mountain-caves by the seashore, he (*alone*) apparently might possibly[3] count the merits, to whom is indeed submissive the divine Bhāratī, the milch-cow of speech.

(V. 37) As the lord of mountains (Himālaya) begot Rudrāṇī (*i.e.*, Pārvatī), the ocean Lakshmī, the divine sun the (river) Kālindī (Yamunā), the son of Atri the moon-light, Janaka's sacrificial rite Vaidēhī (*i.e.*, Sītā), even so (*he*), the jewel that fulfilled the wishes of the feudatory princes, begot that wonderful ornament in the form of a maiden, named the illustrious **Nōhalā**.

(V. 38) As the daughter of Pulōman[4] (*was the beloved wife*) of the lord of the hosts of Maruts[5], as Chhāyā (*was*) of that lord of the light (*i.e.*, the sun) that dispels darkness, as Rati (*was*) of the god whose bow is (*made of*) sugar-cane,[6]—even so did she become the beloved (*wife*) of Kēyūravarsha.

(V. 39) That moon-like king attained indescribable splendour through her, even as the elephant (*does*) by the stream of rutting juice, the seashore by a creeper of tender coral, a tree by the beauty of flowers, and a cloud by lightning.

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[1] The reference is to Arjuna's encounter with Śiva described in the *Mahābhārata*.

[2] Kielhorn's translation 'Even that son of Dharma minding his promise retired *etc.*' gives a wholly incorrect sense. The allusion here is to an incident in the Bhārata war when Yudhisthira was tempted to tell a lie to bring about the death of Drōṇa. See *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇaparvan, Adhyāya 193, vv. 54-59. Compare also *Vēṇīsaṁhāra*, Act III, v. 111.

[3] For *yadi* used here in the sense of 'possibly,' compare the *Mēghadūta*, v. 115.

[4] *I.e.*, Śachī.

[5] *I.e.*, of Indra.

[6] *I.e.*, of the god of love.

(V. 40) For the attainment of religious merit she has constructed this temple of the god (Siva) who is the sole object of Umā's love, (*this temple*), on the pinnacles of which with their cloud-scraping tops trips the sun, (*and which is*) as it were the mass of her extensive fame (*in a tangible form*).

(V. 41) The flags on it do not flutter, because, I fancy, they are constantly sprinkled with the foam-water of the horses of the sun, that are fatigued by continuous marching through the sky.

(V. 42) On the broad pinnacles of this temple, which has a lofty fluted disc,[1] the rows of fresh clouds clinging to them in the rainy season bear resemblance to flocks of pigeons.

(V. 43) There was (*a sage*), **Pavanaśiva,** the lord of **Madhumatī;** after him flourished **Śabdaśiva;** the pious **Īśvaraśiva** again sanctified his discipleship.

(V. 44) To him, who was a store of austerities, the cultured (*queen*) donated the villages **Nipānīya** and **Ambipāṭaka** as a reward for scholarship.

(V. 45) And she gave to (Siva) the enemy of Smara, **Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Vīḍā, Sajjāhalī** and **Gōshṭhapālī.**

(V. 46) From her was born to the illustrious king **Yuvarājadēva (I),** the illustrious **Lakshmṇarāja (II),** elevated and possessed of great splendour like the sun; the lustre of whose feet, resorted to by fortune, was honoured by the exalted heads of kings (*even as the lustrous rays of the sun, possessed of beauty, are revered by the high peaks of mountains*), and who, by his unique, attractive and beautiful excellences, surpassed the god of love.

(V. 47) For the goddess of whose heroism the lady Fame verily spread out on the ground a four-stringed necklace, with the mulitude of pearls from the frontal globes of the enemy's elephants, rent, in battle, by the edge of his firmly grasped sword.

Moreover—

(V. 48) Venerable is that **Kadambaguhā** where there was a succession of sages. To them again was **Rudraśambhu,** the chief of sages, an object of adoration.

(V. 49) He, who was most venerable in this world by his power (*derived from the knowledge*) of the reality, had in this world a disciple (*named*) the **Lord of Mattamayūra,** who, having completely removed the stain of impurity from the king **Avanti,** communicated to him the supreme lustre[2] (*by initiating him in the Saiva faith*).

(V. 50) After him came the illustrious **Dharmaśambhu,** who became an ornament of the world, (*and*) whose feet were revered by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes; who, having crossed the ocean of the Saiva faith by his austerities, attained fitting, spotless and pleasing fame.

(V. 51) After him came his disciple **Sadāśiva,** who had a store of austerities, (*and*) whose venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the rays of their crowns.

(V. 52) After him came his disciple named **Mādhumatēya,** who, living on fruits and roots, was possessed of excellent lustre, (*and*) in whom austerities and radiance always dwelt together.

(V. 53) After him there was (*his*) most venerable disciple **Chūḍāśiva,** who, being

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[1] In Indian Śilpaśāstra, *amalasāraka* means 'a circular fluted disc which surmounts the spire of temples', so called from its resemblance to the *emblic myrobalan*. *Cf. Skandhād-ūrdhvam bhavēd ghaṇṭā yadi v-āmalasārakam*, in *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Vol. II, p. 173.

[2] Kielhorn at first read *puram-abō* in this verse and translated it as 'who became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti,' but himself corrected his mistake later on in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

desirous of final liberation, removed completely the taint consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*).

(V. 54) Then (*came*) his disciple named Hṛidayaśiva, a mine of all virtues, whose fame deserves to be sung even now; the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet were rendered beautiful by the multitude of rubies set in the crowns of princes.

(V. 55) To whom is not the holy man an object of praise—(*the holy man*) who, an abode of (*all*) lores, wise and true to his vows, increased still further and for a long time the fame of the illustrious Mādhumatēya lineage; who, moreover, surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality, and the ocean by decorum of conduct, and (*who*) vanquished the god of love by his freedom from passion?

(V. 56) Or, why need that foremost of sages be praised at all—(*he*), whom the king, the illustrious moon of the Chēdi (*country*), showing his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, brought him hither respectfully (*and*) in due form?

(V. 57) The illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja also, being full of devotion himself, offered that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.

(V. 58) The sage, having accepted it, again made over the holy Nauhlēśvara monastery to his well-conducted disciple Aghōraśiva.

(V. 59) Then, having accomplished his object, the powerful lord of Chēdi, with all his elephants and horses (*as well as*) powerful feudatories and foot-soldiers, proceeded to the extremely charming western quarter, causing terror to all his enemies, his progress being difficult to check.

(V. 60) Having struck with valour those who showed vehemence for fighting,[1] having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who submitted to him, having fulfilled the desires of suppliants with wealth on which they had set their hearts, he allowed the host of his army to sport in the water of the ocean.

(V. 61) Having bathed in the ocean, the illustrious (*Lakshmaṇarāja*) quietly worshipped (*the god*) Sōmēśvara with golden lotuses and also offered something else.

(V. 62) He worshipped Sōmēśvara with that (*effigy of*) Kāliya wrought of jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the prince of Ōḍra, after defeating the lord of Kōsala. The prince, having besides presented elephants, horses, white garments, garlands, sandal and other (*gifts*), (*and*) being filled with joy, very humbly praised (*the god*) to get rid of the troubles of worldly existence.

(V. 63) "Whenever a prince, who is freed from ignorance by bowing to your feet (*and*) is devoted to the truth, considers this life worthless, his royal fortune will not produce again (*any*) passion in him,[2] for he gets rid of re-birth"—Absorbed in such meditation, he fixed his mind on Śiva's greatness.

(V. 64) From him was born the great lord of the earth, the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa (III), whose matchless pair of feet was worshipped even by (*his*) enemies.

(V. 65) Firm in daring as he was, he devoted his sword to the destruction of the innumerable hosts of his enemies; his charity always delighted the people; being of

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[1] Kielhorn translated *samara-krita-vikāra-vikramāt* [illegible] *prahritya* as 'having valorously struck down (*adversaries*) who were humbled in battle.' The verse is intended to contrast two types of the king's adversaries—(i) those who prepared themselves for fight and (ii) those who submitted to him. The poet has used *vikāra* and *vikriti* several times in this inscription in the sense of 'passion,' 'rage' *etc.*

[2] Kielhorn translates 'His good fortune is no longer liable to change', but *śrī* which is used here generally means 'fortune', 'wealth', 'prosperity'. *Vikriti-kriyām na* (*bhajati*) can scarcely mean 'is not liable to change'. For the idea of fortune infatuating a person, see below *ye* [illegible] *krita-vikārāḥ* etc. in verse 73, below. For the meaning of *vikriti* see n. 1, above.

matchless beauty, he humbled the haughty pride of the mind-born (*i.e.*, the god of love); and as the lord of the earth, he was praised at all places and times by the wise.

(V. 66) The pair of his lotus-like feet, which afforded a broad resting place for fortune, was adorned by the rays of jewels set on the broad sides of the diadems of princes as they bowed (*to him*). Fortune, which resorted to his ocean-like breast, had come to him as a heritage;[1] not so, however, the glory of heroism which depended on the edge of that prince's sword.

(V. 67) His younger brother was the illustrious king Yuvarājadēva (II), on whose feet princes bent down as bees hover on lotuses. Of him, who was an abode of devotion to truth, courage and pleasing speech, and the sole resort of fortune and valour, even a good man[2] will not probably be able to describe all excellences.

(V. 68) This prince overpowered with his arm and killed, with his hand which wielded a dagger, the radiant, fiercely roaring demon in the form of a tiger, whose mouth appeared terrible as it tore (*animals*) with its sharp teeth, the corners of whose eyes were blood-shot with rage, which used its paws as weapons of attack, and which sprang forward with its uplifted tail.

(V. 69) Though he delighted the eyes of women as a new god of love, he was otherwise the god of death who broke open the frontal globes of huge elephants with the edge of his sword and, strange to say, (*though*) he was fond of Sarasvatī, he devoted himself to the worship of Śiva, and clever as he was in discriminating between the four castes, he was a wish-fulfilling jewel to (*all*) suppliants.

(V. 70) When young women for their usual bath plunged into the water of the Rēvā, which was clear, but bitter, being mixed with the rutting juice which flowed into it at the bathing of his huge and excellent elephants, they innocently became perfumed with the strong fragrance of copulation[3] as the multitudes of waves, dashing against their thighs and hips, surged up and down.

(V. 71) I fancy that his radiant fame, after wandering everywhere,—on the round breasts of women surely in the form of pearl-necklaces, on the spotless full disc of the moon in the guise of the moon-light, on the extensive waters of the Mānasa lake as a beautiful row of swans,—has found rest in the abode of Umā's husband (*i.e.*, in Kailāsa).

(V. 72) Having worshipped the god Īśāna (Śiva) with suitable (*gifts of*) his wealth, the king composed the (*following*) hymn of praise, according to traditional works (*āgamas*) (*and*) scriptures :—

(V. 73) "Happy are those kings, O Lord, who with steady minds worship thee, spending their wealth on (*charitable*) works. For those who (*on the other hand*) are swayed by passion, and whose minds are solely engrossed in love, fortune becomes a cause of intoxication, O granter of boons!

(V. 74) "Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants (*and*) these women

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[1] Kielhorn translates *kramēṇ=āgatā* by 'come to him gradually', but here the sense clearly is that of 'obtained by succession'. Compare *krama-prāpta* in Vākāṭaka seals. There is a contrast intended here between Lakshmī and Vīraśrī. Both of them resorted to Śaṅkaragaṇa; but while he received the former as a heritage, the latter was attracted by his deft swordsmanship.

[2] The use of *sajjana* 'a good man' seems at first sight to be inappropriate here, as there is hardly any connection between the good nature of a man and his ability to describe the merits of a king. The poet has, however, used it here as his own name was *Sajjana*; see v. 78 below. So he means to say 'Even I may not be able to describe all the merits of this king!'

[3] Kielhorn's rendering 'they truly become perfumed with the strong fragrance of the god of love' does not bring out the intended sense clearly. The idea expressed in this verse occurs, though in a somewhat different form, in the *Raghuvaṁśa* also, see Canto IV, v. 45.

who display amorous dalliance? Gold, horses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail, if thereby (Śiva) the lord of Bhavānī is not worshipped.

(V. 75) "Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form (*and*) excellent victory in battle,—(*these*) accrue to him, who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śaṅkara.

(V. 76) Why need I say more? May my single-minded devotion, the cause of everything, be always directed to thee O Lord!—in which there will be, by thy grace, a shower of nectar,—such as can be experienced by one's own self,[1]—owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures."

(V. 77) The great fame of the (*first*) three princes was first described by the illustrious Śrīnivāsa, the son of the illustrious Sthirānanda.

(V. 78) Then the brilliant eulogy of the three (*other*) princes was composed by Sajjana, the wise son of Thīra.

In the *Maṇḍapikā*[2] of the town—

(V. 79) There shall be paid a *śōḍaśikā*[3] (coin) on (*every*) *khaṇḍikā*[4] of salt and (*also*) one *śōḍaśikā* for (*every*) oil-mill per month, and a *paura*[5] for a couple of *yugās*[6] per day.

(V. 80) In the case of betel-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and other merchandise, a *paura* (*shall be paid*) by every measurer[7]; a *kapardī* shall be paid for every *vīthī* (shop) and *dyūtakapardas*[8] for vegetables and egg-plants.

(V. 81) In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax should be (*in the form of*) bundles of grass,[9] *dhīrmara*[10] and whatever (*else may be possible*). An elephant (*offered for sale*)

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[1] Kielhorn translates *svayam-anubhava-gamyā* by 'which will manifest itself of its own accord'. The expression, however, clearly means that the shower of nectar cannot be described in words, but can be appreciated only by self-experience.

[2] *Maṇḍapikā* (from which the Marāṭhī word *Maṇḍī*, a 'market-place', is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed. It was also called *Śulka-maṇḍapikā*, see *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p. 159.

[3] *Śōḍaśikā* was probably a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth part of a *dramma*. Cf. *Viṁśōpaka* mentioned in lines 10, 20, 26 *etc.* of the Siyaḍōṇī inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 174 ff.

[4] *Khaṇḍikā* seems to have been a measure of capacity corresponding to the modern *khaṇḍī* which is equal to 20 maunds. The Harsha stone inscription of Vigraharāja (*Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.) mentions the tax of one *viṁśōpaka* on every *kūṭaka* of salt at Śākambharī.

[5] *Paura* seems to have been a small coin like *kaparda*. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription states in line 20 the tax of two *kapardas* per *yugā*, which was assigned to the local deity.

[6] The meaning of *yugā* is not certain, but it may be noted that the Siyaḍōṇī inscription states in line 6 that a *yugā* was stamped at the local *maṇḍapikā* when a quarter *pañchiyaka-dramma* was paid and that it was valid for a day. It was probably a voucher authorizing the owner to exhibit his articles in the market-place for one day.

[7] *Bharaka* is probably a kind of measure. It is also mentioned in connection with coconuts in, v. 71 of the Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja of V. 1136 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 302). See also *Mitākshara* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 221. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription mentions in line 30 the tax of three-quarter *Vigrahapālīya-dramma* on every *bharaka* (measure).

[8] *Dyūtakaparda* seems to have been a smaller coin than a *kaparda*. It was so called probably because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. It may be noted that the Māngrōl (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) inscription of V. 1202 mentions a daily tax of one *kākiṇī* on gambling. *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 158 ff.

[9] *Pūlaka* may be connected with *pūlikā*. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription mentions in line 26 a tax on every *pūlikā* of leaves. *Pūlaka* is also mentioned in v. 72 of the above-named Arthūṇā inscription.

[10] Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *dhīvara* in the sense of 'a fish-basket'. *Dhīrmara* may have the same sense here.

should be taxed four *pauras*, and a horse two *pauras*[1].

(V. 82) Similarly whatever other gift and whatever reward for scholarship may be made . . . (*by them*) the religious merit, wealth and fame are obtained.

At the monastery of the holy Nōhalēśvara there was the illustrious preceptor Aghōraśiva—

(V. 83) Sometimes living on alms and sometimes on vegetables, sometimes eating roots and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme light of Śiva free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from the virulent poison of sensual enjoyment.

By him was the eulogy put together.

The (*inhabitants of*) famous Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura . . . . shall bring guarded (*to the monastery ?*) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (*at the fair ?*) of the god for the performance of the religious rite.

(V. 85) May this composition, which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara, and the afore-mentioned glorious work,[2] (*both of*) which have well-joined parts, endure till the destruction of the world!

Of the Kāyastha, the illustrious Sīruka.[3]

(V. 86) (*This*) eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra, the writer of legal documents and was engraved by Nōnna, the son of the excellent *Sūtradhāra* (artisan) Saṅgama.

There shall be no sale or gift (*of any portion*) of one's own donation.[4]

No. 46; Plate XXXVI

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

This inscription was noticed for the first time by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, pp. 51 ff. The same scholar subsequently published a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, pp. 122 ff., and finally edited it with a lithograph and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 127 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj at Gurgi, a village about twelve miles due east of Rewa town in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewa.

The inscribed slab measures about 4′ 1″ by 3′ 4″. There are forty-nine lines in all. The average size of the letters is .8″. The record has suffered a good deal in its lower part

[1] The Pēhēvā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 184 ff.) mentions the tax of one *dharma* on each horse brought to the market for sale. The Harsha stone inscription mentions the tax of one *dramma* on every horse sold by the Hēḍāvikas of Uttarāpatha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 124.

[2] For *kīrti*, a glorious work, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Nōhalēśvara.

[3] Sīruka was evidently the author of the portion of the present inscription which follows verse 77. Kielhorn however, thought that he was the writer who originally wrote the eulogy of the first three princes.

[4] For a similar restriction, see verse 35 of the Śirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 195.

comprised in ll. 23-46 owing to the flaking off of a large portion of the surface of the stone. In ll. 28-39 especially, only a few *aksharas* at the right end can be read with confidence. The loss of this portion is very much to be regretted as, judging from the few preserved *aksharas*, it contained a description of the military exploits of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. As it is, we are left in doubt not only about the Kalachuri king during whose reign it was incised,[1] but also about the Śaiva ascetic who caused it to be put up.[2]

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva. The only points that call for notice are that *dh* in some cases shows the left limb developed as in the Kāritalāī inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II,[3] but it is here joined to the right vertical, see *-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ* in l. 17. In other cases the letter does not differ from *v* except in the absence of the wedge at the top, and it is noteworthy that the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined here as is generally done in other records of the period. In one other respect[4] the present inscription shows a later stage, *viz.*, in the use of the *avagraha* which appears for the first time in the records edited here; see *-samadhayō='chchha-matayō*, l. 17, *tasy-āspadē='gra-*, l. 30 and *Mahēndrē='rvvudē*, l. 31.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the opening obeisance to the deity, the whole record is metrically composed. There are forty-six verses in all. The inscription is composed in an artistic *kāvya* style. As regards **orthography**, the consonants preceding and following *r* are doubled in a few places, see *-ttribhuvana-*, l. 8, *-kīrttanīyaḥ*, l. 9 *etc*; *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*, see *e.g.*, *-pravandha-*, l. 4; the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in *yasē-*, l. 13, and *n* for the *anusvāra* followed by the dental sibilant in *-pradhvansa-*, l. 23 and *-vansa-*, l. 24. In other respects the record is carefully written and incised.

The inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv. 1-26, contains the spiritual pedigree of the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present record. After two *maṅgala ślokas* invoking the blessings of Śiva, the inscription mentions Madhumatī, the abode of the Śaiva Saiddhāntikas. In their lineage there was an ascetic named **Chūḍāśiva**. His disciple **Prabhāvaśiva** was invited by **Yuvarājadēva** (I), the son of **Mugdhatuṅga**, and was placed in charge of a monastery which the latter had built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple was **Praśāntaśiva** who erected a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the **Śōṇa** for the practice of Yōga, and another on the bank of the Gaṅgā in Vārāṇasī for the performance of austerities. His disciples are said to have toured in the country, imparting right knowledge to the people and receiving homage from their rulers. Praśāntaśiva's disciple, **Īśānaśambhu**, is next praised. He appointed his younger brother-disciple **Prabōdhaśiva** the head of the monastery. Verse 21 which is partly mutilated seems to refer to the construction of a temple by Prabōdhaśiva near[5] the

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[1] Banerji referred it to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva and N. P. Chakravarti to that of Kōkalla II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129 and n. 1). I have supported the latter view below.

[2] Both Banerji and Chakravarti hold that the record was put up by Prabōdhaśiva. I have shown below that it belongs to the time of his successor, whose name is lost.

[3] See above, No. 42.

[4] Banerji's remark that the record contains the later form of *th* in which the upper loop has become open does not seem to be correct; for everywhere in this record the earlier from only is used.

[5] The monastery of Praśāntaśiva seems to have been mentioned here as in the Chandrēhē inscription only to define the position of the temple built by Prabōdhaśiva. It does not seem to have been repaired by him as supposed by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129.

monastery built by his preceptor on the bank of the Sōṇa. These two buildings are referred to in the Chandrēhē insciption also. The next five verses are almost wholly damaged, but the few words preserved at the end of l. 30 indicate that verse 24 probably contained the name of **another Śaiva ascetic** who succeeded Prabōdhaśiva. The next two or three verses were devoted to his description, but they have unfortunately been too much mutilated, so that even the name of the ascetic has not been preserved. The *aksharas* at the end of l. 31 suggest that his fame had spread from the Mahēndra to the Arbuda mountain. Verse 26 mentions the village **Sāmantapāṭaka**, but in what connection it cannot be determined.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 27-34, contained a description of Kalachuri kings and their military exploits. Their family is introduced in v. 27 as *ēṇāṅkānvaya* 'the lineage of the deer-marked (moon)'. Verse 28, which mentions the defeat of a **Gurjara king**, probably describes Yuvarājadēva I; for, the latter is said to have conquered the north in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of his court-poet **Rājaśēkhara**, which means that he had inflicted a defeat on the contemporary Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor of Kanauj. The names of his successors who were eulogized in the next four verses have been lost; but verse 33 mentions the king **Kōkalladēva** who is doubtless the second king of that name, the great-grandson of Yuvarājadēva I. The following verse refers to his victories over a **Gurjara king** and the rulers of **Gauḍa** (Western Bengal) and **Kuntala** which comprised the Southern Maratha country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.[1]

The third part of the inscription, which commences with verse 35, records the grants which the king Kēyūravarsha made for the benefit of the god Śiva installed in the temple where the present inscription was put up, and for the support of the Śaiva ascetics who were in charge of it. The name of the **god** was **Sōmanātha** as appears from v. 42. It was also mentioned in the opening obeisance, but only the last two *aksharas* of it are now legible. Among the villages granted by the king, the names of the following can be made out with certainty—**Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rajyauddha, Nāsapuṇḍikā, Khaṭōllikā, Ābhīrapallī, Sarasvatī** (which may be a river), **Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhaddhachiurā, Kusumbā,**[2] **Kukkuḍiyā, Rajōgrāma, Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka** and **Pōṇḍik**. Besides these, two **fields** called **Kavachakshētra** and **Nannēśvarakshētra** are also mentioned in the same connection. Verse 43 expresses the hope that the provision for the maintenance (*vṛitti*) of the Śaiva ascetics which was originally made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was preserved by his successors may last for ever. This clearly indicates that this Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently identical with Kēyūravarsha mentioned before in v. 35, is the first king of that name. The use of the plural in connection with his successors (*anantarair=nṛipaiḥ*) in v. 43 shows that at least three kings had followed him before the time of the present record.[3] This is also corroborated by the fact that Kōkalladēva II is the last king mentioned in it; for we know from other records[4] that he was the fourth successor of Yuvarājadēva I. The present inscription, which apparently mentioned in verse 24, a successor of Prabōdhaśiva is later

[1] These victories were ascribed to Gāṅgēyadēva by Mr. Banerji on the ground that Gāṅgēyadēva is known to have raided Kuntala, but the record does not carry the genealogy of the Kalachuris further than Kōkalla II. *Vanavāsa* means 'dwelling in a forest' and has no reference to Banavāsī in North Kanara, as Banerji supposed.

[2] Banerji read this name as Tujumvā.

[3] So he cannot be Yuvarājadēva II as supposed by N. P. Chakravarti. Besides, there is no evidence to show that Yuvarājadēva II also bore the *biruda Kēyūravarsha*.

[4] *Viz.*, the Bilhārī stone inscription (No. 45, above) and the Banaras plates of Karṇa (No. 48, below).

than the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, dated K. 724 (972-3 A.C.) and may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the tenth century A.C.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in this record, **Mahēndra** is evidently the well-known mountain of that name on the eastern coast. **Arbuda** is, of course, Mount Abu. **Himālaya** and **Vārāṇasī** are too well-known to need identification. **Madhumatī** has been shown to be identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet, one mile south of Tērahī in Madhya Bharat.[1] **Gauḍa** and **Kuntala** have already been identified. Of the villages granted by Yuvarājadēva, only **Sārasaḍōllaka** was identified by Mr. Banerji with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilāspur-Kaṭnī section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, but it is far away from Gurgi. It may be Sarsi, 2 miles south of the Sōṇa and 54 miles south by west of Chandrēhē. **Brahmapurī** may be Bāhmangaon about seven miles south by west of Gurgi. As for **Karōḍhaka** there are several villages of the name Karaoṇḍi or Karauṇḍia in the Rewa District, but the nearest to Gurgi is the Karaoṇḍi which lies only four miles to the south-east. The other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धिः[3] . . . . . [ना]थाय[4] ।। लङ्का[धीशेन्द्र]स्य(स्या)द्भुजव्यतिकरचटुल[स्फा]टिकाद्रीन्द्रकोटि-
श्रेणीसंघट्टवि(वि)स्फुटपवनचलत्स्वरक्तकवि[क्षक]ताकं(कम्) [।*]

2 — — — — ᴗ[6] मत्या जगदकृत तदानन्दनि[ह्रा]दघोरं स्वच्छन्दः सोद्रिवासी भुवमुपचिनुताच्चन्द्र-
चूडामणिर्वः[7] ।।[१।।*] नन्दिन्कोयं प्रवि[ष्टा] प[शुपति]-

3 [स*]द[नं] [सैव*] देवीति म[न्ये] मिथ्यैतन्नास्मि सान्त्वा मम क[थय क]प[र्दस्थिता का] तवेश ।
मुग्धे त्वद्रूपधारी त्रिदशरिपुरसौ दृश्यतां पार्वतीयं केनास्येषेति दे-

4 [व्या] क[टुव]चनजितः पातु मौनी शिवो वः ।।[२।।*] [सन्नद्धा]धा[र्यवर्या] [सतत*][हुत-
वह]स्निग्धधूमप्रव(ब)न्धप्रारब्धा(ब्धा)कालमेघोदयमदमुदितोत्सादिनृत्यन्मयूरा । ब-

5 स्त्युच्चैः [सौ]धजालज्वलदनघमणि[ज्यो]ति[षा]भ्य[भ्रा]लैः स्वर्लोकम्बा[8] हसन्ती जगति
मधुमती नाम सैद्धान्तिकानाम् ।।[३।।*] पूर्व्वं यत्रावतीर्य व्रतनियतमनावृत्त-

6 यस्तापसेन्द्राः शिष्याणामाधवांसुः शिवमतसलनु ध्वस्तनिःशेषदोषम् । येषामद्यापि कीर्त्तिर्द्धवलयति
सुधाधौतकान्तिः प्रसिद्धा विश्वं सम्यग्विदुग्ध-

7 मकुमुद्वनालम्बिनी चन्द्रिकेव ।।[४।।*] तेषामाम्नायेस्मिन्नतिमहति मुनिर्म्माननीयो मुनीनामेनः-
शुष्केन्धनानामनवदहन इव द्योतमानैर्म्महोभिः ।

8 श्रीमान्धूर्जटिबोधमूर्त्तयचरणयुगध्यानबो(बो)धविलासप्रोद्भूतात्यन्तशुभ्रत्रिभुवनभवनाभ्यन्तरभ्रा-
न्तकीर्त्तिः ।।[५।।*] तस्याखिलक्षितिपतिप्रणतोत्तमाङ्गचूडा-

9 मणिद्युतिचयार्च्चितपादपीठः । शिष्यो ब(ब)भूव भुवनत्रयकीर्त्तनीयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाममुनि-
र्म्मनीषी[9]।।[६।।*] आनीय यं सहृदयासनया नयज्ञः श्रीमुग्ध-

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[1] Above, p. 208.

[2] From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read नमः श्रीसोमनाथाय. The name of the god occurs again in l. 47.

[5] Banerji doubtfully read -वीरेन्द्र-, but *r* has only a wedge and no acute-angled triangle in its lower part as is seen here, and the subscript letter in the last *akshara* is certainly not *r*.

[6] The *aksharas* lost here may have been सर्वं कल्पान्त-.

[7] Metre of this and the following four verses: *Sragdharā*.

[8] Read स्वर्लोकं वा.

[9] Metre of this and the following tw overses: *Vasantatilakā*.

10 तुङ्गतनयो युवराजदेवः । सत्वो(स्वो)पकारमथदुत्तमकीर्त्तिहेतोरग्राहयन्मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥ [७॥*] तस्यामलेन तपसा च विवर्द्धमानविशाव(ब)लेन च सम-

11 स्तजगत्प्रतीतः । शिष्यः प्रकामकमनीयगुणैकधाम श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवनाममुनिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥ [८॥*] आकृष्टा चिरसञ्चितेन तपसा यस्याङ्गसङ्गोत्सुका लक्ष्मीर्भोग-

12 पराङ्मुखस्य सततं निःश्रेयसाकांक्षया । आज्ञां प्राप्य परोपकारकृतये तद्वल्लभानां सतां स्थानेषु स्थिरतामवाप वनितेवात्यन्तसत्यव्रता[1]॥[९॥*] त्यागं स्तम्भमि-

13 वावलंब्य(म्ब्य) विलसज्ज्ञानाम्बु(म्बु)सेकक्रियामासाद्य प्रसरत्तपोव(ब)लकृतप्रत्यन्तरक्षाक्रमः । इत्थं यस्य यसो(शो)मयः स ववृधे का[ले]न कल्पद्रुमो येन व्याप्तमिदं प्रस-

14 ह्य सकलं व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरम् ॥[१०॥*] येन श्रीयुवराजकारितलसत्कैलासशृङ्गोपमप्रा-सादोत्तरतः सुमेरुशिखरस्पर्द्धि प्रसिद्ध[म्भु]वि । सद्म स्थापितमीश्व-

15 रस्य सकलत्रैला[लो]क्यविस्मापकं यत्स्वर्ग्गं व्रजतस्तदीययस(श)सः सो[पा][2]नमाम्नायते ॥ [११॥*] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्र[3]मीशं षडाननमथ प्रथितोरुकी[र्त्ति]: ।

16 प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान्द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च[4] ॥ [१२॥*] दाहोत्तीर्ण्णसु-वर्ण्णदानशमितद्रव्यार्थिसार्थस्पृहः सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्तदपरं यः शो-

17 णतीरोपरि । यस्मिन्योगजुषः प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाश्रयः शान्ताः सिद्धसमाश्रयोऽन्त्यमतयो ग[च्छ]न्ति मुक्तेः पदम्[5] ॥[१३॥*] तीर्थस्थाननिषेवणोद्यतधिया-

18 मत्यन्तविश्रान्तये यस्तत्कारितव(वा)न्मुनिः सुरसरित्तीरे तपःस्थानकम् । यत्संसेव्य महेश्वराच्चं-नरता वाराणसीवासिनो मन्यन्ते भवसागरं गुरुमपि क्षीणं

19 यथा [गोष्प]दम्॥[१४॥*] आसीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थितस्था-णुध्याननिलीननिश्चलमनःसंवेदितान्तर्म्मुदः । जग्मुर्यस्य दिनानि दाननिरत-

20 ‒ ‒ ⏑[6][पाञ्चार्थिक]तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानविचक्षणैश्च गुणिभिः सार्द्धं परीक्षाक्षमैः ॥ [१५॥*] तीव्रांशोरंशुसंघा इव निरतिशयोल्लासिनः स्वैः प्रभावैर्यस्यान्तेवासिनोषस्तमसि नि-

21 [पतिता*][न्प्रत्यहं] वो(बो)धय[न्तः ।] [लो*]कानालोकदानो[प]कृतिपरिणमत्कीर्त्तयः संभृ-ताशा[शो]भा भूभृच्छिरोभिः प्रवरमुनिजनैरच्य(र्च्य)मानाश्चरन्ति[7] ॥ [१६॥*] तस्याभ[व]-

22 [त्प*]र[शु]राम इवेश्वरस्य [शिष्य*]: समस्तकविपुंगवगीतकीर्त्तिः । श्रीशानशम्भुरखिलाव-निपाल[मौ]लिमालामणिद्युतिपिशंगितपादपद्मः[8] ॥[१७॥*] नि[र्ज्जि]त्य

23 ⏑ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‒ ‒ ‒ ⏑ [सर्व्वार्थि]नां येन श्रीर्गमितोपभोगपदवीं[9] [दोर्म्म]त्यवुःखच्छिदा । सद्विद्या भवव(ब)न्धनव्यतिकरप्रध्वन्स[10]कर्म्मक्षमव्यापारेति

24 [समप्रसं]⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‒ ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒[11] ॥[१८॥*] यो माद्यत्कलिकालदन्तिदलनव्यापारपञ्चाननः श्रीगन्मत्तमयूरवन्स[12]तिलको निःशेषविद्यानिधिः । विद्वत्प-

[1] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] The engraver at first incised पी, but later on cancelled the curve on the top.

[3] What looks like an *anusvāra* on *mi* is probably due to a fault in the stone.

[4] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[5] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored here as –स्याध्यात्म–.

[7] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[9] Banerji read पदवी, but the *anusvāra* on वी is clear in the impression. The sense also requires the use of the accusative.

[10] Read –प्रध्वंस–.

[11] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[12] Read –वंश–.

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

25 [यं]ष – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [तस्या]शेषगुणाक[रस्य भुवने] – – म – – u –[1] ॥ [१९॥*] [श्री]मत्प्रभो(भो)र्वसितनामनिजानुजस्य स्थानं समर्थं विधि-

26 र्व शि[वमत्रितयोपात्*] ।[2] – – – u – u u u – u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u u – u – – [3] ॥ [२०॥*] [येन*] स्वामतपःसमाधिनिधिना स्वस्थानमिनिर्म्मापित-

27 – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [।*] – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – – –

[शांति*]शशिखिका(का)धकमि[का] नोल्कंधयन्त्यम्ब(म्ब)रे[4] ॥[२१॥*] कु-

28 [पं] – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u –, – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [।*] – – – u – u [अर्थि*]विबाह[प्राप्तो]प्यपूर्व्वोसितप्राज्यस्व-

29 u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [॥२२॥*] – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u –, – – – u u u – u वल्ल u u – [स]त्कर्म्मनिर्म्मापितम् ।

30 – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u –, – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [॥२३॥*] – – u – [तदनु ?] – u u [ह ?]अतात्मा तस्यास्यदेऽप्र-

31 u u – u u – u – – [।*] – – u – u u u – u u – u –, – – – u – u u u – u u – u – –[5] ॥[२४॥*] – – – u u – u – u u u – – – [म ?]हेन्द्रेऽर्ब्बु(र्बु)दे यस्योर्व्वंश्च

32 u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [।*] – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u –, – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u [मासी]त्तम:[6]॥ [२५॥*] सामन्तपाद-

33 [क*] u – u u याय[यु ?] – , – – u – u u u – u u – u – – [।*] – – u – u u u – u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u u – u नीता[म्][7] ॥[२६॥*] एणाङ्कान्वय-

34 – u – u u u – – – u – – u –, – – – u u – u – u u u – – – u – – u – [।*] – – – u u – u – u u u – – – [गृ]हीत्वा ब(ब)लात्ख्यातं स-

35 [दृग*]u – u – u u u – – – u – – u –[8] [॥२७॥*] – – u – u u u – u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u u – u – – [।*] [नि*][र्जि]त्य गूर्ज्जरपतिं

36 u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u u – u – –[9][॥२८॥*] u u u u u u – – – u – – u – –, u u u u u u – – – u – – u – – [।*] u u परिजनरक्षो-

37 – u – – u – –, u u u u u u – – – u – – u – –[10] [॥२९॥*] – – u – u u u – u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u u – u – – [।*]सा[मन्त]मौलिमणि-

38 [रञ्जि*]तपादरे[णु:] – – u – [गजघटा] u u – u – –[11] [॥३०॥*] – – u – u u u – u u – u – –, – – u – u u u – u पराक्रमोभूत् [।*] [चि]त्रेपि य[त्कलित]-

39 क्षितरूपमवेक्ष्य – – वीरव्रतं u u u – u u – u – – ॥[३१॥*] – – u जा u u u – [निजवैरि] – –, – – [ण] विक्रमनिधिर्विपरीतमल्ल: । आसी[नृ]-

40 प: कविकदम्ब(म्ब)[चनाथ*]मान – – u – u u u – u u – [शशा]ङ्क: ॥[३२॥*] तस्माद[मू] u u u – दितपुण्य[घनवसंगी*]यंमाणवपुरप्रतिमप्रताप: । कोकल्ल-

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[1] The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as किं नाम नालोक्यते ।

[2] The first eight letters may be conjecturally supplied as शैवं जगाम भुवनं.

[3] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[4] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[10] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[11] Metre of this and the following three verses: *Vasantatilakā.*

41 देवनृपतिः [प]तिरुत्तमा[नां] – – ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ [नान्सु:] (नांशु:) ॥[३३॥*] [श्री]–
विशति हृतशक्तिर्नू[र्ज्जं][रेशो हि*]माद्रि जलनिधिजलदुर्गं गौडराजोपिघो–
42 ते । निवसति वनवासे कुन्त[ले][श:*] ᴗ – –, ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – [मण्डलं चास्य मन्ये][1]॥
[३४॥*] [स्थानं] ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ य कीर्त्तनी[यं] पुण्यान्वितास मुनये स्वयम–
43 र्च्चिताय । – – नमू (मु) ल्लिखित[शा] ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – – [केयू*]रवर्षनृपतिः [स्वयमाजहार] [2] ॥
[३५॥*] पक्क ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – [तं ?] तथा सारसडोल्लकम् । वक्कडोल्लकरज्यो–
44 द्वे को ᴗ ᴗ [ना]सपुण्डिका[3] ॥[३६॥*] ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – – ᴗ, ᴗ ᴗ पुरं खटोल्लिका[4] । ᴗ
नकलाभीरपल्ली ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ सरस्वती ॥[३७॥*] [एतेषां] द्वादशकच्च कवचक्षेत्रमेव च ।
45 सामन्तपाटकश्चैव वट ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ [॥३८॥*] ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ या[तल्लपटी] शासनं [स*]त्रमित्यपि ।
सँ ᴗ ᴗ भद्धचिउरा [कुसु ?]म्बा (म्बा)[5] च कु[क्कु]डिया॥ [३९॥*] रजोग्रामान्विता–
46 [नेता][न्शा] सनत्वेन दत्तवा[न् ।*] ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ [सिद्धा][6]न्तपारगाय गरीयसे ॥[४०॥*] पुरं
पोरजनाकीर्णं ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ समस्तकम् । भक्त्या समर्प्पयामास शासनत्वे–
47 [न भू*]पतिः ॥[४१॥*] करोडकं ब्र (ब्र)ह्मपु[रीं] [सुसिद्धार्थं ?]कपोण्डिकाम् । नसेश्वर[क्षेत्र]–
मदात्सोमनाथाय श[म्भवे *] ॥[४२॥*] दत्ता श्रीयुवराजेन पालिता[न]न्तरै[7]र्नृपैः । आकल्प–
48 [स्था*][यि]नी भूयाद्वृत्तिः शैवतपोभृताम् ॥[४३॥*]भारद्वाजान्वयश्रीमत्त्र्यीव[द्धं]ननन्वनः । प्रस–
(श)[स्तिमकरोत्स्तुत्यो] मधुमंधुरया गिरा ॥[४४॥*] अलेखि लेखकेनेयम–
49 [व्वोक[8]*]तनुजन्मना । अक्षरैर्दृषदि स्पष्टैः शिवनागेन धीमता ॥[४५॥*] उत्कीर्ण्णा सूत्रधारेण
महेश्वरसुतेन च । माधवेन न – – ᴗ [गु*]णिना विश्वकर्म्मणा ॥[४६॥*] सिद्धिः[9] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to [the holy Sōma]nātha !

(Verse 1) May the self-willed moon-crested (god Śiva) living on the mountain (Kailāsa),—who made the world,—which had its multitudes of quarters covered by the best of aerial beings[10] terrified by the clash of the rows of peaks of the excellent crystal mountain (Kailāsa) (*when it was*) shaken by the movements of the mighty arms of the lord of Laṅkā, —dreadful with the echoes of their cries at the thought that it was the end of the world, —increase your joy !

(V. 2) 'Nandin, who is this (*lady*) that has entered the abode of Paśupati ?[11]' 'I think that she is none but your ladyship'. 'This is false. I am not she. She is some-

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[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[3] Metre from here to the end: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Banerji read *Khayēllikā*.

[5] Banerji read these two names as भद्दचिउरा and तुजुम्बा.

[6] These two *aksharas* are conjectural. Banerji suggested वेदा–.

[7] Banerji's reading शान्तर– is not correct and does not give a good sense.

[8] The starred *aksharas* in the beginning of ll. 47-49, though lost in the accompanying plate, are read from an old estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] The reference here is to the denizens of Kailāsa, who were terrified by the shaking of the mountain, and not to mere birds as thought by Banerji.

[11] The verse refers to Pārvatī's jealousy of the river Gaṅgā which Śiva sheltered for a while in his matted hair. The verse is in the form of a dialogue first between Pārvatī and Nandin (Śiva's door-keeper) and next between her and Śiva who tries to conceal the Gaṅgā from his consort. For a similar dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, see *Mudrārākshasa*, I, 1.

one else. O Īśa! Who is seated in your matted hair?' 'You simple-minded, he is the enemy of gods who has assumed your form. See I have thrown him down before me!'[1] 'By what missile?'—May Śiva who was thus silenced, being vanquished by the goddess (Pārvatī) with harsh words, protect you!

(V. 3) There is in this world **Madhumatī**, the abode of those who are versed in the Śaiva Siddhāntas,—which contains excellent Āchāryas of noble conduct; in which the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the untimely appearance of clouds caused by the uninterrupted mass of dark smoke of the ever-kindled (*sacrificial*) fires; (*and*) which laughs at the heavenly world with the mass of lustre of the large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions;—

(V. 4) Where appeared the first best ascetics, whose minds were restrained by vows, (*and*) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples;—whose well-known fame, having the bright lustre of nectar, even now whitens the universe, delighting the prosperous and learned men even as moonlight does the assemblage of night-lotuses.

(V. 5) In this very great succession of Śaivas there was the illustrious **Chūḍāśiva**, who was venerable to sages; who, with his shining lustre, was to sins what the forest fire is to dry fuel; (*and*) whose extremely white fame, which had arisen from the attainment of the perfection of knowledge through meditation on the feet of Śiva, roamed about inside the mansion of the three worlds.

(V. 6) His disciple was the wise sage called the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva**, whose foot-stool was honoured by the mass of lustre of the crest-jewels on the heads of all kings bending (*in salutation*), and who deserved glorification in the three worlds.

(V. 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in policy, made him accept a monastery, which was constructed at an enormous expense, with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of the benefit to creatures.

(V. 8) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva**, the sole abode of the exceedingly attractive qualities, who became famous in the whole world by his faultless austerities and increasing learning.

(V. 9) Attracted by his long-accumulated austerities, the goddess of fortune, (*though*) eager for the bodily contact of him who was always averse to enjoyment on account of his desire to attain final emancipation, remained steadfast like an exceedingly virtuous wife, in the houses of good persons who were dear to him, when she received his order to benefit others.

(V. 10) Having obtained the support of the post of (*his*) charity, having received the sprinkling of the water of (*his*) shining learning, and being protected all round by the force of (*his*) extending austerities, the wish-fulfilling tree of his fame grew up in course of time, which has completely filled the cavity of the vase-like universe.

(V. 11) To the north of the temple,[2] resembling the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which was caused to be built by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, he erected a temple of Īśvara, well-known on the earth, which vies with the summit of the Sumēru (mountain) (*in altitude*), which causes wonder to all the three worlds, (*and*) which serves as a flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven.

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[1] Śiva is referring to the stream of the Gaṅgā which flows down from his matted hair.

[2] Banerji translates *prāsāda* by 'a palace,' but it is probably used here in the sense of 'a temple'. Compare the Kārītalāī inscription (No. 42), v. 18.

(V. 12) The learned one, whose great fame was well-known, installed Umā, Siva united with Umā, and the six-faced (Kārttikēya) in the shrines attached to the temple and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate.

(V. 13) He, who had satisfied the desire for wealth of hosts of suppliants with gifts of gold which had emerged (*purified*) by burning, caused to be built another abode for the *siddhas* on the bank of the Sōṇa; having entered which, the tranquil Yōgins, who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (*the performance of*) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of final emancipation.

(V. 14) For the absolute rest of those who are intent on living in a holy place, he, the sage, caused to be built the (*well-known*) abode for performing austerities on the bank of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā); having resorted to which, those who live in **Vārāṇasī** (Banaras), devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, consider the ocean of worldly existence, though extensive, to be as small in size as a puddle made by a cow's foot.

(V. 15) Seated in a solitary place he,—who had mastered (*all*) the *āsanas*, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Śiva seated in the midst of the lotus of the heart, and who was fond of making gifts,—passed his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the **Pāñchārthika**[1] system and were capable of examining (*other systems*).

(V. 16) Extremely resplendent by their own majesty like the multitudes of the rays of the sun, his disciples,—who day by day arouse those who are steeped in ignorance (*as the rays awaken those enveloped by darkness*); whose fame is due to the benefit they confer on the people by their gift of knowledge (*as that of the rays is due to the light they give*); whose commands are borne by kings on their heads (*as the splendour of the rays is borne by mountains on their peaks*), —move about (*among people*) being honoured by the best of sages.

(V. 17) His disciple was the illustrious **Īśānaśambhu**, even as Paraśurāma was of Śiva,—(*he*) whose fame was sung by all great poets, (and) whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings.

(V. 18) Having conquered . . . . he, who removed the misery of poverty, made the goddess of fortune become an object of enjoyment to all suppliants, and [devoted himself to] right knowledge, because it is capable of destroying the multitude of the bonds of worldly existence.

(V. 19) Of him, who was a lion in the act of destroying the rutting elephant that is the Kali age; who is the fore-head mark of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** lineage, and the store of all learning . . . . . . ; (*who is*) the source of all excellences in this world . . . . the assembly of learned persons . . . . -[what has not been observed ?].

(V. 20) Having made over his office (*as the head of the monastery*) to his younger brother, the illustrious **Prabōdhaśiva**, he . . . . . . [attained the world of Śiva] which he had won by his devotion.

(V. 21) By him who was the store-house of charity, austerities, and meditation . . . . . [was built a *maṭha* near the temple] erected by his teacher . . . . . which [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the desired *siddhis*.

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[1] The Pāśupata system is called *pāñchārthika*, because it treats of the five subjects, *kārya* effect, *kāraṇa* cause, *yōga* union of the soul with Īśvara, *vidhi* rites, and *duḥkhānta* the cessation of misery. See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, Ch. VI.

(V. 22) And a well [was dug by him] . . . . . The host of suppliants also having obtained abundant wealth which they had not (*even*) longed for before . . . . .

(V. 23) . . . . . . caused to be built by his good work . . . . .

(V. 24) Thereafter, the high-souled one . . . . . . in his place . . . . .

(V. 25) . . . . . . His (*fame*) . . . . . . on high on the **Mahēndra** (*and*) **Arbuda** (*mountains*) . . . . . was able . . . . . .

(V. 26) **Sāmantapāṭaka** . . . .

(V. 27) In the lineage of the moon . . . . . having snatched the well-known sword by force . . . . . .

(V. 28) Having vanquished the lord of **Gūrjaras** . . . .

(V. 29) . . . . . . the protection of the family . . . . .

(V. 30) . . . . he, the dust of whose feet was reddened by the jewels on the heads of feudatories . . . . the herds of elephants.

(V. 31) . . . . was born the valiant one . . . . . . seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture . . . . . . the vow of heroes.

(V. 32) . . . . . . [From him was born] . . . . . the king who was the store-house of valour, the terrible fighter . . . . who was to the poets what a cloud is to the kadamba trees . . . .

(V. 33) From him was born the king **Kōkalladēva (II)** of matchless prowess, whose (*beautiful*) form was praised by the god of love, (*who was*) the lord of the best . . . .

(V. 34) The **Gūrjara** lord enters the **Himālaya**, being deprived of power, the king of **Gauḍa** lies in the watery fort of the sea, the lord of **Kuntala** lives in the forest . . . . . this I consider to be the ornament (*of his prowess*).

(V. 35) The king **Keyūravarsha** himself offered by an inscribed [charter] the famous abode . . . . . to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped . . . .

(V. 36-7) The villages **Pakka**- . . . . and also **Sārasaḍōllaka Vakkaḍōllaka** and **Rajyauddha** . . . . **Nāsapuṇḍikā** . . . . -**pura, Khaṭōllikā**, -**nakalā, Ābhīrapallī**, ... (*and*) **Sarasvatī**.

(V. 38-40) The twelfth part of these and the **Kavachakshētra**, and also **Sāmantapāṭaka** (*and*) **Vaṭa**- . . . . **Tallapaṭī, Bhaddhachiurā, [Kusumbā]** and **Kukkuḍiyā**, together with **Rajōgrāma**, [the king] gave as a grant to the great [ascetic] who had completely mastered the (*Śaiva*) *Siddhantas*.

(V. 41) The king gave through devotion the whole city crowded with citizens . . . . . as a grant.

(V. 42) (*He*) gave to the Śiva (*called*) Sōmanātha (*the villages*) **Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka, Pōṇḍikā** (*and*) the **Nannēśvarakshētra**.

(V. 43) May this provision for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics, made by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)** and preserved by the succeeding rulers, endure till the end of the *kalpa* !

(V. 44) The praiseworthy **Madu**, the son of the illustrious Trayīvardhana of the Bhāradvāja family, composed this *praśasti* in sweet words.

(V. 45) The intelligent scribe **Śivanāga**, the son of Avvōka, wrote it on the stone in clear letters.

(V. 46) It has been inscribed by the *Sutradhāra*, the skilled artist **Mādhava**, the son of **Mahēśvara** . . . . . .

Success !

No. 47; Plate XXXVII

MAKUNDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

This inscription was brought to public notice by General Cunningham's Assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar who found a rubbing of it in the Asiatic Society's collection. He called attention to its date[1] in connection with the description of the ruins at Makundpur, a village about nine miles south by west of Rewa, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. He could not, however, find the inscription when he visited the place in 1874-75. The record was next twice referred to by Dr. Kielhorn[2] who, drawing attention to its date, pointed out the desirability of examining it. Its impressions were not, however, accessible to him, when he wrote his exhaustive articles on the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era[3], and none has noticed the inscription since then. At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, kindly visited Makundpur in 1931. He was fortunately successful in tracing the inscribed slab, and supplied me with excellent estampages from which the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on a **slab** lying on the ruins of a small temple[4] situated to the north-west of Rūpasāgar, a large tank, at **Makundpur.** The inscribed surface measures 3′ 2″ in length and nearly 5″ in height. The record has suffered considerably at the top, about half a dozen *aksharas* and the *mātrās* on the top of some more on the right-hand side of the first line being wholly or partially damaged.

The inscription consists of three lines of which the last two are shorter than the first. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century A.C. Most of the letters have a wedge or an inverted acute-angled triangle at the top. It is noteworthy that the left limb of *ś* is not joined to the right-hand vertical; *ṭh*, though still without a vertical, has, for the first time in the records edited here, a horizontal line at the top, and *h* has a fully drawn tail. The **language** is Sanskrit. Attention may be drawn to the incorrect causal participle *ghaṭāpita*, l. 3, formed on the model of *kārāpita* which figures in earlier records, and the wrong gender in *dharmam=idaṁ*, l. 2. As regards **orthography,** the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *Vudha-*, l. 1, and the dental *s* substituted for *ś* in *Jalasayana-*, l. 2. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated in *Sūttradhāra-*, l. 3 and *dharmma-*, l. 2 respectively.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Gāṅgēyadēva** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty.** He is mentioned here with the title *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* which is rarely, if ever, seen to be assumed by rulers of the eminence and power of **Gāṅgēyadēva.** Owing to the mutilation of the Piawan rock inscription this is now the only known extant record of the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva. The **object** of the inscription is to record that the *Srēshṭhin* **Dāmōdara,** the ornament of the family of Gṛihapati, caused a temple of Jalaśayana[5] (Vishṇu reposing on water) to be constructed. The work was executed by the *Sūtradhāra* **Sāmbhūka.**

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its **date, which is given with full details in** line 1 as **Saṁvat 772, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, a Wednesday.** Beglar called attention to the fact that from the form of the characters, the date cannot be referred to the Vikrama Saṁvat. He also suggested that it probably referred to the Chēdi

[1] C. *A. S. I.* R., Vol. XIII, p. 5, n. 1.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. and *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

[4] This may be 'the Vaishṇavic temple' which, according to Beglar, supplied materials for a large Śaiva temple nearby. See C. *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 4.

[5] This form of the deity is probably identical with what is commonly called *Sēshaśāyin* 'Vishṇu sleeping on his couch of the serpent Śēsha'. As the temple was situated near the large tank of Rūpasāgar, it was appropriately dedicated to this form.

MAKUNDAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

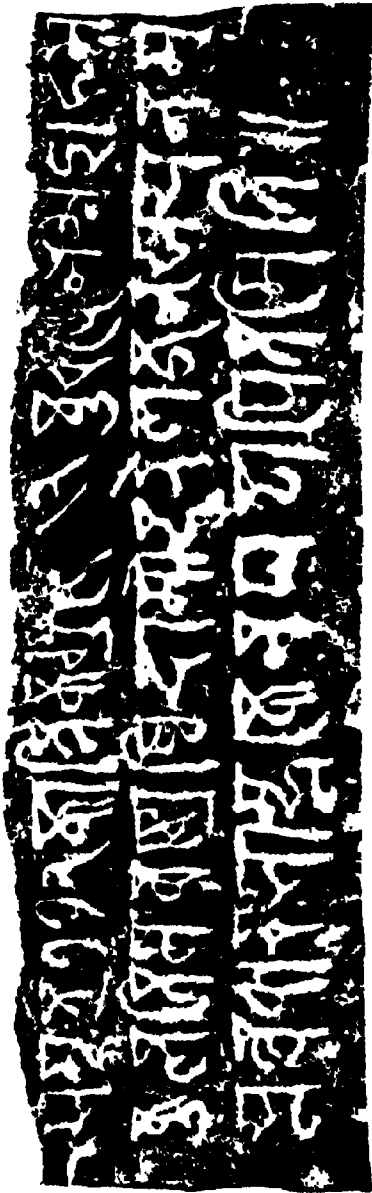
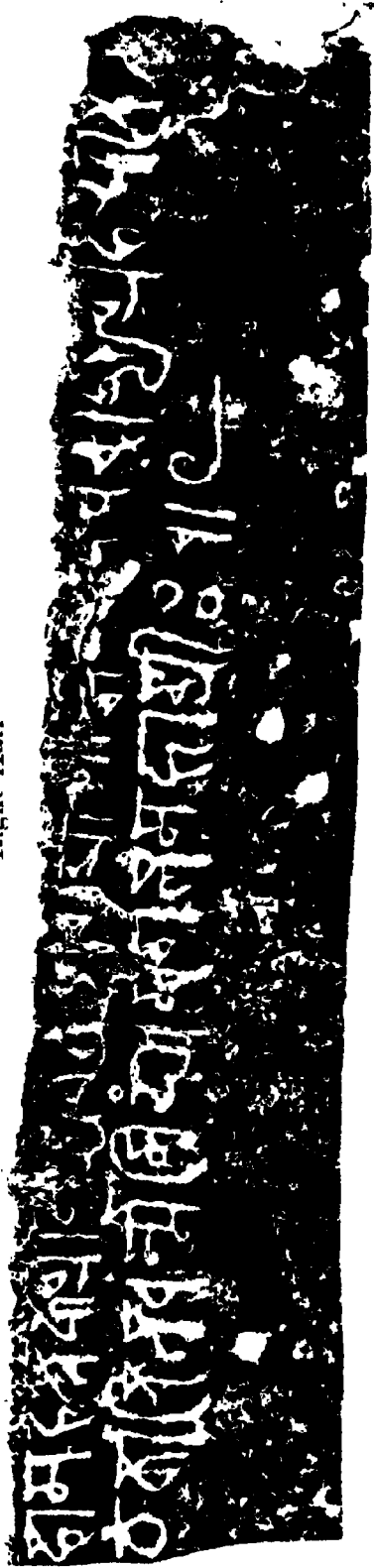
Left Half

Right Half

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-776'51.

era,—an opinion to which Dr. Kielhorn lent his support. This is no doubt the correct view, for the Banaras grant of Gāṅgēyadēva's son Karṇa which was made on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death is dated in the Kalachuri or Chēdi year 793 *i.e.*, only twenty-one years after the date of the present record. According to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the month of Kārttika should fall in 1019 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 772 was current and in 1020 A.C. if it was expired. But in 1019 A.C. the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), while in 1020 A.C. the same *tithi* ended 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Wednesday in any way. Even the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits earlier dates of the era will not do; for in 1021 A.C. which, according to it, should correspond to the expired Kalachuri year 772, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th October). The date is, therefore, irregular. But of the three equivalents mentioned above, the first, *viz.*, Tuesday, the 13th October 1019 A.C. comes nearest to it. Overlooking the discrepancy of one day, the date of the present inscription may, therefore, be taken to correspond, for the current Kalachuri year 772, to the 13th October, 1019 A.C. This is one of the few dates in current years. It shows, again, that the Kalachuri year must have commenced on some day before the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धिः[2] [।*] सम्वत्[3] ७७२ कार्तिक शु दि १२ बु(बु)ध[दिने][4] महा[र्हं]महामहत्तक[श्री]-[महाराज[5]?] [श्री][गाङ्गेयदेव[6]]रा[ज्ये] ग्रहपति-

2 कुलतिलकश्रेष्ठिदामोदरेण जलस(शा)यनमठं कारि[तं][7] धर्म्ममिदं[8] ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ सिद्धिः[2] ॥

3 सूत्रधारसाम्भूकेन घटापितमिति[9] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (*In*) the year 772 on Wednesday, the 12th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, during the reign of the *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka*[10] the illustrious [*Mahārāja*] Gāṅgēyadēva, the *Śrēshṭhin* (merchant) Dāmōdara, an ornament of the family of Grahapati,[11] has caused (*this*) temple of (Vishṇu) who reposes on water, to be constructed. This is a pious work. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune! Success!

(*This work*) was executed[12] by the *Sūtradhāra* (artisan) Sāmbhūka.

[1] From inked estampages, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read संवत्.

[4] The *mātrās* and curves on the top of letters enclosed in brackets in l. 1 have been broken away.

[5] Only the first *akshara* of this word is partly seen. I am not certain about the following three *aksharas*.

[6] Of the five *aksharas* in this royal name, traces of the first are clearly seen, the third *akshara ya* is completely damaged, and only the *mātrās* over *ṅg* and *d* have been broken off, while the last *akshara* is quite clear. There is, on the whole, little doubt about the correctness of the reading given above.

[7] The *anusvāra* over *ṭa* is wrongly placed over the following *akshara*. Read मठः कारितः ।

[8] Read धर्मोयम्.

[9] Read घटितमिति.

[10] For *Mahattaka* used as an official title, see l. 77 of the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 252.

[11] *Grahapati*, *lit.* the lord of planets, signifies the moon. The expression would then mean an ornament of the lunar race which would scarcely be appropriate in the case of a merchant. Perhaps *Grahapati* is a mistake for *Grihapati*, but even then it seems to be used here as a personal name rather than in the usual sense of 'a house-holder', or 'the head of a village.'

[12] *Ghaṭāpita* seems to be used in the same sense as *kārāpita*. For its sense, see Kielhorn's remarks on *kārāpaka* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 33.

No. 48; Plate XXXVIII

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

The inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by Captain Wilford who described it as follows in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, page 108:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish in the old fort of **Banaras**. It is engraven upon two brass **plates**, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly and in the same shape with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed; two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written *Srī-Karṇṇadēva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new year and also of his reign answering to the Christian year 192 . . . The ancestors of Srī-Karṇṇadēva mentioned in the grant were, first his father Gāṅgēyadēva, with the title *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kōkalladēva, whose father was Lakshmaṇarājadēva."[1] The plates were subsequently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff., with lithographs, but without a translation, by Dr. Kielhorn, who gives the following account of their subsequent history[2]:—

"The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Banaras College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr. F.E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal and has thus enabled me to publish the text of the inscription, the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately, the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise." As the plates appear to have been lost forever, they are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Kielhorn's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

The plates, which are two in number, appear to be 1′ 4″ broad by 11½″ high each and are inscribed on one side only. They have each a hole about .6″ in diameter for the ring which held them together. The letters appear to have been deeply incised. The inscription consists of forty-eight lines, of which twenty-eight are inscribed on the first and the remaining twenty on the second. The writer began with closely packed lines

[1] There are several mis-statements in this account. The figure on the seal must be taken to be that of Lakshmī. What is described as a basket before the Nandi is probably an incense pot. There must have been another like it behind the bull; see the seals of the Goharwa and British Museum plates (Nos. 50 and 54). The seal of Jayasiṁhadēva (Pl. LII) shows a handle to these pots, which makes it plain that they are not drums as conjectured by Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 140). The legend had probably a *visarga* at the end as in the legend of other cognate plates. The mistake about the second regnal year was probably caused by the word *dvitīyāyāṁ* referring to the *tithi* in l.40. As regards Wilford's reading of the date, Cunningham has remarked, 'I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates,' (*C.A.S.I.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 82). *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka* is shown by Kielhorn to be a mistake for *vijaya-kaṭaka* 'a victorious camp'. Finally, the misconception about Gāṅgēyadēva's dying in a loathsome dungeon was probably caused by a wrong interpretation of v. 25. See, however, Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 302, n. 38.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 297.

until he came to the middle of the second plate when he found that he had more than sufficient space at his disposal. He, therefore, left more space between his lines and wrote letters of a larger size especially in lines 38-40. The writing is in a state of good preservation.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some letters show considerable development, approximating to their forms in the modern Nāgarī alphabet, though they are still in the stage of transition. The initial *ē*, for instance, shows, for the first time in the records edited here, its left curve separated from the right vertical in *ēkasmiṁ-*, l. 28; elsewhere it is joined to the latter, see *ēk-aika-*, l. 11; *kh* has its left member fully developed, see *khyāta-*, l. 13, but notice *Naṭṭ-ākhya-*, l. 10 in which it shows the older form; *ṅ* appears with a dot for the first time in *bhujaṅgam=a-*, l. 11 and *bhrū-bhaṁṅga-*, l. 15, but without it in *=jaṅgamaḥ*, l. 31 and *-Gāṅgēyadēvasya*, l. 40. Similarly *th* has its upper loop open in *Dāśarathir=*, l. 15 and *-nāthaḥ*, l. 23, but in other cases it shows its older form, see *yasy=ārtha-* and, *-tathā*, both in l. 8; *ph* has now a tail added to the loop on the right, see *phalam*, l. 45; *s* in *-sārthi-*, l. 31 has the same form as in the modern Nāgarī, but in other cases it has the older form. The subscript *ṇ* has the same form as when it is independent, see *Karṇṇa* and *iv=āvatīrṇṇaḥ*, both in l. 29. Besides, owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver several letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, *bh* in *bhāva-*, l. 1, and *-prabhaṁ*, l. 2; *y* in *dharmmāya*, l. 7 and *Gāṁgēya-*, l. 28; *g* in *yōgāya*, l. 7 and *-gamanām=*, l. 18 and *r* in *kārunya-*, l. 20 and *param=*, l. 32. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between *bh* and *h* as well as between *v* and *dh*.

The language is Sanskrit throughout, except in verse 12 which is in Prakrit. The first thirty-two lines which contain the eulogistic portion of the record are in verse, with the exception of the introductory *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, l. 1 and the words *kiṁ=v=āparēṇa*, l. 13. This part of the record is written in the usual *kāvya* style. The description in vv. 16 and 20, which is based on *ślesha* or *double entendre*, is cleverly done. It is noteworthy that v. 18 is taken from the play *Bālabhārata* (called also *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*) of Rājaśēkhara.[1] The formal part of the grant begins in l. 32 and is followed by six benedictive and imprecatory verses. The last line contains the date expressed in numerical figures. The record is very carelessly written. See, for instance, the mistake of concord in *yasy-ārtha-saktō matiḥ*, l. 8, the wrong form *Tṛikaliṁg y-ādhipati-* for *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati-*, l. 34, the use of the short for the long vowel in *-bhupālī* in l. 9 and *vice versa* in *-dhanānū-saṁdhita=*, l. 7, the use of *ī* for *i* in *prathīta-*, l. 29 and the reverse of it in *-sārthishu-*, l. 31, the wrong elision of the final consonant in *sthir=āsī* for *sthir=āsīt* and of *visarga* in *Lakshmī* for *Lakshmīḥ*, both in l. 22. These and other mistakes, too many to be enumerated, make it very difficult to restore the original correct readings. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed:— *s* is used for *ś* almost throughout except in the case of *śrī*, see *Sivāya* for *Śivāya*, l. 1, *=āslēsha* for *=āślēsha*, l. 3 *etc.*; *v* is employed for *b* in *sad-vrahmaṇī*, l. 1, *vavaṁdha*, l. 4 and so forth; *y* takes the place of *j* in *tasy=ānuyō* for *tasy=ānujō*, l. 22, *-jāyata* for *-jāyata*, l. 23 and *vice versa* in *dur-jjasaḥ* for *dur-yyaśaḥ*, l. 27; *n* stands for *ṇ* in *ānṛinya*, l. 8 and *parijanaishīt* for *paryyapaishīt*, l. 10; the *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* in *kiṁ=v=aparēṇa* l. 13 and to *n* in *-vansa*, l. 6 and *-vansī*, l. 45; *ksh* is written for *khy* in *saukshakṛit*, l. 7 and *kshātaṁ*, l. 27 and *ky* for *ksh* in *kaukyēyakō=*, l. 26; the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in *nistṛimsatā*, l. 21 and *Tṛikaliṁgy-*, l. 34; finally, the consonant following *r* is repeated in many cases, see *Kārttavīryaḥ*, l. 3, *Karṇṇaḥ*, l. 29 *etc.*

The plates were issued by **Karṇa** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**, from his

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[1] See *Bālabhārata* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), Act I, v. 62.

victorious camp at **Prayāga**. After the customary verse in praise of Brahman, commences the genealogy of the donor. From the famous king Kārtavīrya who subdued Rāvaṇa, were descended the **Haihayas**. An ornament of their family was **Kōkkala** who gave protection to **Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harsha,** the **king** of **Chitrakūṭa,** and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**. This Kōkkala is evidently identical with Kōkalla I mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription.[1] The first two kings mentioned here as having received help from him are also named in the Bilhāri inscription and are plainly identical with Bhōja I of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj and Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family who, from Rāshṭrakūṭa records, is known to have married Kōkalla's daughter. Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa, is the well-known king of that name in the Chandēlla dynasty, whose kingdom included that hill fort. Finally, Śaṅkaragaṇa is not Kōkalla's own son as was supposed by Dr. Kielhorn, but the first prince of that name, the father of Guṇāmbhōdhidēva, mentioned in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva.[2] As Guṇāmbhōdhidēva was a contemporary of Bhōja I, it is not unlikely that his father may have received some help from Kōkalla I in the early part of the latter's reign.

Verse 8 states that Kōkalla married the princess **Naṭṭā** of the Chandēlla family. By her he had a son named **Prasiddhadhavala** who is evidently identical with the Mugdhatuṅga of the Bilhāri inscription.[3] A Prakrit verse introduced here states that he conquered the Pāli country to provide for the great princes who would be born thereafter in his family. As already shown, this statement is corroborated by the Bilhāri inscription which mentions that Mugdhatuṅga took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.

The record next mentions Prasiddhadhavala's son **Bālaharsha** who is described in general terms. His name is omitted in the Bilhāri inscription, either because his reign was short or because he was a collateral. He was succeeded by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva I** who is said to have attained the position of *Paramēśvara* (Emperor), through his devotion to Śiva. He was followed by his son **Lakshmaṇarāja (II)**. As already observed, verse 18, which occurs in his description, is borrowed from the *Bālabhārata*, a Sanskrit play of Rājaśēkhara. Lakshmaṇarāja's son and successor was **Śaṅkaragaṇa (III)** who was followed by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva II.** The latter's son was **Kōkalladēva II** who was succeeded by his own son **Gāṅgēyadēva.** The record finally mentions Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor **Karṇa** who granted the present plates. The eulogy of these princes is merely conventional and contains no reference to historical events.

The present record gives Karṇa the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara.* He is also called here the **lord of Trikaliṅga** and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Vāmadēva.** Vāmadēva is clearly identical with Vāmarājadēva whose name is mentioned with the same Imperial titles in the Saugor stone inscription of the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.[4] Karṇa made the present grant at **Prayāga** after bathing in the **Vēṇī** and worshipping Śiva on the occasion of the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha* of his father, Gāṅgēyadēva, which he performed at Prayāga.[5] The object of the grant was the village **Srusī** situated in the *bhūmi* (sub-division) of **Kāśī.**[6] The

[1] Above, No. 45, vv. 12 ff.

[2] Below, No. 74, v. 8.

[3] Above, No. 45, v. 18.

[4] Above, No. 35, l. 1.

[5] Note *ihaiva* in l. 39 of the text.

[6] See below, p. 244, n. 11.

donee was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa, son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana and great-grand son of Āmaha[1] who belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* with the *pravaras* Auddālaka,[2] Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra, who had emigrated from Vēsāla. The date of the śrāddha is given, in line 40, as Saturday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna and that of the charter, in the last line, as Monday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793. The latter *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical figures only.

As Dr. Fleet has shown from his calculation of the date of Karṇa's Goharwa plates, this *śrāddha* was performed on the *first* anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death and this view is also confirmed by the wording of the grant.[3] From other Kalachuri records[4] we know that Gāṅgēya died at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga. Karṇa seems, therefore, to have especially gone to Prayāga to perform the first annual *śrāddha* of his father at the holy place where he had died. The dates mentioned in this inscription, like those in other Kalachuri records, must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. Though no year is mentioned in connection with the first date, it is probably identical with that of the second; for, it is not likely that the issuing of the plates was delayed by more than a few days or months at most. Of these two dates, the second is quite regular; for according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the ninth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in the expired year 793 ended 18 hours after mean sunrise on Monday, the corresponding Christian date being the 18th January 1042 A.C. The date of the śrāddha, however, if it refers to the same Kalachuri year as it evidently does, is irregular; for the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in that year *commenced* 5 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 10th January 1042 A.C.) and *ended* 7 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise next day.[5] It was not, thus, connected with Saturday in any way. This date, therefore, appears to be irregular. Dr. Kielhorn, however, found by calculation that the same *tithi* of the previous month (*viz.*, the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha) was current at sunrise on Saturday, the 12th December 1041 A.C. He, therefore, supposed that the *śrāddha* was really performed on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, but 'the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in l. 40 the month in which he was writing the grant'. Such an explanation is not impossible and other cases of a similar type can easily be cited.[6] But this involves the supposition that there was an interval of more than a month between the making of the grant and the recording of it. Some scholars have, therefore, attempted to explain away the irregularity of the present date in other ways.

Dr. Fleet thought that the mistake lay in the week-day (or else in the *tithi*) rather than in the month,[7] but he offered no explanation of it. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, on the other hand, suggested that though Gāṅgēya died on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna, and hence the *śrāddha* must be performed on that date, in the year 793 it fell on a Sunday, which is not an auspicious day for such ceremonies. It was, therefore, per-

[1] See below, p. 244, n. 14.

[2] See below, p. 249, n. 20.

[3] The text mentions the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*, which means the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary. The *śrāddha* on a later anniversary is called *prati-sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha*.

[4] See, for instance, v. 12 of the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (below, No. 56)

[5] According to Kielhorn's calculations, the *tithi* commenced 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C., and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

[6] See, *e.g.*, the date of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates (below, No. 101).

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146, n. 7.

formed on the day before and while *dvitīyā*, the anniversary day, could not be changed, it had to be associated with the week-day on which the ceremonies actually took place.[1] This explanation also does not appear to be convincing; because, there is no authority in the Dharmaśāstras for changing the *tithi* for the performance of a *śrāddha*, even if it falls on an inauspicious day. We must, therefore, seek some other explanation of this irregularity.

It seems to me that the date of the *śrāddha* was really the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. As shown by Dr. Kielhorn, in the Kalachuri year 793 it was connected with the sunrise of Monday, but as the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon for the performance of a *śrāddha*[2], Karṇa must have performed the *śrāddha* of his father in the afternoon of the preceding day, *i.e.*, Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C. when the second *tithi* was current. As we have seen before, this was the first anniversary of Gāṅgeyadēva's death. The Smṛitis lay down two or three *śrāddhas* which are to be performed before the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of a relative's death.[3] The ceremonies are, therefore, usually commenced one or two days before the day of the first anniversary. Karṇa also seems to have done the same. At the time of the *ūnābdika śrāddha* on the day preceding the annual *śrāddha*, *i.e.*, on Saturday, the 9th January 1042 A.C. he seems to have made a *saṅkalpa* about the grant. On the next day he performed the first annual or *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*. The grant was thus made by Karṇa on Saturday *in connection with* the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*, which fell on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. The writer of the grant has, by mistake, coupled Saturday, when the grant was actually made, with the *tithi* of the first annual *śrāddha* which was really performed the next day. The foregoing discussion will show that Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the present grant, Dr. Kielhorn at first identified the river **Vēṇī** in which Karṇa had bathed before making the grant with the Waingaṅgā of Madhya Pradesh.[4] Later on, however, he corrected himself and identified it with the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with the subterranean Sarasvatī at Allahabad.[5] The village **Vēsāla**, from which the donee hailed, is plainly Vaiśālī which figures prominently in Buddhist literature. Archæological excavation has identified it with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.[6] **Prayāga**, where the *śrāddha* was performed, is of course Allahabad. As for **Srusī**, it is probably identical with Sursi (long. 82° 52′, East and lat. 25° 12′, North) in the Mirzapur District, 9 miles north of Chunār.[7] It is stated that the village was situated in the sub-division of Kāśī, modern Banaras, and it is noteworthy that Sursi is just outside the southern boundary of

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 206, n. 3. He has not cited any authority for his statement that Sunday is regarded as an inauspicious day for the performance of a *śrāddha*.

[2] तथा श्राद्धस्य पूर्वाह्णादपराह्णो विशिष्यते । *Manusmṛiti*, *adhyāya* III, v. 278. Compare also पूर्वाह्णिकास्तु तिथयो देवकार्ये फलप्रदाः । अपराह्णिकास्तथा ज्ञेयाः पित्र्यर्थे तु शुभावहाः ॥ Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Pariśēsha khaṇḍa, (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 283.

[3] These are the *ūnābdika*, which according to some is performed one day before, and the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* and the *ābdika* (also called *saṁvatsara-vimōksha*), which are performed on the anniversary day. Some authorities identify the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* and *ābdika śrāddhas*. See Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Pariśēsha-khaṇḍa, pp. 294 ff; *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), p. 427.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

[5] The Kamauli plates of Jayachchandra also mention *Vēṇī* in this sense, *ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 122.

[6] *A. R. A. S. I.*, for 1903-4, pp. 81 f.

[7] The identification was first suggested in my article in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 1, pp. 51 ff.

the Banaras District. It may also be noted that the plates were found at the bottom of a well in Banaras which shows that the donee was a resident of the place. Karṇa seems to have specially invited him to Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha*.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धिः[2][।।*] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ।। निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पर(रं) ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे[3] नमः ।।[4] [१।।*] ब्रह्मेव[5]स्थितमव्य[यं] प-

2 रमपि ज्यो(ज्यो)तिस्त्वि(त्वि)षस्तु(स्तु)प्रभं(भम्)।[6] सूर्याद्या(द्य)स्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो यस्य स्फुरत्पूर्व्वयः [।*] सर्व्वज्ञान[म*]यो ब(ब)भूव [भ]गवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्म्मानसो यस्मात्सृष्टिरभू-[दियं यु]-

3 गवती स्त्रीपुंविमिश्रा ततः ।[7] [।।२।।*] देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्य्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्र्या हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(बि)म्बस्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्ले(श्ले)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [।*]दोर्द्दण्डा-

4 काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाहव्याघोतस्य[8](व्य)क्षपूजापुलजनितरुषं रावणं यो बबन्ध[9]। [।३।।*]यस्य भूभ(भ)[ङ्ग*]भीता वदति नृपतयः क्लिष्ट-

5 मावे प्रतिपं[10] आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खात[शृं](शृं)गाग्र[भि]तेः । आ च:[11] प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीकादम्भोधेर्द्दक्षिणात्व स्फु-

6 रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्त[भा]जः [।।४।।*] तद्वंस्य[12]प्रभवा नरी(रे)न्द्रपतयः ख्याता[:*] क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्(न्व)यभूषणं[13] रिपुमनोवित्रस्ततापानलः। धर्म्मध्यानध-

7 नानू(नु)संचितसुखः सत्वस्सता[14] सौख्य(ख्य)हृत्प्रेयास(न्स)र्व्वगुणानुकूलमतया श्रीमान्-मूकोक्कल्लः[15] ।(।।)[16][५।।*] सम्यक्त्वा(क्ता)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिनं धर्म्माय योगाय च[17] हृष्टा-

8 [पू]र्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ।।(।) आनृण्या(ण्या)च्चिगमाय दाननिरतिः संवंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा ज्ञानाभ्यासवसा(शा)न्म(न्मु)मुक्ष(क्षु)पदवीमंते च यः प्राप्तवान् । [।६।।*] भोजे च-

9 ल्ल[भ*]राजे[18] श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले । स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभयदः

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[1] From the lithograph accompanying Kielhorn's article in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 297 ff.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.

[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Perhaps ब्रह्मेवा स्थित— is the intended reading.

[6] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Kielhorn read this *akshara* as घ्य, but see its form in l. 5.

[9] Read बबन्ध.

[10] Read वसति नृपतयः क्लिष्टमावे प्रतिष्ठाम्.

[11] Read च.

[12] Read तद्वंश—.

[13] Kielhorn read भूषणं, but the lithograph shows an *anusvāra* on ण.

[14] Read सत्त्वसता.

[15] Read श्रीमानमुग्धतुङ्गः. In v. 23 the metre requires the form कोक्कल or कोक्कल्ल.

[16] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[17] The hiatus here is due to the exigencies of the metre.

[18] I fail to see any letter inserted between ल्ल and रा as observed by Kielhorn. र appears here with a loop.

पाणि: ।[1][।७॥*] सचिमिवेन्द्र[2] कमलामुपेन्द्रो[3](न्द्रो) नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलि:। चन्देल्ल-
वंसप्रभवा

10 सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्ज्जनैषित्[4]॥[5] [८॥*] उद्दामदर्प्पद्विषतो जयन्तं कद(न्द)र्प्पमापि-
(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम्। अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-

11 मारम्। [॥९॥*] नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुव(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्व्वो धवल: स राजा। वोढु(ढुं)
धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्कहार चकार[6] ॥[१०॥*] एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-

12 सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता भक्ष्यार्थ(र्थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलित:।
चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह*]ल्यामृतो वन्धासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभूदौ-

13 चित्त(त्य)वृत्ते: प[द](दम्)॥[7] [११॥*] किम्वापरेण[8]। होहिन्ति एत्थ वंसे पुरिसा पुहइय[9]-
गारवमहग्घा [।*] इअ भाविऊण जेणं पालीण परिग(ग्ग)हो गहिओ ॥[10] [१२॥*] तत्सुनु:[11] ख्यात-

14 कर्म्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा) हुर्महात्मा भूमेभ(भं)र्त्ताव(ब)भूवक्षतरिपुनृपतिर्व्वा(र्व्वा)ल्हं-
ष: (हर्ष:):[12] सु[ज*]न्मा। यं सद्वृत्तानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमासु(श्रि)त्य जातस्त्य-

15 क्तान्योन्योपमर्द्दस्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गस्त्रि(स्त्रि)वर्ग्ग: ।[13][।१३॥*]। धन्योत्र दास(श)-
रथिरेव रिपुद्दसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय भ्रूभंङ्ग[14][भ*]ग्नसकलद्विषतो

16 धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति य: सुसोच[15] ॥[16][१४॥*] सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य
तस्यानुय:(ज:) प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव। दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17 न्वी पार्थोपर: कलियुगे युवराजदेव:। [।१५॥*] भु(भू)मारक्षमदृक्सति[17]प्र[ण*]यिनीमालम्ब-
(म्ब)मानस्तन(नुं) कुर्व्वाण: समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्वि:(द्विष:)॥ (।) विख्या-

18 तां भुवि भूरिमार्ग्गगमनामुर्व्वीद्दंषद्वाही(हि)नीं य: साक्षात्परमेस्व(श्व)र[:*] समभवत्स-
म्यक्सि(क्शि)वाराधनात्।॥[18][१६॥*] तस्मादमूल्लक्ष्मणराजदेव: पुर्व्वे[19]र्ज्जनाना(नां)

19 जनितव्यवस्थ:। आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्म्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनना सुखानि ॥[20]
[१७॥*] य: सत्यस्य निधि: सि(श्रि)यां च सरणि: साम्ना च धाम्ना [च*] यो यो दाता च
दयालु-

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[1] Metre: *Āryā.*

[2] Read शचीमिवेन्द्र:.

[3] Kielhorn read मृपेन्द्रो, but the facsimile does not show any subscript *r* in this *akshara*; see the form of द्र in नगेन्द्र-.

[4] Read the second half of the verse as चन्देल्लवंशप्रभवां सुशीलां नट्टाख्यदेवीं स तु पर्य्यणैषीत् ॥

[5] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Upajāti.*

[6] Read गुरुभाग्युक्तामन्यान्नृपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार ॥

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Read किं वापरेण.

[9] Kielhorn read this as एहइय, but the form of ए, which occurs in this line and in l. 28 are different.

[10] Sanskrit—भविष्यन्त्यत्र वंशे पुरुषा पृथिव्यां गौरवमहार्घा: ।
इति भावयित्वा येन पालीनां परिग्रहो गृहीत: ॥ Metre: *Āryā.*

[11] Read तत्सूनु:.

[12] Kielhorn read -र्व्वा(र्व्वा)लहर्ष:, but the facsimile shows *rēpha* over ह्.

[13] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[14] The *anusvāra* on भ्र is clear and distinct. Read भ्रूभङ्ग-.

[15] Read शुशोच.

[16] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā.*

[17] Read दृक्श्रुति-.

[18] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[19] The reading is clearly पुर्व्वे-, and not पुर्व्वो- as taken by Kielhorn.

[20] Metre: *Upajāti.*

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

B. CH. CHHABRA. (From Photographs). SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

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Second Plate

29 वितथं[1] पूव्वे(र्व्वे) ये(य)थोक्ता भृ(भू)पा: ॥[2][२७॥*] तस्यात्मज: कर्ण्ण इवावतीर्ण्ण: कर्ण्ण: पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तपृ(प्र)भाव:। यस्याभिसे(षे)क[स्त्र](श्र)वणाद्दि(द्वृद्धि)च–

30 क्रिनंष्ट(ष्टं) प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्ग्ग: ॥[3] [२८॥*] यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(।) द्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोग: स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥[4] [२९॥*] स्वय(यं) समु–

31 त्सृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थे[5]ष्वचिन्तितान् । कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गम: कल्प(ल्प)पादप: ॥ [३०॥*] स(श)क्तित्रये(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धम्मा(र्म्मा)त्मन:

32 स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् । आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभि: सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भृ(भू)यात् ॥[6][३१॥*]तवे(दे)व(वं) गुणगणासंकुल–

33 स(श)रीर: स्व(प्र)यागसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयक[टा] (टका)त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवामद(दे)वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा–

34 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रु(त्रि)कलिंग्या(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्ण्णदेव[:*] कुस(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रा][7] महामं–

35 त्रि[णो] महामात्या[8] महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्म्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकरणिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामतो(न्तो)

36 महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष[9] एतानन्यांस्च(श्च) कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तिता(तां)स्च(श्च) यथाहं(र्हं) मानयति बो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदित–

37 मसु(स्तु) भवता(तां) यथाहपाथा[10]कासि[11][भूम्य]न्तर्गतसुसिग्राम: साम्र(म्र)मधूक: सगर्त्तस्थ– लजलोषर: सर्व्वाकरस[नि*]प्रभृतिसमुत्प–

38 त्तिसमेतस्च(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्त: ।[12] वेसालग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय को(कौ)सि(शि)कगो– त्राय ।[12] ओदलदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र[13]त्रि–

39 प्रवराय वाजसनेयसाखाया[14]मदृप्रन(ण)त्रे वा[म]नपत्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व(श्व)– रूपाय ।[12] इहैव पितु: श्री–

40 मद्गाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे स्राद्धे[15] फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैस्च(श्च)रवासरे वेण्यां स्नात्वा भगवंतं(वन्तं) देवं(व)देवं त्रिलोचन–

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[1] Read दृष्ट्वा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथं.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[4] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[5] The lithograph clearly has सार्थिष्व–. Read –सार्थेष्वचिन्तितान्,

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] The Goharwa plates read महाराजपुत्रो.

[8] As Kielhorn has observed, what was intended to be incised here was perhaps महामात्य । महासान्धि-विग्रहिक । *etc.* Or read महामात्यो, महासन्धिविग्रहिको *etc.* in conformity with महाप्रतीहारो *etc.*

[9] This official is omitted in the Goharwa plates.

[10] The three *aksharas* are superfluous.

[11] Read काशीभूम्यन्तर्गतसुसी–. Kielhorn admitted that he could not make out the proper reading of the name of the district in which the donated village was situated. He read the name of the village as सुसि, but it is clearly mentioned as सुसी in l. 42, below.

[12] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[13] Read औद्दालकदेवरातविश्वामित्र–.

[14] Kielhorn read –साखाय । मदृ–.

[15] Read संवत्सरश्राद्धे, as proposed by Kielhorn. Fleet later on remarked that the change was

41 मल(ल)मस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितमंडोपच(चा)र[प्र*]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यासमक्ष(श्र)-
वृक्ष(द्ध)या भा(भा)वं विश्वायोमयभोगेन[1] सा(शा)स[न*]त्वेन यप्रदत्तः[2] । अतः श्रीमत्क-
42 र्णदेवपादा[:*] नूतीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति [।*] विदितमस्तु भवता(तां)
यथा ग्रामोयं स्वामिः[3] सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा-
43 भागभोगकरहिरण्यवणकाधायमयसोत्पन्निप्रभृति[4]समस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या) अस्योपन(ने)[त*]व्या
इति [।*] तदपत्विकीर्षया मध्ये बालेनापि न
44 गंत(गन्त)व्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥ सर्व्वानेता[न्*] भाविनो राजपुत्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयो याचते
रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुनृ(र्नृ)पाणा(णां) काले का-
45 ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः[5] । [।३२॥*] व(ब)हुभिव(र्व)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[6] । [।३३॥*] अस्मिन्वन्से[7] ह्रिन्ना-
46 पि[8] यस्या(स्या)न्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[३४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैदा(र्दा)नानि धर्म्मार्थयस(श)स्करा[णि] ।
47 नृमाल्य[9]वा प्रतिमानि तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[10][३५॥*] अस्व(श्व)मेध-
सहस्रेण राजसु(सू)यसहतेन[11] च [।*]गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिह-
48 र्ता नसु(शु)ध्यति (॥)[12] [३६॥*] सुवर्ण्णमेक(कं) गामेका(कां) भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल[म्*] ।
हरन्न [रक?] माप्नोति यावदाभु(भू)तस(सं)प्लवं(वम्) ॥ [३७॥*] संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुन-
वदि ९ सोमे [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōṁ! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*) (*and*) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) That which, though highest and changeless, appears in two forms,[13]—the light which has the refulgence of intelligence; from which in the form of the sun there shine forth waves such as the days[14],—from it there sprang forth the venerable mind-born

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unnecessary. But this was the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, which is called संवत्सरश्राद्ध. Subsequent annual *śrāddhas* are called प्रतिसांवत्सरिकश्राद्ध.

[1] The *aksharas* here are quite clear. Perhaps the intended sense is -योवकर्णेण, as suggested by Kielhorn.

[2] Read संप्रदत्तः ।

[3] Read ग्रामोयमस्माभिः.

[4] Kielhorn proposed to read वायाकरोत्पत्ति-.

[5] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[6] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Read -वंशे.

[8] Read ह्रिजन्मोपि.

[9] Read निर्माल्य-.

[10] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[11] Read राजसूयशतेन च.

[12] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[13] These may be the male and the female. Compare ह्रिधा कृत्वात्मनो देहमर्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत् । अर्धेन नारी . . . . . ॥ *Manusmṛiti*, ch. I, v. 32.

[14] The *Śabdakalpadruma* gives *bhāsvara* in the sense of 'a day' and cites the work *Rājanirghaṇṭa* as its authority.

Manu, the repository of all knowledge, from whom proceeded this entire creation possessed of *guṇas*[1] through male and female (*creatures*).

(V. 3) There was the king, the divine and illustrious **Kārtavīrya**, the ornament of the earth,—who threw into bondage Rāvaṇa who had propitiated Īśa (Śiva) by making the terrified daughter (Pārvatī) of the snow-mountain embrace him when he (Rāvaṇa) lifted up the mountain Kailāsa with ease, (*and*) who was greatly enraged when his offerings to the three-eyed (Śiva) were washed away by the stream of the greatly flooded Rēvā which was turned back by the suddenly placed dam of his (*i.e.*, Kārtavīrya's) mighty arms.[2]

(V. 4) Being frightened by his frown, kings (*of the countries*) extending as far as Kailāsa, the slopes on the tops of whose summits are dug up by Śiva's bull, and as far as the eastern ocean which has a string of matchless and large pearls in the form of the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā), (*and*) again as far as the southern ocean which has a shining peerless jewel[3] and a parting line of hair, *viz*. the bridge (*of Rāma*), adhere steadfastly to affliction.

(V. 5) The lords of kings, who were born in his race, became famous on the earth as the **Haihayas**. An ornament of their family was the illustrious **Kōkalla (I)**[4] who kindled the fire of anguish in the minds of his enemies; whose pleasures were linked with the wealth of religious contemplation; who always made good people happy; (*and*) who was dear (*to all*) as his majesty was marked by all good qualities.

(V. 6) Day by day he duly reflected on the *śāstras* for (*the knowledge of*) religion and union (*with God*),—(*he*) whose mind was fond of wealth (*only*) for religious and charitable works (*and*) for the benefit of others; who was devoted to charity to pay off the debt he owed for being brought up in a noble family; and who ultimately reached the path of beatitude through application to knowledge.

(V. 7) His hand afforded protection to **Bhōja**, the king **Vallabha**, the illustrious **Harsha** who was the lord of **Chittrakūṭa**, and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**.

(V. 8) As Indra married Śachī, Upēndra (Vishṇu) Kamalā (Lakshmī), the moon-crested god (Śiva) the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Pārvatī), even so did he espouse the good-natured queen **Naṭṭā**, born in the **Chandēlla** family.

(V. 9) For the establishment of good order among the people, he begat on her a prince endowed with great prowess, who vanquished (*his*) enemies, possessed of haughty arrogance, and who was the god of love to ladies of fully-developed and compact breasts.

(V. 10) The king was well-known in all the three worlds by (*his*) name **Dhavala** with **Prasiddha** prefixed (*to it*),[5]—who, in order to bear the very heavy yoke (*of governing the earth*), made other kings lend their (*helping*) hands[6] (*i.e., exacted tribute from them*).

(V. 11) By making over constantly serpents one by one to the Eagle, (Śesha), the lord of serpents, caused (*his own*) humiliation. The lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra) lost his

[1] *Viz*., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which in different proportions constitute the nature of all beings.

[2] For the story, see the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Uttarakāṇḍa, Adhyāyas 32 and 33.

[3] This is probably the island of Ceylon, which, being situated opposite Rāma's bridge, appears like a jewel worn by a woman at the parting line of her hair.

[4] The name appears here as *Kōkkala* due to the exigency of metre.

[5] *I.e.*, the name was *Prasiddhadhavala*.

[6] There is a play on the verb *karadī-chakāra*. Prasiddhadhavala made kings pay taxes for carrying on the government of the earth, as he would have taken their help to bear a heavy yoke.

character by having intercourse with Ahalyā in season. This king (*on the other hand*) became the resort of proper conduct, adorable in all the three worlds.

(V. 12) Why say (*anything*) else?

'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their greatness in this world'—Thinking so, he took possession of (*the country of*) Pālī'.[1]

(V. 13) His high-souled son, Bālaharsha of noble birth, whose deeds are well-known, and whose arms resembling the trunks of the quarter-elephants stretched to (*his*) knees, became the lord of the earth, having destroyed all hostile kings. By resorting to him, who followed the practices of the Kṛita age out of his love for good conduct, the three (*purushārthas*),[2] giving up their mutual hostility and doing away with the host of their enemies (*i.e.*, passions), found a stable resting place.

(V. 14) 'Blessed was here the son of Daśaratha (*i.e.*, Rāma) alone, who had—what else?—an enemy in the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) for (*enjoying*) the festivity of fighting. Fie on us, who have routed all (*our*) enemies by a (*mere*) frown!'—Thus did he blame himself out of love for fighting.

(V. 15) Of him, who was Yudhishṭhira, being solely devoted to truth, there was a younger brother (*named*) Yuvarājadēva (I), endowed with well-known might of arms, a second Arjuna in the Kali age, the pre-eminent bow-man in exterminating warriors in the army of his invincible foes as Arjuna was in slaughtering those in the army of Duryōdhana.[3]

(V. 16) Having (*acquired*) knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of the earth, having a mind (*lit.*, body) fond of the Vēdas, sending his advancing foes along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes, he, through his devotion to Siva, became actually an Emperor (or Siva[4] incarnate, who is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth, who sends his foes along the path of heaven and bears on high the river Gaṅgā that flows in several streams[5]).

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) Lakshmaṇarājadēva (II) through the religious merit of the people,—(*he*) who established order (*in this world*), and in whom the people, having obtained a (*righteous*) king like Dharma,[6] became happy for a long time.

(V. 18) He was a treasure of truth, the path for fortune (*won*) by conciliation and prowess,—who, liberal and kind as he was, obtained fame and political wisdom. Meritorious as he was by compassion, he had this slight blemish that he did not discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy even when he was giving away all his property.

(V. 19) From him was born the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva (III), the ornament of the expanse of the whole world. While he was ruling over the earth, even Kali fled away, one does not know where.

(V. 20) (*Under his rule*) (*only*) the sword was *nistriṁśa* (measuring more than thirty fingers) (*none else being nistriṁśa or devoid of compassion*), (*only*) grey hair was curly (*none else*

[1] This verse is in Prakrit and is probably intended to represent what the people said about Prasiddhadhavala.

[2] These are *dharma* 'religious merit,' *artha* 'wealth' and *kāma* 'enjoyment of pleasures'.

[3] There is a play on the word *duryōdhana* here.

[4] The other meaning of *Paramēśvara*, *viz.*, 'Śiva' is also intended; for, as shown below the adjectival expressions are so worded as to describe both an Emperor and Śiva. In the former alternative *bhū-bhāra-kshama-dṛik* is to be separated from *śruti-praṇayiṇīm* and construed with *Paramēśvaraḥ;* in the latter *dṛik-śruti* means a serpent. There is also a play on the word *vāhinī* which means here (1) an army and (2) a river.

[5] The Gaṅgā is called *tri-pathagā* because it flows in heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions.

[6] *I.e.*, Yudhishṭhira who was noted for his benevolent rule.

being crooked), and (*only*) the wheels of the chariot had *aritva* (*i.e.*, had spokes) (*there being aritva or hostility nowhere else*), (*and*) (*only*) wind blew where it liked (*but none else acted in a self-willed manner*[1]).

(V. 21) His younger brother was **Yuvarājadēva (II)** the lord of the earth, born of a warlike race; being bathed with the water of the sharp edge[2] of whose sword, even the fickle goddess of fortune became steady.

(V. 22) His charity was limited (*only*) by the multitude of his suppliants, and his prowess (*only*) by the victory over (*his*) brave (adversary); but to that king's fame and accumulation of religious merit there was no limit.

(V. 23) From that famous (*king*) was born the illustrious **Kōkalladēva (II)** the sole lord of the earth. His *maṇḍalāgra*[3] (sword) was rightly called so since it kept (*in check*) the *maṇḍalas* (multitudes of enemies) in front of it.

(V. 24) That foremost of kings made the entire host of his adversaries submissive even as he bent his bow, held it in check in the rear as he tied his quiver on (*his*) back, routed it in all directions the moment he cast an (*angry*) glance at it even as he whirled his arms whose revolutions in the different directions were noticed (*only*) for a moment, and depriving it completely of its possessions, made it pay tribute even as he completely unsheathed his sword and grasped it with the hand.[4]

(V. 25) Then there was the (*illustrious*) **Gāṅgēyadēva** who obtained the kingdom of the whole earth from the illustrious king Kōkalladēva (II), who was the abode of virtue as stainless as a pearl-necklace washed with milk; who was preceded in the forefront of the battlefield only by his sword,[5] and whose beautiful face became crooked (*only*) when it was reflected in that very (*sword*).

(V. 26) By resorting to his divine person, the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the scandal that she does not appreciate merit (*and*) is fickle.

(V. 27) That (*well-known*) son of Dharma (*i.e.*, Yudhishṭhira) was known for his truthfulness, the son of Virōchana (*i.e.*, Bali) for his liberality, (*and*) the son of Indra (*i.e.*, Arjuna) for his valour—this was not believed by the minds of the good. Seeing (*however*) that all the three (*virtues*) were present in (*even*) a greater measure in the king Gāṅgēyadēva, they concluded that the aforesaid kings were truly as described.

(V. 28) His son is **Karṇa** of well-known valour, who is as it were Karṇa[6] descended on the earth. Hearing of his coronation, his enemies disappeared, (*while*) hosts of Brāhmaṇas and friends rejoiced.

(V. 29) Extending far and wide, the creeper of his fame, day by day, reduces the empty space inside the pavillion of Brahmā's egg.[7]

(V. 30) Granting personally inconceivable objects to multitudes of supplicants, he is some strange moving wish-fulfilling tree, decorating the earth.

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[1] There are puns on several words here *nistriṁśa* (1) 'a sword' (*lit.*, 'measuring more than thirty fingers') and (2) 'devoid of compassion'; *aritva* is to be understood as derived from (1) *ara*, 'a wheel' (containing spokes) and (2) *ari* 'an enemy'.

[2] *Dhārā* (a sharp edge) also means 'a shower.'

[3] *Maṇḍalāgra* means (1) 'a sword' and (2) 'that which has a host (*maṇḍala*) (of enemies) in front of it.'

[4] The description is so worded as to be applicable to the host of enemies on the one hand and to the king's bow, arms and sword on the other. As before, *kara* means (1) 'a tax' and (2) 'the hand'.

[5] *I.e.*, he needed none else to help him.

[6] The well-known hero of the Bhārata war.

[7] *I.e.*, the universe.

(V. 31) Is there any (*adequate*) word of praise for him, the righteous-minded one, who is the sole abode of the three royal powers,[1] (*and*) a mine of virtues? This is, however, prayed for by wise persons—'May the earth have always a good king only because of you!'

(Line 32) From his glorious and victorious camp fixed at Prayāga,—the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja,* and *Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Karṇadēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, whose person is adorned by the multitude of such qualities,[2] who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja,* and *Paramēśvara,* the illustrious, **Vāmadēva**, being in good health, duly honours, informs and commands the following and other (*officers*) whether named or not, (*viz.,*) the *Mahādēvī,*[3] the *Mahārājaputra,*[4] the *Mahāmantrins*[5] the *Mahāmātya,*[6] the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika,*[7] the *Mahādharmādhikaraṇika,*[8] the *Mahākshapaṭalika,*[9] the *Mahākaraṇika,*[10] the *Mahāpratihāra,*[11] the *Mahāsāmanta,*[12] the *Mahāpramātṛi,*[13] the *Mahāśvasādhanika,*[14] the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika,*[15] (*and*) the *Mahādhyaksha*—[16]

(L. 36) "Be it known to you that on **Saturday, the second** (tithi) **of the dark fortnight of Phālguna,** on the occasion of the **first annual śrāddha**[17] of our father, the illustrious **Gāṅgēyadēva** at this very place. We, having bathed in the **Vēṇī**, having worshipped with great devotion and with the five kinds of offerings made with a collection of food and having performed the *śrāddha* with unequalled faith, have given as a grant with a libation of water, the village **Srusī** included in the *bhūmi* of **Kāśī**,—together with mango and *madhūka* trees,[18] inclusive of pits, (*cultivatable*) land, water and waste land, together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth, extending to the four boundaries and limits,—to the illustrious Paṇḍita **Viśvarūpa**, the son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana, (*and*) great grandson of Āmaha,[19] of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, the Kauśika *gōtra* (*and*) the three *pravaras* Auddālaka, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra,[20] who has emigrated from the village **Vaiśālī**."

(L. 41) Wherefore, the illustrious and revered **Karṇadēva** commands all people living in the village **Srusī**—"Be it known to you. Knowing that this village has been

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[1] See above, p. 42, n. 9.

[2] *Viz.*, those which are described in verses 28-31.

[3] The Great Queen, the Queen-consort.

[4] The Great Prince, the heir-apparent to the throne.

[5] The Chief counsellors. The word appears in the singular in other Kalachuri records.

[6] The Chief Executive Officer.

[7] The Chief Minister for Peace and War.

[8] The Head of the Department of Religion.

[9] The Chief Keeper of Records.

[10] The Chief Secretary.

[11] The Chief Usher.

[12] The Chief Feudatory.

[13] The Chief Surveyor. He was probably the Chief Revenue Officer.

[14] The Great Equerry. For his duties, see the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (II, 30). There the officer is called *Aśvādhyaksha*.

[15] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, called *Sannidhātṛi* in the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 4).

[16] The Great Superintendent, who probably exercised supervision over all departments. He is, however, omitted in the Goharwa plates. The Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 55, l. 26) mention him.

[17] See above, p. 239 n. 5.

[18] *Bassia Latifolia* from the blossoms and seeds of which liquor was distilled.

[19] Kielhorn read this name as *Maha*, see above p. 244, n. 14.

[20] Kielhorn proposed to read the names of the *pravaras* as Audāla, Dēvarāta and Vaiśvāmitra, but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* gives the *pravaras* as above.

given by us as a grant, (*you*) should pay all dues such as *bhāga*,[1] *bhōga*,[2] taxes, levy in gold, the produce of mines and so forth to this (*grantee*). Not even wind should blow in (*the village*) with a view to harm him!"

(*The following is*) the solicitation (*of the grantor*):—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(In) the year 793, on the 9th (lunar) day of the dark (fortnight) of Phālguna, on Monday.

No. 49; Plate XXXIX

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Nagendranath Basu, and a transcript of it made by him and M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri was first published without any facsimile in the *Bīrbhūmabibaraṇa*, Vol. II, p. 10. Its transcript was subsequently given together with a description and a photograph of the pillar on which it is engraved by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for 1921-22, pp. 78 ff. and pl. XXVIII (a). The inscription is edited here from a set of impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

'Paikore[3] is about three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E.I. Railway. The name is supposed to be a corrupted form of *Prāchīkōṭa* or the 'Eastern Citadel' . . . . . The most important antiquities of Paikore are the two inscribed pillars at Nārāyaṇa-chatvara, lying on a masonry platform by the side of a tank, along with an image of Narasiṁha and several others. The inscriptions refer to the Chēdi King Karṇa and King Vijayasēna. Both the pillars seem to have been crowned with images and the inscriptions engraved on them must have referred to the dedication of the images. The Vijayasēna pillar clearly exhibits the headless figure of the goddess Mānasā, while the Karṇadēva pillar being broken off just at the commencement of the inscription shows no trace of the image. The pillars must have been sunk into the floor, as we see from the rough-hewn surface of the lowermost portion of the Karṇadēva pillar, the square and octagonal sections of the shaft above being highly polished and decorated with beautiful tracery. The design on each side of the square is that of a vase (*maṅgala-kalaśa*), the top and bottom of which are covered with full-blown lotuses and foliage, while at the centre appears a *kīrtimukha*, the necklaces of pearls issuing from which are held by bearded attendants.

'The inscription begins on the tapering circular portion of the shaft and is continued over the octagonal section.'[4] It consists of six lines of unequal length, the first measuring only 1.5" and the last 9". It has suffered by exposure to weather especially in the first four lines. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali variety of the North Indian alphabets. The average size of the letters is .2". The forms of *j*, *t*, *p* and *s* are specially noteworthy. The letters were written in a hurried cursive hand and were incised very shallow. The reading is, therefore, doubtful in many cases. At the top of some letters such as *d*, *p* and *y* there appears a hook such as is noticeable in some places in the Bēlāva copper-plates of Bhōjavarman[5] and the Deopārā stone inscription of Vijayasēna.[6] R,

[1] *Bhāga* is a share of produce.

[2] *Bhōga* probably refers to some petty taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the *Manusmriti*, Adhyaya VII, vv. 130-132.

[3] Properly, *Pāikōḍa*, a corrupt form of *Prāchīkōṭa*.

[4] *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1921-22, p. 79

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

which has the same form as *th*, seems to be distinguished from it in some places by a dot in its triangle. As the first member of a conjunct, the letter appears generally above the line, but in *Karṇṇadēvasya* in line 5 it is written on the line as in the Deopārā stone inscription.[1] The ligature *ṇṇ* has two different forms in *Karṇṇa* and *dān-a(ā)rṇṇava*, both in line 5. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r*.

The inscription is one of the Kalachuri king Karṇa[2] who is styled here *Mahārāja* and the King of Chēdi. It is not dated. The object of it is evidently to record the dedication, by the king Karṇa, of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

TEXT[3]

1 श्री[4] श्रीगणपति [।*]

2 [तत्र] ति[पालित ?][5]

3 सिद्धि:[6][।*] दे[7]वद्विजगुर(रु)[न्*] [भज ?]न्ता(ता) [श्री चे][दि*] दव(देवे)न भ[क्ति]नात्र[8]

4 नेहृयन्[9] [थख]या [स्म ?]न[:*][10]कर्म्मणा राजश्रीक[र्ण्ण]देव[स्य।][11]

5 सिद्धि:[12] [।*] स्वस्ति [श्री[13]]म[हा]राज[14]श्रीचेदि[रा][ज*]स्य श्रीकर्ण्णदेवस्य दान(ना)-
र्ण्णवा (व ?)[15]कीर्तिप्र[ता]प[16]न्या[ये]*-

6 षु (?) तन्मय[17] विस्त्र(श्व)कर्म्मा[18]र(च)रणप्रसादात(त्) देवीमूर्त्तिनृम्मिता[19][स्ती]य-
(यं) श्री[की[20]]र्ति: ॥

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 305.

[2] The name of the king occurs in two places at the end of line 4 and in the middle of line 5.

[3] From inked estampages.

[4] The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed.

[5] No transcript of this line is given by Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit. Almost all the *aksharas* except *ti* are doubtful.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Haraprasād Śāstri read the line as देवद्विजगुरुभजन्तो दैण्यावय: स्वं भिनत्ति हू * *, while Dikshit gave the transcript *dēva-dvija-guru[bhajab]ntari* . . . . The *aksharas* between गुर(रु) and द(दे)व(वे)न are extremely doubtful.

[8] Read भक्तयात्र. There is space for two more *aksharas* at the end of this line if it was of the same length as the following one. But there are no clear traces of letters. Perhaps कि[ञ्चि]त् is intended.

[9] Haraprasād Śāstrī read निवेदयन्, but the impression shows only four, not five *aksharas*. I follow Dikshit's reading here.

[10] Both Haraprasād Śāstri and Dikshit read स्वयारिमन् कर्म्मणि, but I fail to see any trace of the supercript *i* of *smi* and *ṇi*. I therefore propose the reading given above, though with diffidence.

[11] The sense requires a form in the instrumental. Read नेहृयता. . . . कर्ण्णदेवेन.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed as in the case of the first *śrī* in l. 1.

[14] Haraprasād Śāstrī read समद्भराट् and Dikshit समद्भराजश्. The first *akshara* appears like that in the beginning of l. 1, which both of them read as श्री, while the last *akshara* appears to be clearly *ja*. It has a flourish at the bottom as in राजेन in the inscription of Vijayasēna on another pillar at Paikore. I therefore propose to read श्रीमहाराज, though I must confess that the *akshara hā* is very doubtful.

[15] Haraprasād Śāstrī reads स्वर्गत्ति वा and Dikshit वइ नतरा, neither of which is satisfactory.

[16] This word is read as प्रशस्ति by Haraprasād Śāstrī and as प्रशस्ति (?) by Dikshit. The last *akshara* is clearly प; in any case it shows no sign of the superscript *i*. The middle *akshara* is probably *ta*; see प्रसादात् in line 6. The left curve here is irregularly broken in two parts.

[17] These four *aksharas* are omitted by Dikshit. Haraprasād Śāstrī read स्वहस्तेन which makes no sense. The sense seems to require a reading like तन्मयेन.

[18] Read विश्वकर्म्मा-.

[19] Read मूर्त्तिर्निर्मिता-.

[20] This *akshara* was read as का, but in view of the *visarga* which follows ति I think it is probably की, the superscript *ī* being imperfectly formed. See श्री in lines 1 and 5.

TRANSLATION

The holy Gaṇapati. Being protected(?) by him . . . . .

(Line 3) Success! (*This image has been set up*) by the illustrious king **Karṇadēva,** the glorious lord of **Chēdi,** who honours gods, Brāhmaṇas and preceptors with devotion,.... desiring no (*reward*) for his faith and doings (?)[1]

(L. 5) Success! Hail! This is a famous glorious work,—the image of the goddess made, by the grace of the feet of Viśvakarman, (*by an artist*) who is absorbed in the glory (*springing from*) the ocean of liberality, prowess (*and*) justice......of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious lord of **Chēdi,** the illustrious **Karṇa.**

No. 50; Plate XL

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARṆA

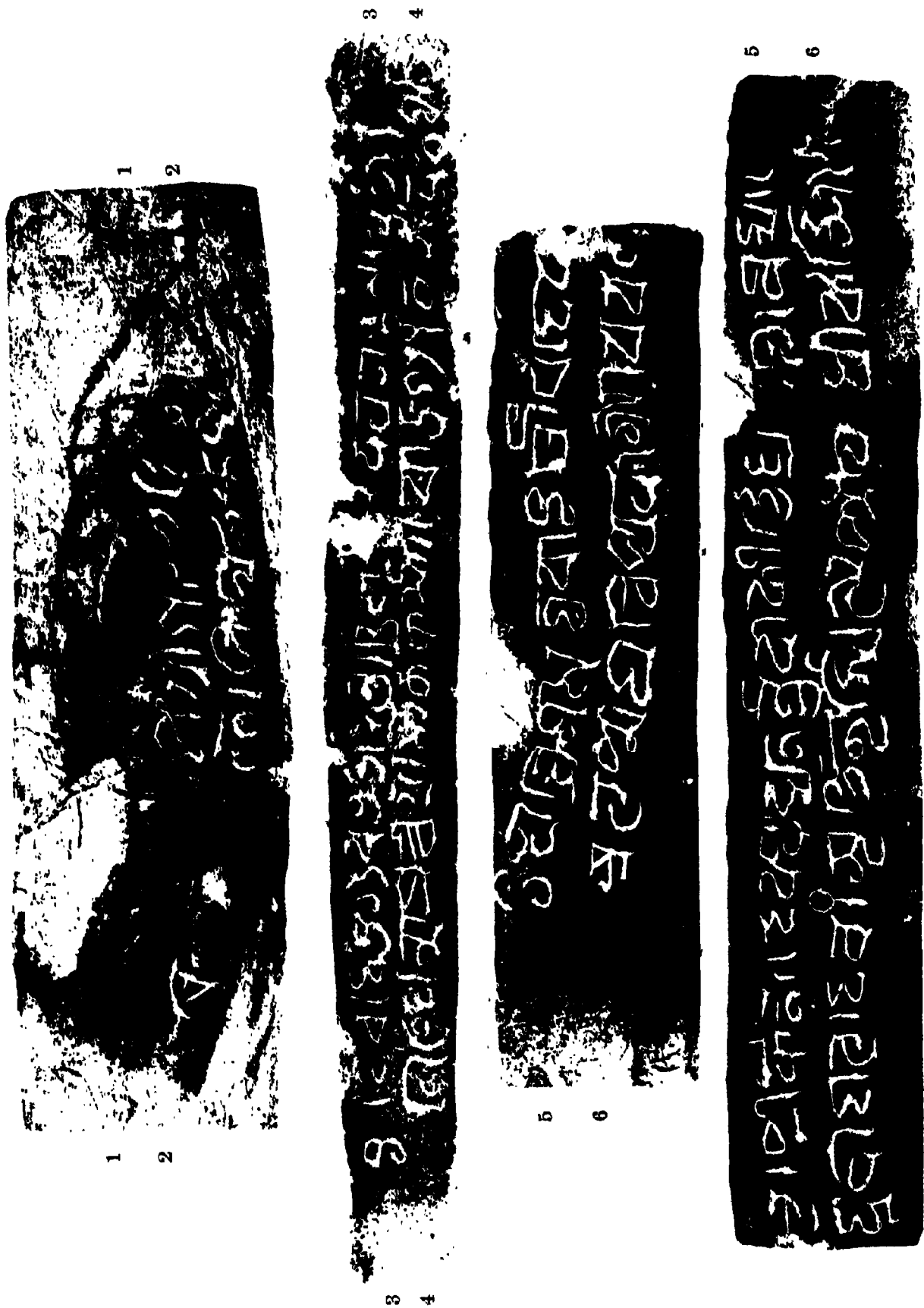
These plates were turned up by the plough of a Kewat in an old fort at **Goharwa,** a village in the Manjhanpur *tahsil* of the Allahabad District. They were edited, with collotype plates, but without a translation, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff. They are edited here from the same plates.

'These are **two copper-plates,** resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15⅝ inches in length and about 11⅛ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about ⅛ inch.' The plough in turning up the plates broke the ring. The seal was thus detached from the plates. 'It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears in relief a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmī, facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates—*Śrīmat-Karṇṇadēvaḥ*.'[2] The inscription is throughout in a state of excellent preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the **Banaras** plates of the same king. There are, however, some minor differences. The letter *ṅ*, for instance, is everywhere without a dot; similarly the upper loop of *th* is closed in all cases. But in the case of the initial *i*, *ṭh*, *ph*, *bh* and *ś*, the present record invariably shows an advanced stage. The older form of the initial *i*, consisting of a comma below two dots, which is seen to continue even in the Banaras plates, is here replaced by a sign approximating to the modern form of the vowel, see *iti*, l. 3; *ṭh* appears here for the first time with a vertical stroke over the loop, see *-pāda-pīṭhas=*, l. 8; the tailed curve to the right of the vertical of *ph* has now sunk lower down, see *phalaṁ*, l. 46; the wedge on the left of *bh* has given place to a vertical which is joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke, see *alabhata* and *-bhūshaṇaṁ-*, both in l. 4; *ś* has everywhere the modern Nāgarī form, see, *e.g.*, *krama-vaśāt=* l. 14; the peculiar form of the ligature *śr* is also approximated in this record, see *śrīkaṇṭha-*, l. 6. Besides these, we may note that *n* is in many cases written without a loop,

[1] As the readings in this and the following lines are in many cases doubtful, I am not quite sure of the intended sense.

[2] From the account given by Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-40. I take the symbols near the bull to be incense-pots, see above, p. 236, n. 1.

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

(From photographs)

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E' 38 -778'51.
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

see *-ratnam* l.3, *-vandha,* ll. 5-6 *etc.*; the forms of *v* and *ch* have in some cases been confused, see, *e.g.*, *-abhūvan*, l.7, *van-āśraya-*, l.30 and *-charitam*, l.28; similarly those of *p* and *y*, see *nityam*, l.2, *-madhya-*, l.5 and *ripu-*, l.20. The vertical dash is introduced here for the first time at the end of the lines 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47. The *akshara chh* with two upright strokes on either side is used to mark the end of a section in ll. 33, 35 and 44.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines which contain the eulogistic portion are in verse with the exception of the opening *Svasti, ōṁ Vra(Bra)hmaṇē namaḥ*. There are thirty verses in this portion of which three (*viz.*, 1, 12 and 18) are common to the earlier Banaras inscription. It is noteworthy that one of them (*viz.*, v. 12) occurs there in a different context. It praises there not Yuvarājadēva II as in the present record, but his grandfather of the same name, *i.e.*, Yuvarājadēva I. The formal part of the grant which is in prose begins in line 33. Then come six benedictive and imprecatory verses, and finally the mention of the writer's and engraver's names and the customary *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*. The record is carelessly written. Final consonants are not so indicated in many cases, which has resulted in the neglect of *sandhi* in *-praṇrityata vītālō*, ll. 26-27, *-vaśāta bhaikshāch=cha*, l. 30 *etc.* Cases of wrong *sandhi* are seen in *-vandyō Chēd-indra=*, l. 11, *-āśram-ēka-*, l. 30 *etc.* The *visarga* is incorrectly omitted in some places (see *-grāmaṇi*, l.6, *ākrāmata*, l. 25) and added in others (see *-vihitaḥśrīkaṇṭha*, l. 6). In a few cases, consonants are seen wrongly omitted, added or substituted by others, see, *e.g.*, *-samārambhī* for *-saṅgam-ārambhī*, l. 14, *svam=indrajāl-ōpamaṁ* for *svapn-ēndrajāl-ōpamaṁ*, l. 6. As regards **orthography**, we may notice that the sign for *v* is employed to denote *b*, see *vrāhmī* l. 2, *Vudhaḥ*, l. 3 *etc*; *ś* is used for *s* in *-śruta*, l. 26 and *vice versa* in *bhrisaṁ* and *āsā-*, both in l. 15; the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in *tṛi-bhuvana-*, l. 4, *p* for *ph* in *pūtkara-*, ll. 15 and 24, *j* for *y* in *iyāja*, l. 33, and *sh* for *kh* in *-mayūsha-*, l. 3; the *anusvāra* before *s* is incorrectly changed to *n* in *yaśānsi*, l. 32, while in *-tāmvra-* l. 32, and *ś-āmvra-* l. 39, a superfluous *v* is inserted after *m*.

After two verses in praise of Brahman, begins the eulogy of **Karṇa** of the Later **Kalachuri Dynasty** and his ancestors. Karṇa's pedigree is here traced back to the moon. The first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is **Lakshmaṇarāja (II)**, who is said to have won victories over the kings of **Baṅgāla Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara** and **Kāśmīra**. His son was **Yuvarājadēva (II)**. The name of Yuvarājadēva's elder brother **Śaṅkaragaṇa (III)** is here omitted, probably because he was a collateral. Verse 12 states that he attained an Imperial position, but, as already pointed out, the verse was originally composed for his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I. Yuvarājadēva II was succeeded by his son **Kōkalla (II)**, whose description given here is purely conventional. About his son and successor **Gāṅgēyadēva**, however, the record gives more information. He is said to have thrown the king of **Kīra** into prison, exacted a heavy tribute from the lord of **Aṅga**, vanquished the ruler of **Kuntala**, and raised his arm like a pillar of victory after defeating the prince of **Utkala**. He was followed by his son **Karṇa** who granted the present plates. Though the poet has devoted as many as eleven stanzas to his glorification, the description is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest.

The prose portion, which follows v. 30, gives the same description and mentions the same Imperial titles of Karṇa as the corresponding part of his Banaras plates. Besides these, there is one more title of Karṇa mentioned here, which is not noticed in the earlier record. He is said to have, by his arm, attained overlordship over the three kings, the lords of horses, elephants and men.

The present plates were granted by Karṇa at his victorious camp fixed at the **Karṇatīrtha** which was probably a *ghāṭ* built by him at Allahabad.[1] The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Chandapahā**, situated in the **Kauśāmba-pattalā**, which was made by Karṇa after bathing in the Gaṅgā at the **Arghatīrtha** and worshipping the god Śiva. The donee was the learned **Śāntiśarman**, the son of the Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Silū of the Vājasanēya *śākhā* and the Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*,[2] with the three *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Ambarisha and Yauvanāśva. The grant was made on **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the seventh year of the administration** renowned by the illustrious **Karṇa**.

Unlike the Banaras plates, the present inscription does not mention any year of the Kalachuri era. It gives however 'full titles of paramountcy' to Karṇa, which makes it plain that the seventh year mentioned here is of his own reign. We have seen above[3] that the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. Gāṅgēyadēva must have, therefore, died on Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792 corresponding to 22nd January 1041 A.C. As the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793. The same month in his seventh year must, therefore, have fallen in the expired Kalachuri year 799 (1047-48 A.C.) The full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise[4] on Thursday, and was, therefore, civilly connected with that day. Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C. is thus the date of the present grant.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the *śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates dated K. 793 was performed not on the first, but on some subsequent anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, Karṇa's accession will have to be dated before 1041 A.C. and his seventh regnal year will fall in some year before 1047 A.C. We know that Gāṅgēyadēva was reigning in 1030 A.C.[5] We have, therefore, to see in which of the years between 1036 A.C. and 1047 A.C. the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika was connected with Thursday. The only year which satisfies these requirements is 1044 A.C. In that year, the full moon *tithi* of Kārttika ended 20 h. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 8th November 1044 A.C. This would place Karṇa's accession in 1038 A.C. The date of Gāṅgēya's death which occurred on Phālguna va. di. 2 will, on this supposition, be the 25th January 1038 A.C. This would suit somewhat better the Tibetan tradition, according to which Atiśa intervened during an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by *king* Karṇa of the west before he started for Tibet in *circa* 1040 A.C. as shown by Prof. Levi.[6] But it would make the coupling of Saturday with Phālguna va. di. 2 in the Kalachuri year 793 quite inexplicable.[7] The selection of Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha* would, again, appear specially appropriate only on the supposition

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[1] The grant was made after bathing in the Gaṅgā and worshipping Śiva, and the village was situated not very far from Allahabad. The *ghāṭ* was, therefore, probably built at the holy place of Prayāga.

[2] Hultzsch took the expression to mean 'of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* residing at Vidabhi.' But it may be noted that a Brāhmaṇa Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, II, 6,3, and IV, 6,3.

[3] See above, pp. 239 f.

[4] According to Fleet's calculations it ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146.

[5] Alberūṇi, writing in 1030 A. C. mentions Gāṅgēyadēva as the king of Ḍāhala.

[6] *Le Népal*, Vol. II p. 189.

[7] The apparent irregularity can be explained if the *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, see above, p. 240.

that it was performed on the first anniversary of his death which, as already stated, is known to have occurred at that holy place. The only way to reconcile the dates of the Banaras and Goharwa plates is, therefore, to place Gāṅgēya's death and Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.C.[1] As stated before, this makes the date of the present grant regularly correspond to Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Baṅgāla, Kāśmīra** and **Gurjara** are too well-known to need identification. **Lāṭa** has already been identified. **Aṅga** comprised the country round modern **Bhāgalpur** and **Kīra** that near Baijnath in the Kangra valley.[2] **Kuntala** was the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas and comprised parts of the Southern Maratha Country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.[3] **Utkala** included much of the territory now comprised in the State of Orissa. Prof. Hultzsch has correctly identified **Kōśamba** with the modern Kōsam, 36 miles west of Allahabad. The donated village **Chandapahā**, which has remained unidentified, is Chanpahā, about three miles N. N. W. of Kōsam. The close similarity of its name to Chandapahā and its proximity to Kōsam (ancient Kauśāmbī), leave little doubt about the correctness of the proposed identification.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धि:[5] [।*] स्वस्ति ।। ओं ब्रह्मणे[6] नम: ।। निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]कारणं(णम्)। भावग्राह्यं परं ग्रो(ज्यो)तिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे[7] नम: ।।[8] [१।।*] शुद्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति

2 यां मुनय: ।। (।) मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सु[क्मा]पि सा जयति ।।[9] [२।।*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाबिबं(बं)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दुरेष: ।

3 अस्मादजायत बु(बु)ध: स किल क्षितीशमाब(वं) पुरूरवसमाप तनूजर[र्त्नं] (त्नम्)।।[10] [३।।*] इति महति सुधामयूख(ख)वंशे नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमान: ।। (।)

4 अकमत भरतस्स चक्रवर्ती तु(त्रि)भुवनभूषण(ण)भूयमेकमेव ।।[11] [४।।*]अत्रे(त्रो) दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीनामीश: क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्ती [।] य–

5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्र(गृ)हे धृत इव प्रसभं दशास्य: ।।[12] [५।।*] वैरिध्वान्तभिद: सहस्रकरता(तो) भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतबा(बा)हुब(ब)–

6 लविधुरो नक्तंचरग्रास(म)णी [:।*]हि (है)लोल्लासितबा(बा)हुदण्डविहित: श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धति:[13] प्राग्विक्रान्तमभू(म)न्यत स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं (मम्)[14]।। [६।।*] यत्राग्नि–

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[1] Tibetan tradition does not give a certain date for Atiśa's departure to Nepal. If the event occurred before 1040 A. C., Karṇa may have invaded Magadha during his father's lifetime.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 509 f.

[4] From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read ब्रह्मणे.

[7] Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] Metre: *Āryā*.

[10] Metre. *Vasantatilakā*.

[11] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

[12] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[13] Read –विहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धृति:.

[14] Read स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 6). Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

7 भूमेः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्व(न्व)हवो नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम वृष्टिर्विपक्ष-
नारीनयनाम्बु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥[1][७॥*] व(ब)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-

8 भूतपाण्यो(ण्ड्यो) लाटेशलुण्ठनपटुर्ज्जितगुर्ज्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाञ्चितपादपीठस्तेषु
क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥[2][८॥*] आसीद्वि-

9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिन्दूर[3]क्षिरःसिंदूरपूला(रा)रुणः स्वङ्गतु-
(त्तु)ङ्गतु(त)रङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृ-

10 दाम्भोनिधिः[4] पूर्ण्णो वैरिकठोरकंबदलनास्र्वासिद्धव्यपूरैरिव[5] ॥[6][९॥*] साहित्यविक्षाण(ल)-
लनाभुजङ्गो निःशेषवा(धा)मीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स

11 जज्ञे जगदेकवंद्यो[7] चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो(न्द्रो) युवराजदेवः ॥[8][१०॥*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य प्रतापेनारि-
म(मू)र्द्धसु । कुलाद्रिकु[ञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रि(स्त्रि)भिस्तुल्यं पदं ।[9]

12 दधे ॥[10] [११॥*] भूभारक्षमधृकश्रुति[11]प्रणयिनीमालंव्य(ब)मानस्तनुं ।[12] कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि
नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषां(षः) । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिमार्ग्गगं(ग)-

13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेश्वरः समभवत्सम्यक्शिवाराधनात् ॥[13][१२॥*] दिक्प-
र्यन्तनिखान(त)यूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणेस्त-

14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्व[र्ग्गा]ङ्गनास-
[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षोणीप-

15 तीनां भृसं(शम्)[14] ॥[१३॥*] आसा(शा)जये समदसिधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योच्चदायतकराः ककुभां
करीन्द्राः । पू(फू)त्कारमात्रमिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्रुः

16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशाः॥[15] [१४॥*] यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिधौ चेतसि वर्त्तमाने ।
तत्वे(त्त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभाजां निता-

17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां[16] ॥[17] [१५॥*] आक्रामद्दूर्द्धं(र्ध्वं) व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटित यशः।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं(तम्) ॥[18][१६॥*] कारापंजरव(ब)द्धकी-

18 रनृपतिदी(र्दी)प्तोज्ज्वलक्ष्मीचयैः[19] तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत् । येनाकारि
करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मता

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[1] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[3] Read –स्वेदोदयात्पूर्ज्जत्सैनिकगन्धसिंधुर– as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 9).

[4] Read –दंभोनिधिः.

[5] Read –कठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, l. 7) and the British Museum plate (No. 54, ll. 9-10).

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Read जगदेक–वंद्यश्चेदीन्द्र–.

[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[9] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[10] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[11] Read –दृक्श्रुति–.

[12] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[13] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[14] The Rewa stone inscription and the British Museum plate read रसन्.

[15] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[16] Hultzsch proposes to read प्रलीनाः, but as the impersonal construction is intended here, प्रलीनम् is required.

[17] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[18] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[19] Read –चयैस्तस्मा–.

29 धेर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥[1] [२७॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदाविरोधविधिना प्राग्ु(ग्व)ह्मचारि-
व्रतं [2] सार्द्धं व(ब)न्धुतया गृहस्थपदवीं कारागृहस्थापनात् [।*] वा-

30 नप्रस्थपदं [व]नाश्रयवशात(द्) भैक्षाच्च ति(भि)क्षोः स्थितिः ।[3] येनेथं[4] चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता[5]
स्पष्टा कृता शत्रुषु ॥[6][२८॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफल-

31 प्राप्त्यै निसम्य भू:[7] प्राकप्रत्यग्रधरणीधरान्तरस्य परतस्फुरद्घोषणा:[8] । एते[9] निर्मितयाः पुरा
परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन[10] कथ(थं) सम्मास्य-

32 न्ति यशान्सि चेदिदिनपतेराकुलो[11]भूच्चिरं(रम्) ॥[12][२९॥*] किं तस्य कर्ण्णनृपतेर्व्व(र्व्व)त
वर्ण्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनता[म्रा](म्र)पट्टैः । उत्कीर्यमाणलिपि(पि)-

33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्व्व(र्व्व)धिरमावाभियाज(य) विश्वं(श्वम्) ॥[13][३०॥*] छ॥ स
प(ए)ष परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु[14]-

34 ध्यात ।[15] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतित्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमत्कर्ण्णदेव[16]
निजभुजोपार्जितास्व(श्व)पतिगजप-

35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः[17] श्रीमत्कर्ण्णदेवः कुशली ॥छ ॥ जयस्कन्धावार[18] श्रीमत्कर्ण्णतीर्थाधि-
वासिते महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

36 न्त्री महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्म्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महाक्षपटलिको महा-
भाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-

37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिकः[19] एतानन्यांश्च(श्चा)कीर्त्तितान(न्) यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरुषा-
(षा)न्यथा प्रतिस्थान[20] कोशम्बपत्तलायं[21]॥ चन्दपहाग्राम—

38 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथार्हं मानयति बोधयति[22] समाजा(ज्ञा)पयति [।*] विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः सजल-

39 स्थलः साम्र[23]मधूक[:*] सगर्त्तोषरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीमा(मा)पर्यन्त[:*] सवनतृणयूति-
गोचरपर्यन्तः ।[24] विदभी(र्भी)कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब(म्ब)-

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[1] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[2] The Rewa stone inscription (No. 45, below) has ग्राग्व(ग्व)ह्मचारिव्रतं.

[3] Read स्थितिः. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] Read येनैवं.

[5] Read चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता.

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] Read निशम्यात्मभूः.

[8] Hultzsch proposed to emend this as –धरणीधरान्तररसापारात्, but the correct reading is प्राक्प्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरचरस्फारस्फुरद्घोषणाः. See the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 31.

[9] Read एतत्.

[10] Read परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्.

[11] Read यशांसि चेदिनृपतेरित्याकुलो–.

[12] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[13] *Metre: Vasantatilakā. This verse with a slight change occurs in the* Chandrāvatī plates dated V. 1050 of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 195.

[14] There is a vertical dash at the end of ll. 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47.

[15] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[16] The *aksharas* श्रीमत्कर्ण्णदेव are superfluous here.

[17] Read –राजत्रयाधिपत्यः.

[18] Read जयस्कन्धावारे.

[19] Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[20] Read यथास्थान.

[21] Read कौशाम्बीपत्तलायां. The following *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[22] Read बोधयति.

[23] Read साम्र–.

[24] Read –पर्यन्तो. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

40 शैवलीबनात्यत्रिप्रवराय[1] वाजसनेयसा(शा)खिने उपाध्यायश्रीकूपीकाय आवसथिकमाल्हू-
पुत्राय पण्डितश्रीशान्तिसर्म्मणे[2] ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय

41 ग्रामोयं एतेषां प(ए)वं कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्ण्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिके मासि सु(शु)-
क्लपक्षकार्त्तिकीपौर्ण्णमास्यां तिथौ गुरुदि-

42 ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमत अर्मतीर्थे[3] गंगायां स्नात्वा भगवन्तं शिव-
भट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-

43 त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रार्कक्षितिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोग-
हिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-

44 त्यादाया: एतस्यादेशश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्या: । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि न[4] मन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥
भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोका: ।

45 सर्व्वानेतान्भाविन: पार्थिवेन्द्रान्[5] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: [।*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृ(र्नृ)-
पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: ॥[6] [३१॥*] ब(ब)-

46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजति(भि): सगरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[7]
[३२॥*] भूमिं य: प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयछ(च्छ)ति ।

47 उभौ तौ पुण्यक(क)र्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनौ[8] ॥ [३३॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति
भूमिद: । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-

48 सेत(त्)॥ [३४॥*] अस्मिन्वंसे(शे) द्विजन्मोपि यश्चान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत(त्) । तस्यापि
करलग्नोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत(त्) ॥ [३५॥*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्ये-

49 कमङ्गुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्)॥ [३६॥*] लिखितं
चेदं करणिकश्री(श्री)सर्व्वानन्देन । उत्कीर्ण्णितं[9] च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्री: ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Ōṁ! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*), (*and*) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) Glorious is that Brāhmī,[10] which sages plant like a creeper in the pure field of their heart, and which, though subtile, bears the great fruit of final emancipation.

(V. 3) From the milk-ocean there came out this moon, the store of immeasurable nectar, (*who is*) an ornament of Śiva. From him was born **Budha**. He, they say, obtained a jewel-like son, (*namely*) the primeval king **Purūravas**.

(V. 4) In that great family of the nectar-rayed (moon), there was born a king

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[1] Read –शैवणावत्सत्रिप्रवराय.

[2] Read –शर्म्मणे.

[3] Read श्रीमदर्मतीर्थे.

[4] This word is superfluous. The Banaras plates (No. 48, l. 43) read तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न गन्तव्यम् ।

[5] Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्.

[6] Metre: *Śālinī*.

[7] Metre of this and all the following verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[8] Read स्वर्गगामिनौ

[9] Read उत्कीर्ण्णं.

[10] *I. e.*, the knowledge of Brahman, the ultimate reality.

who appeared (*bright*) like a pearl. He, the universal sovereign **Bharata**, obtained (*the distinction of*) being[1] the sole ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 5) In this very illustrious family of kings there was born, in course of time, the lord **Haihaya**, the universal sovereign; being caught in the midst of whose cage-like mighty arms, the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) was, as it were, confined in a prison.

(V. 6) Finding himself (*quite*) helpless in the bondage of the marvellous arms of (*that*) crest-jewel of kings (*i.e.*, Haihaya), who being thousand-armed routed his enemies even as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness, the leader of demons (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa), who had lifted up the mountain of Śrīkaṇṭha (Kailasa) with his sportfully waved arms, himself thought that his previous valiant deed was like a dream and an illusion.

(V. 7) From him were descended many kings who pleased Indra with the smoke of their sacrificial fires; in whose kingdom there never ceased showers from the clouds which were the eyes of their enemies' wives.

(V. 8) Among them was born in course of time **Lakshmaṇarājadēva (II)** who was clever in routing the king of **Baṅgāla**; who defeated the **Pāṇḍya** (king); who was adept in plundering the king of **Lāṭa**; who vanquished the **Gurjara** king; and whose footstool was honoured by the crowns of the heroes of **Kāśmīra**.

(V. 9) The ocean, which became red, being flooded with (*the streams of*) vermilion from the heads of the huge scent-elephants in (*his*) army through exertion caused by his victorious marches, and which dashed against huge mountains with its dancing high waves, appeared to be filled as it were with the flooding streams of blood from the cut-off stiff necks of his enemies.

(V. 10) From him was born that **Yuvarājadēva (II)**, the moon-like lord of **Chēdi**, the sole object of veneration to the (*whole*) world, who was fond of literature as a lover is of his beloved, and who, like the serpent Śēsha, supported the whole world.

(V. 11) Three things found a footing simultaneously, (*viz.*) youth in his body, (*his*) valour on the heads of (*his*) enemies, and (*his*) enemies in the thickets on the principal mountains.[2]

(V. 12) Through his devotion to Śiva he became actually an Emperor (or, Śiva incarnate), having acquired knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of (*i.e.*, governing) the earth, being fond of the Vēdas (*as Śiva is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth*), sending (*like Śiva*) his adversaries along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes (*as Śiva bears on high the river Gaṅgā flowing in several streams*).

(V. 13) From that crest-jewel of kings, there was (*born*) in course of time, (*a king*) named **Kōkalla (II)**, possessed of marvellous prowess, who planted a number of sacrificial posts in the farthest regions, and the drum, (*beaten*) at whose victorious march, served exceedingly well as an auspicious musical instrument at the commencement of the union of hostile kings with celestial damsels.

(V. 14) On the occasion of his conquest of the quarters, the lordly elephants (*stationed*) in the quarters, which raised their long trunks in rage on (*smelling*) the fragrance of his rutting elephants, despaired (*of defeating them*), (*and*) gave out, as it were, a distressing cry to the lord of celestial beings (*i.e.*, of Indra) through the hum of bees (*hovering*) over their temples.

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[1] For the form *bhūya* used in the sense of *bhāva*, see Pāṇini, III, 1, 107.

[2] *I. e.*, when he attained youth, his power was felt by his enemies, who leaving their kingdoms sought shelter in the thickets on mountains.

(V. 15) While he, who was a store of valour and the sole source of (*their*) happiness, dwelt in the mind of (*his*) subjects, their inward distress completely disappeared even as the ignorance of the *yogins* does when the highest principle (Brahman), which is the repository of lustre and the unique source of bliss, shines in their minds.

(V. 16) His glory, rising high and breaking (*to pieces*) owing to its collision with (*the upper shell of*) Brahmā's egg, has, I fancy, taken the forms of the moon, constellations, stars and so forth.

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) Gāṅgēyadēva, who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra,[1] who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) Aṅga who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) Kuntala in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of splitting open the temples of lordly elephants, made his (*own*) arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean, after vanquishing (*the king of*) Utkala.

(V. 18) By resorting to his divine person the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the infamy that she does not appreciate merit and is fickle.

(V. 19) Where he bestowed more wealth on suppliants than they desired, the wish-fulfilling tree was (*no better than*) an ordinary tree.[2] He, who was to the enemies' fame what the sun is to an assemblage of night-lotuses,[3] begat the king Karṇa.

(V. 20) The feet of him (*i.e.*, Karṇa) who was skilled in war, appeared lovely, being warm as if because they had trampled over the spreading valour[4] of the neighbouring haughty princes.

(V. 21) Under the sole guise of (*the symbols of*) the thunderbolt and the discus on his hands, he bore (*with himself*) the goddess of fortune herself, who (*usually*) shines with Indra and Upēndra.

(V. 22) His arms, which were long like the trunks of the elephants of the quarters, which have lifted up the earth with their heads, were delighted to rescue the earth with ease.

(V. 23) The two large (*symbols of*) conches on (*his*) hands were, I imagine, the treasure (*of Kubēra*) which the Creator offered after doubling[5] to him who was intently attached to charity.

(V. 24) At his march, the spray of water, which issued from the tips of the formidable trunks of the elephants in (*his army*) and which was turned to particles by their puffing, appeared like an umbrella in the sky.

(V. 25) 'I do not harbour, O Lord! the families of (*your*) enemies; nor have I transgressed the past limits.[6]'—In order as it were, to say this to the King of Chēdi, who was over-running the circuit of regions, the ocean roared in a deep sound, throwing about his arms of waves to scoff at the movements of the trunks of elephants in the army which, being fatigued, (*had encamped*) in its vicinity.

(V. 26) In his war, when the farthest confines of the circuit of regions were filled with the noise of the loud clapping of the goblins who were dancing in intoxication caused by drinking the liquor-like blood flowing from (*the bodies of his*) enemies wounded by his

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[1] There is a play on the word *kīra*, meaning (i) a country of that name and (ii) a parrot. The king was thrown into prison as a parrot is caged.

[2] For the celestial tree yielded only what was desired by the suppliants.

[3] *I. e.*, the enemies' fame contracted like night-lotuses during day-time.

[4] There is a play on the word *pratāpa* which means (i) valour and (ii) heat.

[5] *Śaṅkha* is one of the treasures of Kubēra. As Karṇa had the symbol of *śaṅkha* (conch) on both the hands, the poet imagines that he had double the treasure of Kubēra.

[6] This is supposed to be said by the ocean.

arrows, the ceremony of choosing (*their*) husbands in an assembly was, for a short time, performed with difficulty by the immortal (*i.e.*, celestial) damsels, who could not hear one another's words, by means of the hasty signs such as those of their hands.

(V. 27) On the stage of battle-field which was strewn with flowers scattered by the gods who were stupefied with joy, the heroic deeds of the valiant (*Karṇa*), whose arms were merciless in forcibly dragging the (*enemy's*) fortune, were represented in dancing by headless trunks in the presence of kings.

(V. 28) He thus showed himself to be a unique teacher of the four *āśramas* to his enemies,—who were, first, taught the vow of the *Brahmachārin*[1] by being separated from (*their*) wives, (*then*) the order of the house-holder by being imprisoned together with their kinsmen, (*then*) that of the forest-dwelling hermit by (*being forced to seek*) shelter in the woods, and that of the religious mendicant by (*being made to live on*) alms.

(V. 29) Having heard the loud proclamations, resounding in the land extending from the eastern to the western mountain, that the hosts of suppliants (*coming*) to him would obtain gifts exceeding their desires, the self-existent (Brahmā) was long perplexed with the thought, 'Alas! this *brahmāṇḍa* has already been created so limited in expanse! How will the glory of the King of Chēdi be contained in it?'

(V. 30) What can we describe of that king **Karṇa** by whose copper-charters, (*given*) to Brāhmaṇas,—which made a loud noise as multitudes of closely packed letters were being incised on them,—the (*whole*) universe is deafened.

(Line 33) This *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Karṇadēva,** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga,**—who has by his arm acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva,**—being in good health duly honours, informs and issues the (*following*) command at his victorious camp fixed at the famous **Karṇatīrtha,** to the following, (*viz.*) the *Mahādēvī*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahādharmādhikaraṇika*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpramattavāra*,[2] the *Mahāśvasādhanika* and other unnamed officers appointed to their respective posts as well as all people residing in their respective places the village **Chandapahā** in the *pattalā*[3] of **Kauśāmbī**:—

(L. 38) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) parents and Ourself, We, having bathed at the glorious **Arghatīrtha here** and having worshipped the divine (god) Śiva today, **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the seventh year of administration** rendered glorious by (*us*) the illustrious **Karṇa,**—in the aforesaid year, month, fortnight, *tithi* and day respectively, have given as a grant, with the words 'this village is his,' this village,—with its four boundaries well-determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with mines of iron and salt, extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture-lands, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa the illustrious *Paṇḍita* **Śāntiśarman,** the son of *Āvasathika* Mālhū and grandson of the *Upādhyāya* Silū, of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, the Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*[4] and the three *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Ambarisha, and Yauvanāśva. Knowing this

[1] *Viz.*, *celibacy*. Compare *Manusmṛiti*, II, 177.

[2] This is a technical official title meaning probably 'the Chief Commander of the elephant force'. Compare *Aśvavāra*, a horseman.

[3] *Pattalā* is a territorial division corresponding to the modern *tahsil*.

[4] The sage Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in *Br. Up.* II, 6, 3; and IV, 6, 3.

and submitting to him by listening to his commands, you should pay all royal dues such as *bhāga, bhōga*, gold and others to him as you paid them (*to us in the past*). None should trespass with a view to harm him." In this matter there occur the (*following*) holy verses:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 49) This has been written by the *Karaṇika*, the illustrious Sarvānanda and engraved by Vidyānanda. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune!

No. 51; Plate XLI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, at Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewa. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenānā Mahāl of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. The inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. It is edited here from two excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7′ 2″ broad and 3′ 1½″ high. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewa from somewhere else.[1] The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 25-31, in which, in some places, only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *sh* have, in many cases, disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in line 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened, and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karṇa and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-two[2] of these occur in the Goharwa plates of that king.[3] In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted, as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have, consequently, lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A.C. about the caste of the Kāyasthas. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

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[1] In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that 'the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now lying in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace.' *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 89.

[2] *Viz.*, verses 4, 6-18, 20-22, 24, 26, 30-32.

[3] Above, No. 50.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishṭhamātrās*. *Kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *-nikhāta-*, l. 8, but *n* is still without its dot, see *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-*, l. 6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhantu* l. 3 and *-pīṭha-*, l. 6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *-pāthō-mashī-*, l. 16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *-sthalē*, l. 15; the left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped; the letter is, therefore, distinguished from *v* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top, and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *-avaidhavya-vidhāna-*, l. 15; the right-hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *-phala-*, l. 3, or a little lower down as in *-āsphāl-*, l. 13, the curve of *ś* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *-śāsana-*, l. 18; the letter can in many cases be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahati*, l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Of these, thirty-three fall in the first, and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part the present inscription has as many as twenty-two verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, there being only slight variations in their readings here and here as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (verses 20 and 26), the order of verses in this inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records;[1] but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see, *e.g.*, *Sambhōr-jjaṭā-*, l. 2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-vaddh-ō-*, l. 1; *mvra* is used for *mra* in *-tāmvra-paṭṭaiḥ*, l. 18; similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *-pānsu-*, l. 21. In *surā-pāṇa*, l. 11, we have the change of *n* to *ṇ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Karṇa** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. The **object** of it appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a **minister** of Karṇa, who belonged to the **Kāyastha caste**.[2] The record is dated, at the end, in the **year 800** (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, the cyclic year being **Khara**.[3] The date must obviously be referred to the Kalachuri era. As an expired year, it corresponds to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding cyclic year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. This is the only date in the records of the Kalachuris, in which a cyclic year has been mentioned.[4] In the absence of the necessary details the date does not admit of further verification.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Siva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-ślokas* in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form.

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[1] An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kshama-drik*, *etc.*, employed to describe Yuvarājadēva II in the present plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I in the Banaras plates of Karṇa. See above, p. 242.

[2] His name is lost in the lower mutilated portion. He was mentioned in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, below, l. 30), but there too, his name is lost.

[3] This name of the cyclic year had escaped my notice when I edited this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.* After *Kācharaṇya* in l. 31 there is room for only two *aksharas*, of which one is clearly *ra*. There is, therefore, no doubt that the intended name of the year is *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the figures of the date, one of which was somewhat doubtful.

[4] Another instance in which a cyclic year is coupled with a Kalachuri date occurs in the Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (K. 966), No. 117, below.

After two more verses,—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech,—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karṇa. As in the Goharwa plates, his pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya is Lakshmaṇarāja who is evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhari stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. The description of this king and of his successors down to Gāṅgēyadēva is, in the main, given as in the Goharwa plates. In connection with **Gāṅgēyadēva**, however, the draft used here slightly differs from that of the Goharwa plates. Of the four verses devoted to his description, three (*viz.*, vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the latter record, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karṇa. Verse 19, which is not known to occur anywhere else, describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor **Karṇa** is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (*viz.*, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) occur in the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.*, Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a victory over the king of the Eastern Country, who lost his life in the encounter. This probably refers to the overthrow of the contemporary Chandra king,[1] after which Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory.

Verse 25 refers to Karṇa's conquests in the south. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the **Kuntala** was shaken by forcible seizure and the low **Pallavas** were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman, he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was matted by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing.' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's penchant for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra and is taken by some scholars to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the south. In later times, poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in verse 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. But Karṇa's conflicts with the contemporary Chōla king, who is probably meant here as the ruler of Kāñchī, and the Chālukya king of Kuntala at least are substantiated by other evidence.[2]

Verse 27 states that 'when Karṇa approached (the Gurjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and

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[1] It may be noted in this connection that verse 12 of the Bhērāghāṭ inscription mentions that when Karṇa gave full play to his heroism the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. The contemporary Chandra king is evidently referred to as the Vaṅga here; for the Chandras were ruling over Vaṅga, or Eastern Bengal.

[2] See verse 21 of the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva, below, Appendix, No. 5 and *VDC.* Canto I, śl. 102-5.

colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the Gurjara king, but unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karṇa's relations with the contemporary Gurjara king were already strained as early as 1048-49 A.C.

The second part of the record commences with verse 34, which states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who were possessed of the other two powers, *viz.*, the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*muni-indra*) named **Kāchara** who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Siva. He made the town **Kulāñchā** an ornament of the three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turīya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.*, Gaṅgā). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage, apparently to the Śūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas), would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of *Kāyastha,* since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Śūdra), from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats who gave security from fear to all beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion.[1] Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name, again, is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king **Lakshmaṇarāja** as Vishṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of verse 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse sems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From line 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have, consequently, lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karṇa. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in verse 54, that it was, as it were, due to the laughter of Śiva, who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Siva, at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the opening verses which eulogize Śiva, as well as from the statement in v. 58 that the person who caused the temple of the enemy of Smara (*i.e.*, Siva) to be constructed himself composed the present *praśasti.*

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries earlier.[2] The fanciful derivation of the caste-name *Kāyastha* given

[1] His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

[2] In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (871 A. C.) and the Gurmhā plates of Jayādityadēva II (870 A. C.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

here occurs also in the *Naishadhīyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchara.

The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages; but the name of Kāchara as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature.[1] It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A.C.[2] From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, *viz.*, v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in verse 36 to a Śūdra (*turīya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste, and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription, it is now impossible to say how the Śūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇhood which seems to have been made in verse 34.[3]

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of **Sōmēśvara**. This latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kāritalāi stone inscription.[4] A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kāritalāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein[5] and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.[6] From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms.[7] Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha, distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for, from verses 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kāritalāi inscription.

Most of the **geographical names** occurring in the present record find mention

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[1] In the Ajayagaḍh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

[2] Is *kāchara*, like *khachara* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 31), identical with *Khazar*?

[3] It is, of course, possible to take *turīya-janmā* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turīyārthaṁ* (*yajñārthaṁ*) *janma yasya saḥ*, *i.e.*, one who is born for (*the performance of*) a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspatyam* give this sense of *turīya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 2, 3, 11 *etc.*, in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced, since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turīya-varṇa* in the sense of a Śūdra. Note also *agrajanman* (first-born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yō bhūmi-dēva-pada-pāṁsu-pavitra-mauliḥ* in l. 21 suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

[4] See verses 7-17 of No. 42, above.

[5] *Ibid.*, v. 9.

[6] *Ibid.*, v. 2.

[7] It must, however, be stated that verse 16 of the inscription mentions that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battlefield.

in the Goharwa plates also. Their identification has, therefore, been already discussed. Kulāñchā, the town founded by the sage Kāchara, is evidently identical with Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñchi or Krōḍāñja met with in epigraphic records ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth century A.C., which have been discovered in the modern States of Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Bharat.[1] From the statements in these records the place seems to have been a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. According to the tradition recorded in the Kulapañjikās of the Rāḍhī and Vārēndrī Brāhamaṇas, five ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha at the invitation of the king Ādiśūra for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. The present inscription shows that the place was also the home of the Kāyasthas. In a copper-plate inscription from Assam the village is said to have been situated in Śrāvasti.[2] Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit identifies it with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal.[3]

TEXT[4]

1 ......[5][।*] – – – – ‿ – – ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ मं मण्डलीगण्ड[शै]ले [सं*][वे]ल्लत्कण्ठ[जान्ध]–
व्यतिकरिणि जटाजूटकूटोदयाद्रौ । देयादुष्णीषव(ब)द्धोरग [म]णि[किरण*]श्रेणिशोणा सुधां–
शोर्लेखालक्ष्मीश्चिरं वस्तिमिरमवलितोदीयमानेव [शम्भोः][6]॥[१॥*] य– –[7]बनमन्थरोदरच–
लत्पूत्कार – – ‿ –,

2 – – – ‿ ‿ – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ – – – ‿ –[वेल्लि]त[म्] । तच्चण्डा[नि]लनेत्रदावदहनज्वालाजटाली–
कृ[तं] स्व[र्णा]द्रे[रि]व सोद[रं] विजयते शम्भोर्ज्जटामण्डलम् [8]॥[२॥*] व्यालव्याकुलम[र्द्ध]म–
[र्द्ध]मप[रं] लीलालस[ल्लोचनं] – – – ‿ ‿ – ‿ [मर्द्धमपरं] – – ‿ – – ‿ – [।*] – – – ‿ ‿
– ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ – – – ‿ – – ‿ –,

3 – – – ‿ ‿ – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ – – – ‿ – [रं] वपुः ॥[३॥*] [शु]द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे व[ल्ली]मिव रोपयन्ति
यां मुनयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी श्रा(श्रा)[द्धी सू]क्ष्मापि सा जयति[9]॥[४॥*] रसामृतसुधावाचः
कवी[नां] सद्‌गुणाश्रयाः । लुठन्तु विदुषां कण्ठे [श्रवे च ?] [वि]ततं यशः ॥[10][।।*] क्षीरो–
दधेरपरि[मे][यसुधानिधानमावि॑र्व(र्ब)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दु*][11]–

4 [रेषः । अस्मादजायत वु(बु)धः स किल क्षितीश*]माद्यं पुरूरवसमाप तनूजरत्नम्[12]॥[६॥*]

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[1] Mr. J. C. Ghosh mentions six such charters, *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 358-59. To them I add the Kahla copper-plate grant of the Kalachuri Sōḍhadēva, below, No. 74. I have shown that in l. 44 of that inscription the correct reading is Kulāñchiya (*i.e.*, of Kulāñcha). It is note worthy that the Brāhmaṇa Jālu, mentioned therein as hailing from Kulāñcha, belonged, like other Brāhmaṇas of that place, to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and the Sāmavēda.

[2] Padmanatha Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, p. 155. This Śrāvasti was probably situated in Bengal, for the family, to which the minister of Karṇa belonged, is called *Gauḍa* in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (below, No. 77).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 103.

[4] From inked estampages.

[5] The inscription seems to have opened with ओं नमः शिवाय, for the temple where it was put up was dedicated to Śiva. See above, p. 266.

[6] Metre. *Sragdharā*.

[7] Restore वृक्षवरावन–.

[8] Metre: of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[9] Metre: *Āryā*.

[10] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[11] The starred *aksharas* in rectangular brackets in lines 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karṇa (above, No. 50).

[12] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

इति बहुषु नृपासूनु[षु]षु नृपतिरजायत [गो]विकमामलः । अकमत भरतः स चक्रवर्ती त्रिभुवन[भूत]भूमण्डलेक एव[1]॥[७॥*] त[स्मा]द्विलोकितकुले अमतीपतीना[मी]शः [क्रमा]दजनि [हैहयवंश]वर्ती ।*] यस्य प्रथमकभुवनप्रभार*]–

5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]व[भं] दशास्यः[2] ॥[८॥*] धैर्याब्धीकान्तविनः सहस्रकरतो चूडालचूडामणे[र्य]स्मात्प्रभुतवा(वा)हुव(ब)न्धविधुरो भ[क्तं]चरणामणी: । हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितश्रीकण्ठशीलोद्ध(द्धृ)ति[:*] प्राज्यकान्तमममन्यत स्वय[मपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमम्][3]॥ [९॥*] यस्मा[न्नि][भूमी: परितोपितेन्द्रास्तस्मा*]–

6 [द्वभूवन्व(न्ब)हवो नरेन्द्राः ।*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षां] विरराम वृ[ष्टिर्वि]पक्षनारीनयनाम्बु[म्बु]-वा[हैः][4]॥(१०॥*) व(ब)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्डया(ड्यो) लाटेशलुण्टनपटुर्जित-गूर्ज्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाञ्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मण[राजदेव:][5] ॥ [११॥*] आसीद्विहितप्रयाण[जनित][ध्वाय।मलोदोदयोन्मज्ज*]–

7 [त्सैनिकगात्रसिन्धुरशिरः*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुणः । त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृदम्भोनिधिः पूर्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव[6]॥ [१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गो निःशेष-वाग्मीश्वरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यस्त्वेवो[न्द्र]च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेवः[7] ॥ [१३॥*] [यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र]–

8 [तापेनारिमूर्द्धसु । कुला*][द्रिकुञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रिभिस्तु[ल्यं] प[दं] दधे[8] ॥ [१४॥*] दिक्पर्यन्तनिखातयूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणि[9]स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे य[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलतू[र्य]का[र्य]महितक्षोणीपती[नां] रसन्[10] ।[।१५॥*] य[स्मिन्सुखैकप्र]–

9 [मये प्रजानां*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[र्त]माने । तत्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभा[जां] नितान्त-मन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्[11] ॥[१६॥*] आक्रमाद्[दूर्ध्वं] व(ब्र)ह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटि[तं] यशः । धत्ते यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्व(म्ब)रे[12] ॥ [१७॥*] कारापञ्जररुद्धवीरनृपति[र्दी]प्तोरुलक्ष्मी-चयैस्तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गुर[सि]को गा[ङ्गे]य–

10 [दे*][वो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[र्जि]त्योत्कलमब्धि(ब्धि)-सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुज[:][13]॥[१८॥*] वल्लेनाम्बरचक्रवालदलितक्ष्मापालदन्तावल-श्रेणीशोणित[पं]किले][षु] परितः प्रान्ते[षु] पाथोनिधेः । दृप्यद्वारणदारणोद्धतम[वैलीनं] सल-[ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक]–

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[1] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here, but the metre is defective. Read –स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in line 6 of the British Museum plate of Karṇa, below, No. 54.

[4] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[9] The Goharwa plates read क्ष्मापालचूडामणि–. The *aksharas* here are quite clear.

[10] The Goharwa plates have भुवं(वम्). Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[11] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[12] The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतम्. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[13] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

11 न्दरोदरदरी[छिद्रेषु कण्ठीरवैः] ॥[१९॥*][1] यत्कुन्तप्रोतशत्रु[त्रु]तरुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रनृ-
त्यद्वेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितककुप्चक्रपर्यन्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्याक्रम(म्य)माणां समि[ति] सरभसं
दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ज्ञाव्यापारेणामरी[णां] वरवरणविधिः क[ष्ट][2]मासीन्मुहु[र्मु]म(मु)[3] ॥[२०॥*]
अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्थि]जने

12 [घनं दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्तरुः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स क[र्ण]नराधिप-
म्[4] ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनःसुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमिभृ[तां] पुरस्तात् ।
वीरस्य वीरचरि[तं] ननृते कब(ब)न्धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य[5] ॥ [२२॥*] दर्पैकदु-
[र्वा]तरयेण नुन्नो गजाद्रि-

13 – – ‿[6][वि]दीर्ण्णसन्धिः । अन्त[र्य]दीयस्य व(ब)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशे[र्म]मज्ज पूर्व्वावनिराज-
पोतः[7] ॥[२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति[नं] त्यक्तपूर्व्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव
चेदिनृपतेर्दिक्चक्रमाक्रामतः । प्रान्तभ्रान्त[8]वरूथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहेलोल्लसत्कल्लोलावलिबा(बा)-
हुदण्डमुदधिश्च-

14 [क्रन्द सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥*][9] [२४॥*] हठग्रहान्दोलितकुन्तलश्री[र्वि]खण्ड्यमानाधरपल्लवा च ।
आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा संबु(बु)भुजे प्रकामम्[10] ॥[२५॥*] आशाजये समद-
सिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा[:] कक[भां] करीन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य
च[क्रुः] कपोल-

15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशा[:][11] ॥ [२६॥*] यस्मिन्समासीदति गूर्ज्जरी[णां] गण्डस्थले
साञ्जनबा(बा)ष्पलेशाः । भालादवैधव्यविधानवर्ण्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां स्खलिता इवासन् [12]॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनधिग[म्यं] यत्सटालीजटालै[र्य]दप[रिमि]तख[ड्गं] वारणैर्दुर्ग्गं यत् ।
विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ह्निस्तदुच्चै]रदह-

16 ‿ ‿ ‿ – – – –कमेक[:] प्रताप[:][13] ॥[२८॥*] भूर्ज्जत्वचः सङ्कुलितेभदानपाथोमषीव[र्ण्ण]-
विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवन्नृपा[णां](णाम्)[14] ॥[२९॥*]
नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राग्व(ग्ब्र)ह्मचारित्र[तं] सा[र्द्धं] ब(ब)न्धुतया गृहस्थपद[वीं]
कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं

17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्भैक्षाच्च*] भिक्षो[:] स्थि[तिं] येनैवं चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु[15] ॥
[३०॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्प्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरचरत्स्फार-

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[1] In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसतिः (v. 24 below), and therefore describes Karṇa.

[2] The Goharwa plates have कृप्तमासीत्– which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to क्लृप्त आसी–. Here the *aksharas* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *sh* has been obliterated.

[3] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[4] Metre: *Drutavilambita.*

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[6] The missing *aksharas* were probably कूटेषु.

[7] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[8] The Goharwa plates have भ्रान्त.

[9] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[10] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[11] In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed after यस्मिन्नुत्सुकप्रमद *etc.*, (verse 16 above) and is therefore intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II). Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[12] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[13] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[14] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[15] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

स्फुरद्दुग्धोधयाः । एतन्निर्मितया[:] पुरा परिचित[तं] ब(ब्र)ह्माण्डम[स्मिन्कथं संमास्यन्ति] य-
शांसि[1] [ये]-

18 [विनृप]ते[र्वित्वाकृ]ती[मूर्ति]रं(रम्) ॥ [३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्णं]नृपत(ते)र्व्व(र्वं)त व-
र्ण्यताम्रो यस्य द्विजातिजनवासमनतानमपट्टैः[2] । उत्कीर्यमाणनिबि(बि)डाक्षरपंक्तिमालवाचालितैर्व्व
(र्वं)भिरभावभियाय विश्वम्[3] ॥[३२॥*] यावद्भूचक्र चक्रो [रि]पुतिमिरभिदा [शू]र
शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] - -[4] [रिपकक[5]प्रवहन वह]नो मा[व]-

19 - - ᴗ - - । - - - - यावदस्थि(स्थि)[र्म]वर्द्धिपक्षमस्कन्ध यावन्मह[त्वां]स्तावत्त्रायस्व धात्री-
मिति पवनजनि ब(ब्र)ह्मणामाशि[षां] यः[6] ॥[३३॥*] ◉ ॥ उत्साहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जां]
प्रवर्द्धनायाविकमन्त्रश[क्तेः] । द्विजातिरे[षा] पृथि[वीपतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] व(ब)भूव
[हेतुः][7]॥[३४॥*] रा-

20 - ᴗ - - [विमलविनेत्रात्पवित्र]जन्मा किल कायराख्यः । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिलकायमा[नां] पु[रं]
कुलाख्यामकरोन्मुनीन्द्रः ॥[३५॥*] तमादराद्वात्मवि[दां] वरिष्ठमाराधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [।*]
स्व[:]सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] ᴗ - ᴗ - - ᴗ ᴗ - ᴗ - - ॥[३६॥*] - - ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ

21 ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ - [न्मयस्य कृत्वा] भविष्यति दिवस्पतिमन्त्रिकल्पः । यो भूमिदेवपदपांसु[8]पवित्र[मौ]लि-
[स्तं] ख्यातपुण्यचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति[9] ॥ [३७॥*] संस्थामतीत्य काय[स्थ]स्तव यस्माद्गुणो-
[त्क]रः । अत[:] काय[स्थ इ]त्या[ख्यां] जाति[मात्मामि]- ᴗ ᴗ[10]॥[३८॥*]ᴗ - ᴗ - - ᴗ ᴗ -
ᴗ - - कुले ᴗ - - प्रथि-

22 त ᴗ - - । [अ]जीजनत्सुभमनन्तकी[र्त्तिं] कायस्थवंशः प्रससार तस्मात्[11] ॥[३९॥*] तस्यान्वये
नयविदः सुधियः कृतज्ञाः सत्यव्रताः सुकृतिनो गुणिनः क्रमेण । प्रादु[र्ब(र्ब)]भूवुरसमाश्चिर[भी]-
तसत्त्ववत्ताभयाः कमल ᴗ - र - ᴗ - -[12] ॥[४०॥*] - - ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ - कुलेस्मिन्नेक

23 ᴗ - [कर[13] इति प्रथितो] ब(ब)भूव । [सर्व्वेषु] दुग्धजलरा[शि]समुद्भवे[षु] रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ
इवानुपमप्रभावः ॥[४१॥*] पुरः पुरो विशदगुणान्विशेषतः सिसृक्षत[:] पुरुषवरा[निहान्व]ये ।
चकार यः [प्रथितगुणान्पु][14]- ᴗ - ᴗ - ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ - ᴗ - ᴗ -[15] ॥[४२॥*]. . . . .

24 - [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवत्स[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवस्य[16] ॥ [४३॥*] [नत्वा] सूतक-
वीन्द्रा[णां] वन्दमित्रपर्ति [सदा ?] । समास्कन्दति यत्कीर्त्तिः कार्त्तिकीं [चं]द्र[चं]द्रि
[कां(काम्)][17] ॥[४४॥*] [कमल ?]किसलया जनानुरा[गे] कृतमू[ल?] - -[18] । मा - ᴗ - -

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[1] Read यशांसि.

[2] Read ताम्रपट्टैः.

[3] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[4] The missing *aksharas* may have been द्युता-.

[5] This *akshara* is superfluous.

[6] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[7] Metre of verses 34-36: *Upajāti.*

[8] Read पांसु.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[10] The missing *aksharas* may have been -वाप्स्यति. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[11] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[12] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā.*

[13] The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.

[14] Restore पुरस्सरान्.

[15] Metre: *Ruchirā.*

[16] Metre: *Āryā.*

[17] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[18] Perhaps कृतमूलकल्पाः.

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏓ – ⏑ [कलंकितकोटिकूटे ?][1] ॥[४५॥*]

25 – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ य [स्य तस्मात्]। – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [लो]क– [हि]तात्मकस्य सोमे[श्व]रस्य महितस्य वरं च जन्म[2] ॥ व[४६॥*] [प्रका]व(ब)[लाङ्कु–] जव(ब) ला ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – – – एवेरिव व(ब)ला ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – । – – ⏑ –[प्रवरपल्लवितपुण्डरीका: ?] त[ल्पण्ड ?]इत्यपरक[र्म्म] ⏑ – ⏑ – – ॥[४७॥*]

26 ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓, जगतीपाल – ⏑ ⏓[3] ॥[४८॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – यत्र ध्वान्ते ⏓ ⏓ थ भूमिपं(पम्) । [यो] व(ब)भूव गुणिग्रा[मैग्र]मणीलोकबा[न्धव:] ॥ [४९॥*]. . . . . र[ञा]त इव जात: । धर्म्मावतारसचिव– स्तस्मा [द्वारिभव:?] . .

27 . .[4] ॥[५०॥*] – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ [धर्म्म:] । [आ]स्याय यस्य भुजद[ण्ड]मखण्ड[कीर्त्ते:] – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – मिव कालकूटात्[5] ॥ [५१॥*] – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – निपीता स्फीतारिकण्ठ[रुधिर]–

28 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – । – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ॥ [५२॥*] . . . . । , ... करटेन्दुशेखरस्य[6] ॥[५३॥*] लक्ष्म्येव स्फाटि[काद्रे]स्तदविगुणतयालिङ्ग[नै:] स्वैरद[त्तै:] स्थानप्राप्त्या प्र[मोदं] [दधत इव भवस्याट्टहासावदातै:] । कीर्[त्तिं] द[त्वो ?]त्पत[न्त्या:] पदमिव ⏑

29 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –, – – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –[7] ॥ [५४॥*] ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ [कंठे] वि[राज]ते पाण्डर[मै]जयन्ती । कपर्दपिङ्गो[ज्व]जटाकला[पे] ⏓ – ⏑[8] [ग ङ्गा] ⏑ ⏑ – स्फुरन्ती[9] ॥[५५॥*] [कृती कारितवान्किञ्च काञ्चनेनायकं ?] मठ:[10] । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ [जनता कान्तवैकुण्ठ] ⏓ ⏑

30 – ⏑ ⏓[11] ॥ [५६॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑[12] ॥ [५७॥*] [धाम] स्मरारेरिति कारयित्वा कृता च येनेति महाप्रशस्ति[:] । [महात्मनो] – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – महत: [प्रसादात् ?][13] ॥[५८॥*] – – ⏑

31 – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – – – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – शकाब्दा[त् ।*] त्रैविक्र[मं ?] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ – रिह महाकवि[किंकरस्य][14] [॥५९॥*] [श*]र[नाम्ना[15] महामङ्गलसंवत्सरे] ॥८००॥

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[1] I am not certain about the metre of this verse. If it is *Upajāti*, some *aksharas* have been dropped before कमल.

[2] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[3] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Metre: *Āryā*.

[5] Metre of this and the next verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[6] The metre of this verse may be *Āryā*.

[7] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[8] These three *aksharas* may have been शिवस्य.

[9] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[10] Its seems better to read मठम्.

[11] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[12] This verse which is completely lost, may also have been in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

[13] Metre: *Upajāti*

[14] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[15] Read –नाम्नि.

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May the beauty of the digit of the moon, which, rising straight as it were on the orient mount, namely the high coil of the twisted hair of Śiva, overspread with the dark colour of his throat, is reddened by the mass of the rays of jewels (*in the hoods*) of serpents which coil (*themselves*) like a turban (*round his head*). . . . remove your ignorance for long!

(V. 2) Glorious is the coil of Śambhu's matted hair, which,—being overspread with the flames of the wild fire (*issuing*) from his (*third*) eye (*fanned*) by that fierce wind, (*and*) surrounded by serpents. . . . hissing and moving inside the Mandara (*mountain*), (*namely*), the mass of hair. . . .,—appears akin to (Mēru) the golden mountain!

(V. 3) [May] the body (*of Siva*), one half of which is covered over with serpents, (*while*) the other half has a gracefully shining eye . . . . . . !

(For a translation of v. 4, see that of v. 2, above, p. 259.)

(V. 5) May the sweet words of poets, full of the nectar of sentiments, which are the resort of virtues, roll in the throats of learned men and their far-spread fame in (*their*) ears!

(For a translation of vv. 6-18, see that of vv. 3-11, 15, 13, 16 and 17 on pp. 259-61.)

(V. 19) When the regions round the ocean became full of mud through the blood of the arrays of elephants of (*hostile*) kings killed by hosts of his soldiers, the lions, proud as they had become by the destruction of infuriated elephants, crouched, as if through shame, in the clefts of caves in the interior of the defiles of the snow-mountain.

(For a translation of vv. 20-22, see that of vv. 26, 19 and 27 on pp. 261-2.)

(V. 23) In the ocean of his forces there was submerged the ship, (*namely*) the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants.

(For a translation of v. 24, see that of v. 25 on p. 261.)

(V. 25) Over-running the district of **Kāñchī**, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the **Kuntala** was shaken by forcible seizure and the low **Pallavas** were destroyed (*as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure, and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing*).[1]

(For a translation of v. 26, see that of v. 14 on p. 260.)

(V. 27) When he approached, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of **Gurjara** women living in the neighbourhood, and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from (*their*) foreheads.[2]

(V. 28) His unique valour consumed [the hostile army][3] which was inaccessible on account of horses with twisted manes, which contained an unlimited number of swords (*and*) appeared dreadful through elephants, even as wild fire consumes a forest which is impenetrable on account of lions with twisted manes, which contains an unlimited number of rhinoceroses and is dreadful through elephants.

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[1] There is a play on the words *kāñchī*, *kuntala*, *adhara* and *pallava*, in consequence of which the verse conveys a double meaning.

[2] This foreboded the destruction of their husbands in the impending war with Karṇa.

[3] The word denoting this is lost in the original, but there can be no doubt about the intended meaning.

(V. 29) In the Himālayas the birch-barks, with beautiful letters (*written on them*) with the ink of the collected rutting juice of elephants, were (*used as*) documents of homage by the kings whom he had subdued.

(*For a translation of vv. 30-32, see that of vv. 28-30, above, p. 262.*)

(V. 33) 'As long as the moon, O moon on the earth! endures, destroying the foes of darkness, as long as the sun, O brave one! exists, as long as fire, O consumer of the hostile army! continues, as long as the ocean . . . lasts, as long as Indra, O Indra's equal in strength ![1] exists—even so long may you protect the earth!'—Of such blessings of Brāhmaṇas did he become an object!

* * *

(V. 34) In order to augment the entire power of counsel of the lords of the earth who are possessed of the power of personal energy and the power of lordship, this caste of the twice-born became the cause of (*the performance of*) ministerial duty.

(V. 35) (*There was*) verily . . . . . (*a person*) of holy birth, named **Kāchara,** (*born*) from the blameless three-eyed (Śiva)—who, the best one among sages, made the city of **Kulāñchā** an ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 36) Him (*who was*) the foremost among the knowers of the self, a man born of the fourth (*caste*) propitiated on the bank of the heavenly river (*which is*) venerable to the (*whole*) world . . . . . .

(V. 37) . . . . . . 'Mayst thou obtain a son of well-known and pious deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of the feet of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas) will become almost like (Bṛihaspati) the councillor of the lord of heaven!'[2]

(V. 38) 'Since thou hast in thy body (*kāya*) an innumerable assemblage of merits, so thy self shall attain the caste known as **Kāyastha.**'

(V. 39) . . . . . . begot[3] a son of infinite fame, from whom spread the race of the Kāyasthas.

(V. 40) In his family there were born, in course of time, matchless, wise, grateful, truthful, meritorious (*and*) virtuous diplomats, who afforded security from fear to creatures who had long been terrified.

(V. 41) In this family . . . . . there was one of matchless prowess who became famous by the name of **[Prabhā]kara**[4] even as there was the Kaustubha among all the jewels produced from the milk-ocean.

(V. 42) He made famous the merits of the best men in this family, who were desirous of producing especially more and more spotless qualities . . . . .

(V. 43) Like (Vishṇu) who has the ornament of Śrīvatsa, he was venerable to the illustrious **Lakshmaṇarājadēva** . . . . . of the three worlds.

(V. 44) Having always bowed to the lord Indra (?) adorable to the foremost bards and poets, his glory assails the light of the moon in (*the month of*) Kārttika.

(V. 45) . . . . . . tender shoots of lotuses . . . . which struck roots in the affections of the people . . . . .

(V. 46) . . . . . From him, the honoured **Sōmēśvara,** who devoted himself to the welfare of the people, had his noble birth . . . . .

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[1] *Lit.*, one whose shoulders are like those of the lord of gods.

[2] This and the following verse are apparently addressed by the sage to the man of the fourth caste (*turīya-janman*) who was serving him.

[3] The subject is evidently the same man of the fourth caste.

[4] Only the last two *aksharas* of this name are now legible, see above, p. 271, n. 13.

(V. 47) . . . . . . through the strength of intellect (*and*) the might of arms . . . . . the lotuses of the foremost learned people . . . . .

(V. 48) . . . . . . the king . . . . . .

(V. 49) . . . . . . and of kings; who with (*his*) hosts of meritorious men became a friend of the headmen of villages.

(V. 50) . . . . . . From him was born . . . . . who was as if unknown . . . . (*and*) who, as a minister, was a personification of piety.

(V. 51) . . . . . . having resorted to the staff-like arm of him of uninterrupted fame . . . . . . as from the deadly poison.

(V. 52) . . . . . drank completely . . . . . the blood from the necks of prosperous foes . . . . .

(V. 53) . . . . of (Siva) who has on (*his*) crest the moon resembling an elephant's temple,

(V. 54) . . . . [the temple which appears white] as if through the embraces freely given by the Beauty of the crystal mountain since it is not inferior (to it), (*and*) as if through the laughter of Siva who rejoiced to get such an (*excellent*) abode . . . . .

(V. 55) As long as (*the necklace*) Vaijayantī looks beautiful on the neck (of Vishṇu) . . . . . [and the Gaṅgā flows] from the high mass of brownish twisted hair (of Siva) . . . . [so long may this temple endure]

(V. 56) The wise one caused to be constructed a monastery by expending gold . . .

(V. 57) . . . . . .

(V. 58) Having caused this habitation of (Siva), the enemy of Smara, to be constructed, he himself composed this great *praśasti* . . . . by the great favour of the high-souled . . . . .

(V. 59) . . . . . . of Trivikrama . . . .

This [*praśasti*] is of . . ., a servant of great poets.

In the very auspicious year 800, Khara by name.

No. 52; Plate XLII

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810

The fragments of the stone which bore this inscription were found in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of Dhamēkh,[1] 'the Hospital', at Sārnāth, four miles to the north of Banaras. The impressions of the fragments were sent to Dr. Kielhorn, who conjecturally supplied the missing words in l. 6 referring to the date, and calculated it. The text and translation of the record were published, without a lithograph, in the account of the excavations at Sārnāth by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Sten Konow.[2] The fragments are now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription is edited here from excellent impressions which I owe to the kindness of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Museum.

There are, in all, six inscribed fragments. The record, when complete, must have occupied a space measuring 1′ 9″ in breadth and about 1′ in height. Several letters on the right side of each line and a few more in the middle of the last five lines have been lost, as all the fragments of the original stone have not been recovered.[3]

[1] *Dhamēkh* is a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Dharmēkshā* 'pondering over the Law'.

[2] *A. R. A. S. I.*, (1906-07), pp. 100 ff.

[3] The previous editors also mention six fragments, but in their transcript they have omitted the *aksharas* on one of them. Compare ll. 1-5 in the two transcripts.

The record consists of fourteen lines. The average size of the letters is .7". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They resemble, in a general way, those of the other inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Karṇa. As regards individual letters we may notice that *ṅ* is written without a dot see *-saṅghasya*, l. 7, *-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛit-*, l. 11; *ṭh* has no vertical or even a horizontal line at the top, see *pāṭha-*, l. 12; the upper loop of *th* is closed in *-Manōratha-*, l. 8; the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in two cases, see *Dhamēsva[rah*]*, l. 9 and *vādhakaṁ* l. 13, but in others the old form is met with; the letters *r* and *g* are not clearly distinguished, see *-pār-aika-gantāḥ*, l. 2; so also *m* and *a* or *ā*; see *-mahā-*, l. 7; and *Asvina*, l. 6; finally, the medial dipthongs are indicated by fully drawn *pṛishṭhamātrās*.

The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit. Notice, for instance, the wrong forms *guṇa-rāsi* for *guṇa-rāśiḥ* and *pār-aika-gantāḥ* for *pār-aika-gantā*, both in l. 2, *Mahājānānujāina* for *Mahājā(yā)nānujā(yā)yinī*, l. 10 and the incorrect *sandhi* in *-bhūto pitṛibhiḥ*, l. 14. Except for the opening verse in praise of the Buddha and the usual imprecation at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the use of *ṛi* for *ri* in *Tṛiga (ka)* [*liṅgā-**], l. 4, the repetition of a consonant after *r* as in *-sarvv-āndhakā-raḥ*, l. 1, the substitution of *j* for *y* in *Mahājānanujāina* and, *bhārjā*, both in l. 10 and the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, see *-Vuddha-*, l. 11, *-nivandhanā-*, l. 12 *etc.*

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Karṇa**, of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty.** He is mentioned here with the same titles as in the Goharwa plates, and is said to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vāmadēva** who is also named with Imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record that a female devout worshipper named **Māmakā** who was a follower of the Mahāyāna and the wife of **Dhamēsvara**[1] (Dharmēśvara) who also was a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written and made some donation to the Order of Venerable Monks dwelling in the monastery called *Śrī-sad-dharma-chakra-pravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra*, for the recitation of the book. Two monks who were evidently heads of the institution are named in the present record. One of them was **Manōrathagupta.** The name of the other, which is partially lost, ended in **pāṭṭika.**

The inscription is dated on **Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [8]10.**[2] No era is specified, but there can be little doubt that the date is in the Kalachuri era. It is quite regular; for, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the *current*[3] Kalachuri year 810 ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the corresponding Christian date being the 4th October, 1058 A.C. This is one of the few Kalachuri dates in current years.

As pointed out by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Konow, the Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra was the Great Monastery at Sārnāth which was erected at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

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[1] See below, p. 278, n. 1.

[2] The first figure of the year is lost, but that it could not have been anything but 8 is shown by the known dates of Karṇa, which range from K. 793 to K. 812.

[3] The date would be in the expired year according to Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi*. The dates of Nos. 63 and 94 however clearly show that the year began in some month later than Āśvina. I have given elsewhere reasons which make it probable that it began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धिः[2] [।*] जयतु स(स्व)गतभा[सा] [ध्व*][3]स्तसर्व्वान्धकार[:] । ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑
– – ⏑ – – [।*]

2 निरुपमगुणराशी र्ज्ञे[4][य*]पारैकमन्ता: भुवन[म ?] ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – [॥१॥*][5]

3 परमभट्टारकमहाराजा[धि]राजपरमेश्व(श्व)रश्री (श्री)वाम[देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टा*]–

4 रकमहारा[जा]धिराजप[र]मेश्व(श्व)रपरममाहेश्व(श्व)रत्रि(त्रि)ग(क) [लिंगाधिपतिनिजभुजो*] –

5 पार्जिताश्व(श्व)पतिगजपति[न*]रपतिराजत्रयाधिपति[6]श्री (श्री) मत्क[र्ण्ण][7] [देवप्रवर्धमानकल्या*]–[8]

6 णविजयराज्ये सम्व[त्सरे*][9] [८*]१०॥ [अ]श्विन [सु] दि[10]१५ रवौ ॥ अ[द्येह श्रीसद्धर्म*]–

7 चक्रप्रवर्त्तनमहाबो(बो)[धि*]महाविहारे[11] [आ]र्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य स्थ[विर....*]–

8 पातुकमनोरथपू[र्त*]:[12] आसी(शी)बा(र्वा)[द*][प]द(दं) समादापितौ [।*] महाजा(या)–
[नानुया(या)यी*]

9 परमोपासक: धमेश्व[र:*][13] दमनेम(न) [संज(य)]मेन रागादिम[ल]प्रक्षा(क्षा)[लनपर:*]

10 तस्य भार्जा(र्या) महाजा(या)ना[नु]जा(या)इन (यिनी) पर[मो][पा*]सिका मा[मका]
या अने[कगुण*]–

11 गणाल[ङ्कृ]त्सरीरा[14] तया लिखापिता[15]र्थं[भिक्षुकथाय द*][त्ता ?] सर्व्वबु(बु)द्धज[न][पूजार्थं*]–

12 मष्टस(सा)हस्रिकाप्रज्ञा [।*] पाठनिव(ब)न्धना[र्थं]....[द*]त्तं(त्त) आचन्द्रार्क[मे][दि*]–

13 नी[16] यावत् आर्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य समर्पित: [।*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – – ⏑, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ वा(बा)धकं ⏑[17]

14 ⏑ [।*] स पि(वि)ष्टायां कृमिभू(र्भू)तो(त:) पि[तृ]भि: सह प[च्यते ॥२॥*][18]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May [the Buddha], who has dispelled all darkness by his splendour, ... who has a multitude of matchless virtues, (*and*) who alone has thoroughly understood (*all*) knowable (*things*). . . .of the world, become victorious !

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[1] From inked estampages kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Lucknow Museum.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The starred *aksharas* in rectangular brackets are supplied conjecturally and in some cases with the help of other Kalachuri records.

[4] Read –गुणराशिर्ज्ञेयपारैकगन्ता.

[5] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[6] Read –त्रयाधिपति:.

[7] Only the *rēpha* of this *akshara* is lost.

[8] Marshall and Konow supply देवकल्या–, but the spacing shows that eight or nine *aksharas* have been lost.

[9] Read –संवत्सरे.

[10] Read आश्विन शु दि.

[11] Read महाविहार आर्य–. In some places below also, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[12] Read –पूर्त्याशीर्वाद–.

[13] Marshall and Konow read धनेश्वर:, but the second letter is clearly मे.

[14] Read –गणालङ्कृतशरीरा.

[15] Read लेखिता–.

[16] Read आचन्द्रार्कमेदिनि omitting यावत् or चन्द्रार्कमेदिनीयावत् omitting आ.

[17] Marshall and Konow read कुर्वे after this, but I fail to see the *aksharas* in the estampages supplied to me. The usual first half of this verse is स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । It seems to be different here.

[18] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

(Line 3) During the [increasingly victorious and beneficent] reign of the [*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*], *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Karṇadēva**, [the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm] has acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz*.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, [who meditates on the feet of] the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, in the **year [8]10, on Sunday, the fifteenth (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvina**, today here in the **Great Monastery** (*called*) the famous **Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābōdhi**, the monks ...**pāṭṭika** and **Manōrathagupta** of the Order of Venerable Monks were caused to give their blessings.

(L. 8) (*There is*) **Dhamēśvara**,[1] a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahā-yāna, who is intent on washing off the stains of passions and so forth, by the control of sense-organs and self-restraint. His wife **Māmakā**, a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, whose self is adorned with a multitude of several [virtues], has caused (*a copy of*) the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-prajñā* to be written, (*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks. She has donated..........(*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks for the worship of all Buddhas (*and*) for the recitation (*of the aforementioned*) *Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñā* for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure.

(L. 13) [He who will cause] obstruction [in the enjoyment of the gift] will become a worm in excrement (*and*) will rot (*there*) together with his ancestors.

No. 53; Plate XLIII A

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. R.D. Banerji, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who found it in the Secretary's office in **Rewa** town.[2] It is not known where it was first discovered. Mr. Banerji first gave an account of its contents in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, p. 53, and subsequently published its text with a translation, but without a facsimile, in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*,[3] pp. 130 ff. The inscription is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a smooth plain **slab** of sand-stone, the left half of which is missing.[4] There are in all twenty-three lines. The lost portion must have contained twenty-three or twenty-four *aksharas* in each of the lines 1-21. Even in the extant portion, some letters here and there, especially on the left side, have been damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some of the letters contain a wedge or an inverted triangle at the top as in the Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēya-dēva.[5] The *mātrās* on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions. The letters are not well-formed, the record being, on the whole, carelessly written. As regards

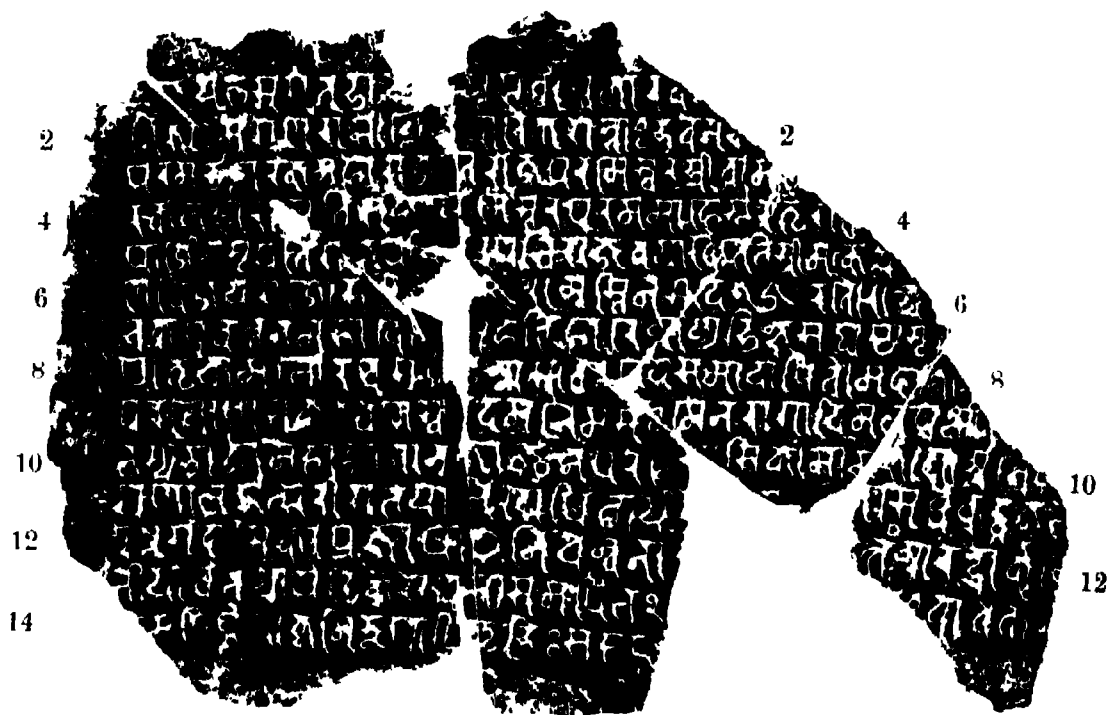
[1] This is how the name is written in the text. It may correspond to Sanskrit *Dharmēśvara*. Marshall and Konow read *Dhanēśvara* evidently taking the *akshara* which clearly appears like *mē* to be a mistake for *nē*.

[2] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1920-21, p. 53.

[3] *M. A. S. I.*, No. 23.

[4] *Loc cit.*

[5] Above, No. 47.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810

individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of initial *i* used in *iti*, l. 16 and *Isânî*, l. 14; *n* without dot in *lingam*, l. 13; the tailless left member of *kh* in *vikhyâtâ*, l. 19; and *n* without a loop which is met with in several places. The letters *ṇ*, *bh* and *r* occur each in two forms; compare *ṇ* in *-varṇâṇâm*-, l. 4 and *karmmaṇi*, l. 17; *bh* in *bhavât-*, l. 17 and *bhaktyâ*, l. 18 and *r* in *Vapulîśvara*, l. 16 and *-vyavaharaṇayâ*, l. 20.

The language is Sanskrit. The first nineteen lines are in verse and the remaining four in prose. The *praśasti*, as the composition is called in verse 18, has been carelessly composed. Notice, for instance, the curious mixture of *Indravajrâ* and *Vasantatilakâ* metres in verse 24. The name *Vappulla*, required by the metres of verses 5 and 8, is written as *Vapulla*. Verse 4 contains a clumsy metaphor describing Karṇa as a lion. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of the consonant after *r*, the substitution of *v* for *b* and of *s* for *ś* as well as the use of *m* for an *anusvâra* before *v* (see *-samvatsara*, l. 20).

As nearly half the portion of the *praśasti* is lost, it is not possible to give a complete account of its contents. As usual, the record opens with a verse invoking the blessings of some deity, probably Śiva.[1] It then refers to a king whose name is lost, but who, we are told, was born from **Kōkalla.** From him was the illustrious **Karṇadēva** who is described as an impending universal destruction and as one who had planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of eminent kings. This Karṇa is evidently the well-known Kalachuri Emperor of that name who was a terror to contemporary rulers. The first two princes mentioned in verse 2 were plainly his father Gāṅgēyadēva and grandfather Kōkalla II. Verse 5 introduces **Vappulla**[2] who is described as devoted to Karṇa's lotus-like feet. The following verses give his pedigree. From some distinguished person whose name is lost, was born **Vijjalarāṇaka.**[3] His younger brother was **Vigraharāja** who, it seems, was the father of Vappulla (v. 8). The next two verses (9 and 10) are devoted to the description of the battles fought by Vappulla. Two of these are named in the extant portion *viz.*, the *ghōṭaka-vigraha* or **the Battle of Horses** (v. 9) and the **Battle of the Yellow Mountain** in which Vappulla, having defeated the forces of **Trilōchana,** equalled in glory Arjuna, who had overcome the prowess of the three-eyed god Śiva (v. 10). We are next told that Vappulla erected a temple of Śiva in the village **Kādambarī** in which he caused a *liṅga* under the name of Vappulēśvara to be installed by sages. Another temple dedicated to Śrīvatsa (Vishṇu) was surrounded by four small shrines of other deities, the name of one of whom, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, occurs in the preserved portion. The temple had in front of it a large orchard of mango and other trees. The *praśasti* was composed by **Vijhūka**[4], the son of Hṛishīkēśa (v. 18).

The scribe seems to have discovered after writing v. 13 that he had omitted two verses. These he added below. The first of them is almost completely broken away; the

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[1] No deity is named in the extant portion, but v. 11, which speaks of a temple of Śaṅkara erected by Vappulla, suggests that the inscription was originally put up at it. It, therefore, probably opened with a verse in praise of Śiva.

[2] Banerji read this name as *Vapullaka*, but in two places (vv. 5 and 8) where it occurs in the extant portion, the metre requires the readings *Vappulla* and *Vappullaka* respectively. The deity named after him was called Vappulēśvara. I have, therefore, taken the name to be *Vappulla*.

[3] Banerji at first mentioned this person's name as *Lakshmaṇa*, but that was plainly due to a mislection in l. 7 (*viz.*, *Lakshmaṇa* for *lakshaṇa*[5]). He has given the correct reading in *H. T. M.*, p. 130.

[4] Banerji read the name as Virūka. For the form of *jh* used here, see *nirjjhara* in line 9 of the Kairā plates (K. 380) of Dadda II (above, No. 16). See also the form of the letter in the Chandēlla grants of the age, *I. P.*, Table V, 18, XIV.

second mentions that the wife of some person (perhaps of Vappulla himself) named Nayanāvalī[1] caused an image of Umā-Mahēśvara to be made.

The inscription is dated on Thursday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 which was the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karṇa.[2] The *tithi* and the year of the date are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era and regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 812, to Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A.C. The tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on that day. As the expired year 812 is here said to be the ninth regnal year, Karṇa seems to have been crowned in the expired Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.).

This was evidently his second coronation. For, we have already seen from the Banaras plates that his father Gāṅgēyadēva died in the month of Phālguna in the expired Kalachuri year 792. The month of Māgha in Karṇa's first regnal year, therefore, fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793.[3] The same month in this ninth regnal year should fall in the expired Kalachuri year 801 and not in 812 as stated in the present record.[4] Even supposing that the mistake lies in the numerical figures denoting the year, we find that the *tithi* in the expired Kalachuri year 801 fell on Friday, the 5th January 1050 A.C., and not on Thursday as required. The date would, therefore, appear to be irregular. On the other hand, if we suppose that Karṇa was crowned a second time in the expired Kalachuri year 804, the date would be quite regular as shown above. This second coronation in 1052-53 A.C. must have been celebrated when he was at the height of his power after annexing the Chandēlla and Pratihāra kingdoms.

The present inscription mentions two battles fought by Vappulla. The first of these, called the Battle of Horses, cannot be definitely located. The second was fought with a prince named Trilōchana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain. Mr. Banerji[5] identified this prince with Trilōchanapāla, a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty who was ruling over Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) in 1051 A.C.[6] I do not know, however, of any Yellow Mountain in Gujoerat. Two other references to this mountain are known to occur in inscriptions found at Ajayagaḍh. One of them which is incised on a rock near the Tirhawan gate of the fort describes the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman as the crest-jewel of kings in the districts of the Yellow Mountain.[7] The other inscription which is also engraved on a rock near a gate of the same fort mentions the Yellow Mountain as the place of residence of Kīrtivarman.[8] As the mountain was thus situated in Bundelkhand, Trilōchana whose forces Vappulla is said to have defeated may be identified with the prince Trilōchanapāla who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.[9] We know

[1] Banerji took *Pravarā* to be her proper name and *Nayanāvalī* as her second name. But *pravarā* is only an adjective meaning, 'distinguished' or 'excellent'.

[2] A similar expression '*śrīmat-Karṇṇa-prakāśa-vyavahārē*' occurs in the Goharwa plates l.41. In the present record in the introduction Karṇa appears to have been described as meditating on the feet of Vāmadēva.

[3] Because, as shown also, the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*.

[4] D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that the ninth year is a mistake for the nineteenth year (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 164, n. 7). But the regnal year is given in words (not figures) where such a mistake is unlikely.

[5] *H.T.M.*, p. 24.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 333.

[8] *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 92.

[9] Banerji makes the novel suggestion that Kīrtivarman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karṇa! See *H.T.M.*, p. 24, n. 1.

that the Kalachuris wrested the Doab from the Pratihāras, but we do not know how long Trilōchanapāla continued to rule after 1027 A.C., the date of his Jhūsī plates.[1] If the *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśaḥpāla who made the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba-*maṇḍala* in 1037, A.C.[2] belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Trilōchanapāla could not have been a contemporary of Karṇa. It is not, however, unlikely that Yaśaḥpāla was a prince of the Pāla dynasty who, taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Pratihāra kingdom due to Muhammadan invasions, established himself for a short while in the country round Allahabad. In that case Trilōchanapāla may have continued to rule at Bāri for a few years after 1027, and may have therefore suffered a defeat at the hands of Karṇa's general Vappulla.

The village **Kādambarī**, where the temple of Śiva was erected, I am unable to identify.[3]

TEXT[4]

1 ......[5] [।*] — — — ‿ — — ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ — — ‿ — — [सदाना]यद्दृष्ट्वापि स्ववेद्यं सु[म]तिषु मुनयोपीक्षते[6] नोपदेष्टुं (ष्टुम्) । यैका (का) ल्यका

2 ‿ — — ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ — — ‿ — — ‿ — —, — — — — ‿ — तः [स]क[ल]सुकृतिनां स्वस्तये वस्तदस्तु[7] ॥[१॥*] प्रालेयाचलसागरान्तरचरान्कृत्वा व (ब) लाद्वोव (ब) लान् ॥[8] कारागार-

3 ‿ — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ — — — ‿ — — ‿ — [।] — — — ‿ ‿ — प्रमेय[9]चरितात्कोकल्लदेवादभूत्तस्माद्वा-रिधिवारितावनिपतिः श्रीकर्ण्णदेवोभवत् ॥[10][२॥*] यो विक्र[सं]-

4 ‿ ‿ ‿ — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — —, — — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — [सु ?]: ॥(।) आसन्नसर्व्व[वि]ल[य]: क्षितिभृद्वराणामत्युच्चमस्तककृतात्मपदप्रतिष्ठः ॥[11][३॥*] धम्म (र्म्म) श्रेण[12]सख: पुराणचरण:

5 — — ‿ — — ‿ —, — — — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ — — — [स*]टाभासुर: ॥ (।) वेदव्यासमुख: सुनीतिनयनो ह्रीमस्फुरत्केसरो जीया[द्]: कलिकुंजरज्वरकर: स्री (श्री) कर्ण्ण-

6 — — ‿ —[13][॥४॥*][14] — — — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ — — — ‿ — — ‿ —, — — — ‿ सता प्रसा (शा)-सति महीं चेदीन्न (न्द्र) चूडामणौ [।*] तत्पादांवु (बु) जपूजने स्थिरमतिर्वपु (प्पु) ल्लनामा कृती तपू (त्पू) र्व्वान्प्रथितानपि त्रिभुवने जित्वा

7 ‿ — — ‿ —[॥५॥*] — — — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ — — — ‿ — — ‿ वल्लभ्या लक्षितलक्षण: क्षिति[त]-ले सवो (र्व्वै) कनामाभवत् ॥(।) तस्माद्विज्जलराणकोरिगहनप्रोद्दामदावान-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 34 f.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* (1927), pp. 693 ff.

[3] Banerji's statements (*P. R. A. S. W. C.* 1920-21, p. 53) that line 12 mentions a village named *Tarmma* which is said to be well-known in the *Kādambarī* and that the scribe was an inhabitant of the village of Tarmma (l. 18) are clearly due to mislections of *nirmma[ā*]* in l. 12 and *tammin* (for *tasmin*) in l. 18.

[4] From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

[5] As the temple where the inscription was put up was dedicated to Śiva, the present record may have opened with ओं नम: शिवाय.

[6] Read -पीशते.

[7] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[8] These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[9] The sense requires a reading like अप्रमेय-.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[11] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[12] Read -श्राम-.

[13] These four *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as -विज्ञो नृप:.

[14] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

8 [ल:*] ———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑————⏑ ——⏑—[॥६॥*] [त*]स्यानुजो निजगुणार्जित–
साधुस(श)ब्दो(ब्दो) वीरो व(ब)भूव भुवि विग्रहराजनामा [।*] येनाहवे निहतवैरिविला–
सिनीभिः [स्मृ]–

9 —⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[1][॥७॥*]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—[जो] विश्रामपात्रमभव–
[च्च] स वीरलक्ष्म्याः । वपु(प्पु)ल्लकेति च कृतं निजनाम पित्रा यः पूर्व्ववीरसमतामनय–

10 ⏑——[॥८॥*]———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑ ⏑⏑————⏑——द्वयं[2] आरुह्योरु ततः सु[रे][3]–
समुचितान्सन्दर्शयन्चेष्टितान[4] । लोके घोटकविग्रहेति वि–

11 ⏑———⏑——⏑—, ———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑ ⏑⏑———[सु ?]चंद्रे ततः ॥[5][९॥*] यः पीत–
पर्व्वततला(ले) समरे धृतासिर्ज्जित्वा त्रिलोचनव(ब)लं तुलि[ता]र्ज्जु[न]श्रीः[6][।*] आवल्लको–

12 ⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——, ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [7][॥१०॥*] स क्षितिमलंकरिष्णुः
ससीव[8] गुणकिरणनिर्म्म[लो*] ग्रामे । कादंव(ब)र्या(र्यं) भिधाने[9] अकारयच्छंकरायतनं(नम्)॥
[११॥*][10]

13 ———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑— ——⏑——⏑—, ——प्तं मुनिभिर्यथोक्तविधिना लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठा–
पितं(तम्) । यत्प्रारंभदिनादनु प्रतिदिनं श्रीः पुत्रपौत्रानुगा जाता चं–

14 ⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑————⏑——⏑—[॥१२॥*][11]———⏑⏑—[श]णः सि(शि)वकृते
श्रीवत्सनामा कृतः ।[12] पार्स्वे(र्श्वे) देवकुलीचतुष्ट[य*]युतस्तासु क्रमाद्देवताः । ईसाने[13]

15 ⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑————⏑——⏑—, ———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—लक्ष्मीस्सनारायणा ॥[१३*]॥
तस्यानेकस(श)ताम्रां व(ब)हुविधविटपां च वाटिकां पुरतः । सज–

16 [ल*] . . . .[14] [॥१४॥*]——⏑——⏑⏑—⏑——,
सांतः(सान्त):पुरे ससुतभृत्ययुते प्रसन्नः । भूयाच्च कल्पान्तमनल्पपूज[:*] श्रीवपु(प्पु)लेश्वर
इति प्रथित[:*] सि(शि)वो–

17 [त्र*][15] [॥१५॥*] . . . . [।*] . . . . [स]–
हिता[16] [॥१६॥*] यद्यत्र कर्म्मणि सि(शि) वाय निवेद्यमाने लग्नं भवेत्क्वचन किंचन कांचनं
मे [।*] पुण्येन तेन ज–

18 ⏑—⏑ ⏑—⏑——, ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [॥१७॥*][17] ⏑—⏑——⏑⏑—⏑——, ⏑

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[1] Metre: of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[2] The *sandhi* is avoided here due to the exigency of the metre.

[3] The word सुर does not suit the metre here. Read स्वयं.

[4] Read –समुचितान्सन्दर्शयंश्चेष्टितान्. चेष्टित, however, is neuter in gender.

[5] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[6] Banerji read मुनिविज्जलश्रीः, but the first two *aksharas* are clearly तुलि, the third though somewhat indistinct can be read as ता; the following *akshara* is evidently र्ज्जु which leaves little doubt about the rest. Besides, the reading given above makes the double *entendre* on त्रिलोचन possible. See below, p. 284, n. 1.

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] Read शशीव.

[9] The hiatus here is due to the exigency of the metre.

[10] Metre: *Āryā*.

[11] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[13] Read ऐशान्यां.

[14] Metre: *Āryā* or *Gīti*.

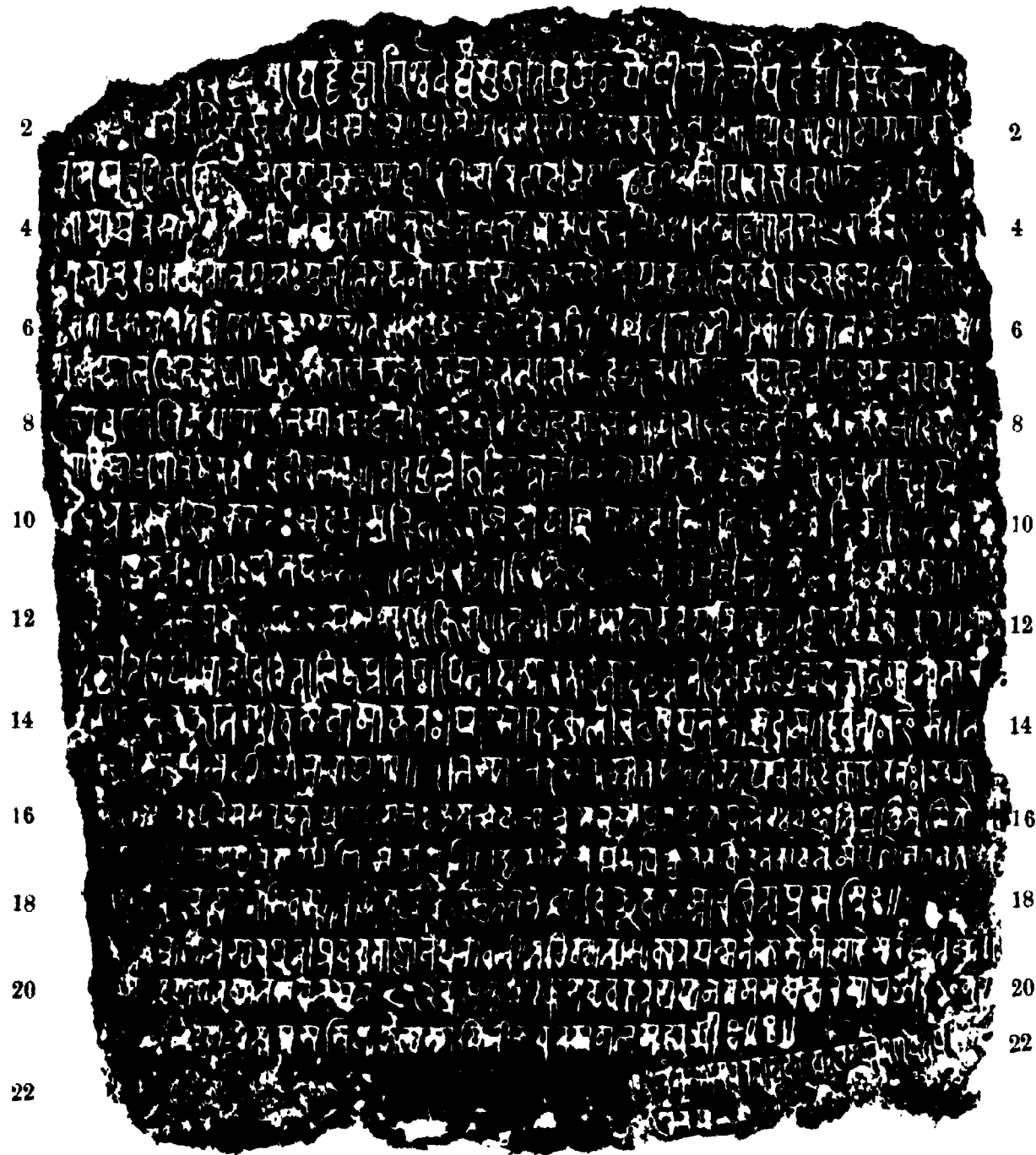
[15] The metre seems here to be a combination of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

[16] One verse is almost completely lost here; the cadence of the last three *aksharas* which are preserved suggests that the metre was *Āryā* or *Gīti*.

[17] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

A.—REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

B.—British Museum Plate of Karna

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

–स्य पंचायतनं सि(शि)वस्य । तस्मिन्नु[1]पीकेशसुतेन भवत्या विमूकनाम्ना रचिता प्रस(श)–
स्ति: ।।[2] [१८।।*]

19 . . . . विप्राणां(णाम्)
[।।१९।।*][3] तस्य च पत्नी प्रवरा नाम्ना नयनावलीति विख्याता [।*] साकारयन्मनोज्ञा(ज्ञां)
सोम्यां माहेश्वरीं प्रतिमां(माम्) ।।[4][२०।।*]

20 . . . . [नाम ?][5][दे]वपादा[नु]ध्यात[6]–
संवत्सत(र) ८१२ श्रीमत्कर्ण्णप्रकास(श)व्यवहरणया नवमसम्वत्सरे[7] माघसुदि १० गु[रौ]

21 . . . .[8] लिखापिता[9] प्रस(श)–
स्ति: ।। कल्पस्थायिनी भवत(तु) [।*) मगल[10] महाश्री: ।।०।।

22 ओं नमो भगवते वासु–
देवाय । ओ(ओं) नमो गणपतये ।।[11]

23 ओं नम[:।*]

TRANSLATION

[Ōṁ ! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May that [form of Śiva], which, an object of their knowledge, even the sages who know what happens in the three times (*i.e.*, in the past, present and future) are unable to describe, though they have seen it, to (*persons of*) good minds . . . . . of all virtuous persons, lead to your well-being.

(V. 2) There was (*born*) from **Kōkalladēva (II)** of incomprehensible actions, **[Gāṅgēyadēva]** who, having with his might rendered powerless the lords of the earth extending from the snow-mountain to the ocean, [threw them] into prison...... From him was (*born*) the illustrious **Karṇadēva,** the lord of the earth surrounded by the ocean.

(V. 3) Who [made over] to his friends....; (*who was*) the impending universal destruction; (*and*) who planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of the foremost among kings.[12]

(V. 4) May the king, [a lion in the form of] the illustrious **Karṇa,** be triumphant!—(*he*) whose nails are the knowledge of the sacred law; whose legs are the Purāṇas; who appears dreadful with his mane of....; whose open mouth is the Vēdas; whose eyes are good policy; whose shining hair is the sacrifice; (*and*) who causes fever to the elephant that is the Kali age.

(V. 5) While **(Karṇa),** the foremost (*lit.*, crest-jewel) of the kings of **Chēdi,** is ruling the earth, the wise (*man*) named **Vappulla,** who is firmly attached to the worship of his lotus-like feet, having subdued those who had previously attained fame in three worlds, ...

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[1] Read तस्मिन्हृषीकेश–.

[2] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[3] One verse in *Āryā* or *Gīti* is almost completely lost here.

[4] Metre: *Āryā.*

[5] The words in the beginning of l. 20 may be conjecturally supplied as श्रीपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री–.

[6] This expression should precede श्रीमत्कर्ण्ण–.

[7] Read –संवत्सरे.

[8] I am unable to suggest any restoration of the *aksharas* lost in the beginning of this line.

[9] Read लेखिता.

[10] Read मंगलं.

[11] This and the following line are incised in the right-hand corner.

[12] There may be a play on the word *kshitibhṛit.* The description in that case would equally apply to the sun at the time of world-destruction.

(V. 6) . . . . . was born—(*he*) whose good qualities were marked by the goddess of fortune, (*and*) whose name alone was noteworthy on the surface of the earth. From him (*was born*) **Vijjalarāṇaka,** the raging wild fire to the forests which were his enemies.

(V. 7) His younger brother **Vigraharāja,** a warrior, who earned praise by his excellences, was (*born*) on the earth; the wives of the enemies killed by whom, having remembered. . . . .

(V. 8) In battle he became the resting place of the goddess of heroism,—(*he*) who made his name **Vappullaka,** given to him by his father equal (*in fame*) to (*those of*) the heroes of old. . . . .

(V. 9) Having mounted the two mighty....and exhibiting deeds worthy of a god.........[fought the battle known] as the **Battle of Horses**......

(V. 10) He, sword in hand, having defeated at the foot of the **Yellow Mountain,** the army of **Trilōchana** equalled the glory of Arjuna[1] (*who overpowered the might of the three-eyed god Śiva*).........

(V. 11) Gracing the earth like the moon, he, being stainless with his excellences, as the moon is with her rays, caused a temple of Śaṅkara to be constructed in the village called **Kādambarī.**

(V. 12) [Where] (*this*) *linga* was installed by sages according to the rite laid down (*in the sacred texts*); since the day of whose installation the goddess of fortune has day after day attended the sons and grandsons..........

(V. 13) [In the temple]......was installed (*the image?*) named **Śrīvatsa,** being surrounded by four small shrines; in them (*were installed*) the (*following*) deities in order—on the north-eastern (*side*)........(*and*) Lakshmī together with Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 14) In front of it (*i. e.*, the temple) [he planted] a garden containing hundreds of mango trees and various (*other*) kinds of trees...... [with a well full of] water.

(V. 15) May Śiva who is known as the holy Vappulēśvara receive (*here*) abundant worship to the end of the world and be gracious to **[Vappulla]** together with (*the inmates of*) his inner appartment, his sons and servants.

(V. 16) . . . . . together with . . . . .

(V. 17) By the religious merit [*which I may have acquired*] by what gold of mine has been spent on this work which is dedicated to Śiva..........

(V. 18) [He built] a five-shrined temple of Śiva. In it the son of Hṛishīkēśa named **Vijhūka** has, with devotion, composed this *praśasti.*

(V. 19) . . . . . of the Brāhmaṇas . . . . .

(V. 20) His distinguished wife is known by the name of **Nayanāvalī.** She caused a beautiful image of Mahēśvara together with Umā to be made.

(Line 20) (*This*) *Praśasti* [was caused to be written] . . . . on **Thursday, the 10th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year 812 in the ninth year of administration** rendered glorious by the illustrations **Karṇa** who meditates on the feet of [the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious] **Vāmadēva.** May it last to the end of the world! May there be bliss and great prosperity! Ōṁ! Obeisance to the divine Vāsudēva! Ōṁ! Obeisance to Gaṇapati. Ōṁ! Obeisance!

[1] There is a play on the word *Trilōchana* meaning (1) a king of that name and (2) the god Śiva. For Arjuna's fight with Śiva see the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, adhyāya 167, vv. 9 ff.

No. 54; PLATE XLIII B

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

THIS is a single copper-plate which, together with its ring and seal, was presented by Sir A. W. Franks to the British Museum, London, and is now preserved in that Museum. It seems to have been discovered somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh, but its exact find-spot is not known. It is edited here for the first time from excellent photostat copies kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.

This is the first of the two copper-plates forming a set, which recorded the grant of some Kalachuri king of Tripurī, probably Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. It measures 1′ 5¼″ broad and 12¾″ high. It has a ring and a large seal 3¾″ in diameter. The weight of the plate is 10 lbs. and that of the ring and seal 6 lbs. and 1 oz. The writing on it is in a state of excellent preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It has a hole 1″ in diameter at the bottom of the inscribed side for the ring which must have originally held together the two plates of the set. The plate contains twenty-one lines of writing. The average size of the letters is .4″. The seal, though it resembles that of the Goharwa plates in the disposition of the figures, symbols and legend on it, was evidently cast from a different mould. The figures of Lakshmī and the elephants are much better executed here than on the seal of the Goharwa plates.[1]

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Goharwa plates. Some of the individual letters like *ś* and *bh* are, however, shaped as in the Banaras plates; the upper loop of *th* is slightly open in *-pathagān-*, l.12 and the sign of *avagraha* occurs once only in l.13. The record is very carelessly written. The writer has confused *y*, *s* and *bh*, as well as *t* and *bh*. In one case he has not even incised an *akshara* completely. See *tū* in *-tūrya-*, l.14. In a few places the record is so corrupt, that it would have been well-nigh impossible to restore the correct text without the help of the Goharwa plates. But strange as it might appear, the present record has helped in the restoration of verse 9 which though it occurs in both the Goharwa plates and the Rewa stone inscription[2] is incorrectly written in the former and is partly mutilated in the latter.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the word *siddhiḥ* in the beginning, the extant portion is wholly in verse. There are, in all, twenty-one verses, of which the first twenty are completely written. The record breaks off after the first two *aksharas* of the second half of the twenty-first verse. The orthography shows the usual peculiarties of the substitution of *v* for *b* and *s* for *ś*, the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and so forth.

The record, so far as it goes, is identical with the Goharwa *plates*. The genealogy of the donor is traced from the moon down to Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. On the present plate the inscription ends abruptly in the middle of the description of Karṇa and before the commencement of the formal part of the grant. It is not, therefore, possible to say definitely who actually made the grant. But, as the draft of the eulogistic portion of the Goharwa plates, which is used here, is not known to have been adopted by any successors of Karṇa, the present grant was probably made by Karṇa himself. As the second plate is not forthcoming, all details such as the object, occasion and date of the grant are lost.

[1] Above, No. 50.
[2] Above, No. 51.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धि[:] ॥ निर्गु(र्गु)णं व्यापकं नि[त्यं] सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) । ता(भा)वग्र(ग्रा)-
[ह्यं] परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे[2] नसः(मः) ॥[3][१॥*] सु(शु)द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव -
रोव(प)यन्ति यां मुनयः । सो(मो)-

2 क्षस(म)हाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा ज[य]ति ॥[4][२॥*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेस(य)स-
(सु)धानिधानसा(मा)विर्व्वं(र्व्वं)भूव भवभ(भू)षणमिन्दुरेषः । अस्या[द]जाव[5] बु(बु)धः स

3 किल क्षी(क्षि)तीस(श)या(मा)द्यं पुरूरवसमाप तनूजरत्नस(म्) ॥[6][३॥*] इति [महति] सुधामयू-
खवन्से[7] नृपतिरजायत मो(मौ)क्तिकायमानः । अल[भ]त [भ]द(र)तः स व(च)क्र-

4 वत्ती(र्त्ती) त्रिभुवत(न)भूषणभूयमेक एव ॥[8][४॥*] तत्रोदितोदितकू(कु)ले जगतीपतीनासी-
(मी)सः(शः) क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवत्ता(र्ती) । यस(स्य) प्रचण्डभुजप[ञ्ज]रस(म)-

5 ध्यवत्ती(र्ती) कारागृहे वृ(धृ)त इव प्र(प्र)समं दसा(शा)स्यः ॥[9][५॥*] [वै][10]रे(रि)धा-
(ध्वा)[न्तभिदः] सहस्रकरतो सू(भू)पालचूडाम(म)णि(णे)र्यस्मादद्भुत[11]वा(बा)हुव(ब)न्ध-
विधुरो नक्त(क्तं)र(च)रग्रामी(म)णीः [।*]

6 हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितश्रीक(कं)ठसे(शै)लोधृ(द्धृ)ति[:*] प्राग्वि(ग्वि)क्रान्तस(म)-
मता(न्य)त स्वयमपि स्वप्नेन्द्रजाला(लो)प[म*]म् ॥[12] [६॥*] स(य)शाग्न(ग्नि)धूमैः
परितोषिवेद्रा[13]-

7 [त]स्मादभूवन्व(न्ब)[ह]वो नरे(रें)द्राः । राष्ट्रे न येषां चि(चि)रराम यु(वृ)ष्टिर्व्विपक्षनारा(री)-
नयनास्तु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥[14][७॥*] पं(बं)गाल[भङ्ग]नि[पु]पः(णः) परिभू[त]पाण्ड्यो
लाटेस(श)लुण्टनपटु-

8 र्ज्जितगूज्ज(ज्जं)रेन्द्रः । कस्मीरवीरमुकुत्वर्च्चित[15]पाव(द)पीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदे-
[व]: ॥[16][८॥*] आस(सी)धन्व(द्वि)जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामखे[17]दो-

9 दयात्यूज्र्जतसैनिकगन्धसिन्धुरसि(शि)रःसिंदूरपूरारुणः । त्वंगत्तुंगतरंगताडे(डि)तमहाक्षोणीभृ-
दंभोनिधिः पूर्णो वैरिकठोरकंठदलनासृ-

10 क्सिन्धुपूरे(रै)रिव[18]॥[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गा(ङ्गो) निःसे(शे)षशास्त्रीषरणाय से(शे)-

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[1] From photostats kindly supplied by the Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London.

[2] Read -द्ब्रह्मणे.

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Metre: *Āryā*.

[5] Read -जायत.

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[7] Read -वंशे.

[8] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] The engraver first incised पै and afterwards changed it to वै.

[11] त, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

[12] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[13] Read परितोषितेन्द्रा-.

[14] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[15] Read काश्मीरवीरमुकुटार्च्चित-.

[16] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[17] खि, which was first incised, is altered to खे.

[18] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* .

यः । ततः स जज्ञे जगदेकवं[द्य]ब्बे(स्वे)वा(वी)र्य्यांशो यु(यु)वराजदेवः ॥[1] [१०॥*] यौव-

11 वे(ने)न नवौ यस्य प्रता[पे]नाविमृष्टं(ष्टं)यु । कुमारविघु(धुं)जेप्य(प्म)रिति(भि)स्त्रिति-(भि)स्तु[त्यं] पदं दरे(धे) ॥[2][११॥*] भूभारक्षमदुक्खु(क्षु)तिप्रणयिनीमालम्व(म्ब)मा-नस्तनुं कृष्णा(र्णा)णः समरे-

12 पि नाकपथगालाग[च्छ]तो वे(वि)द्विषः । ब्ख्याता[3] भ(भु)वि भूरिमार्ग्गगमनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहि-ना(नीं) यः साक्षात्परम(मे)स्व(श्व)रः समत(भ)वत्सम्यक्विस(क्रिया)चा(वा)रावसा(ना)-त(त्) ।[4][।१२॥*] दि-

13 क्पर्य्यन्त[5]निखातयूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालचू(चू)डामणि यस्मा[6]दद्‌(दभु)तविक्रम[:*] क्रमवसा(शा)त्को-कल्लनामाऽभवता(त् ।) चक्र(क्रे) यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गांगना-

14 संगना(मा)रंभे नं(मं)गल[शू][7]यंकार्यमहित[श्रो]णीपतीनां रसन्[8]॥[१३॥*] आसा(शा)-जये समर[9]सिधुरगंधरोधाबस्योबदाय[त]कराः कक्कु[क](भां) क-

15 रा(री)द्राः । तू(फू)त्कारमक्षमिव[10]खेचरनायकस्य चक्रुः कपे(पो)लमधुपध्वनिभिर्निरासाः(शाः) ॥[11][१४॥*] यस्म(स्मि)न्मुर्वैकप्रसवे प्रजाना(नां) चेतोसिके[12]

16 वसत[13]भ(?)वर्त्तमाने । तत्वे(स्वे) परस्म(स्मि)सि(नि)व योगसा(मा)आ(वां) नि[14]तान्तम-स्तप्तससा मूलीच[म् ॥][15] [१५॥*] आ[काम]दूर्द्ध(दूर्ध्वं) वा(व)ह्रा(ह्मा)ण्ड[सं]सट्टसातेतं यशः[16]

17 या(म)न्ये यस्य(स्यें)दुनक्षत्ताराबाकरिता गतम[17] ॥[18][१६॥*] हा(का)रापंजरबद्धकीरनृप-सेदीराङ्कलक्ष्मीबारे[19]स्तस्मात्कुन्त(न्त)लम(मं)गमंगिर[सि]का(को) मा(गां)-

18 गेयदेवोभव[त्] ॥ (।) येनाकारि करीन्द्रकु(कुं)भदलनव्यापारं(र)सारात्मना निर्ज्ज(र्ज्ज)-त्योरकलमज्जि(ञ्जि)सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥[20][१७॥*] अमुण-

19 श्रेति लोकेति स्यातं यदिह दुर्ज्जं(य्यं)सः(शः) । लक्ष्मा(क्ष्म्या)स्तपुना पो(पौ)तं द(वि)[व्य]मादाय तत्पुः ॥[21][१८॥*] अति[म]नोर[म](म)मर्विजने मनं दिस(श)ति यत्र स कल्पत-

20 [रु]स्तरुः । रिमु(पु)यसः(शः)कुमु(मु)दाकरता(चा)स्करः सुतमसूत स क[र्ण्ण][न]रा-धिप[म्] ॥[22][१९॥*] आक्र(क्रा)न्तवृन्तसात(म)न्तप्रतापप्रसराद(दि)व । [चर*]-

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[1] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Read विख्याता.

[4] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] Read दिक्पर्यन्त-.

[6] Read चूडामणेर्यस्मा-

[7] The curve on the left of the vertical of this *akshara* has not been incised.

[8] The Goharwa plates read भृशं(शम्) here. The Rewa stone inscription has the same reading as here.

[9] The Goharwa plates read समद-.

[10] Read -मार्त्त-.

[11] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[12] Read तेजोनिधौ.

[13] Read चेतसि.

[14] Read नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्.

[15] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[16] Read -संघट्टस्फुटितं यशः.

[17] Read -ताराकारतां गतम्.

[18] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[19] Read -कीरनृपतिर्दीप्तोरुलक्ष्मीपदे- as in the Goharwa plates.

[20] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[21] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[22] Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

21 णे(णो) रणसे(शौ)ण्डस(स्य) सोम्माणा(णौ) यस्य रेजतुः ॥[1] [२०॥*] [स्फु]र[त्कृपा]
[वज्रचक्राभ्यां][2] सत्कृपाव्याजेन हस्तयोः ।. य(ब)सा(भा)[र] यः ।[4] सय[5]

(The second plate is not forthcoming.)

Seal

श्रीमत्कर्ण्णदेवः ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of vv. 1-21, see above, pp. 259-61.)

Seal

The illustrious Karṇadēva.

No. 55; Plate XLIV

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

The **stone** bearing this inscription is fixed upside down into the plinth of a pavilion at **Simrā**, a village about 10 miles north-west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. It was first referred to by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Jubbulpore District Gazetteer*, p. 185, and subsequently in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar.*[6] It is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription which is in a state of good preservation, contains four lines. The writing covers a space measuring 3′ 5″ broad by 11″ high. The average size of the letters is 1.8″. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 11th century A.C. The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is very carelessly written. As regards **orthography** the vowel *i* is used for *yī* in *vijai*, l.1, *naya* is written several times for the conjunct *ṇya*, *rī* for the vowel *ṛi* in *krītaṁ*, l.4, and *l* for *r* in *Lāuti* in l.3.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign[7] of the *Bhaṭṭārakaprabha*, the illustrious **Karṇa**, who, judging by the characters and provenance of the present inscription, seems to be identical with the well-known Kalachuri king of that name. The **object** of the inscription appears to be to record the death of some persons who are said to have gone to the holy world. It is not stated on what occasion they lost their lives.[8] The record ends with the statement that the commemorative stone was put up by **Janāda** (Janārdana?).

As stated above, the stone is built upside down into the plinth of a pavilion, which shows that it is not in its original position.

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[1] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh*.

[2] The letters in the brackets are not clear.

[3] Perhaps –लिङ्कव्याजेन is intended. The Goharwa plates have एकव्याजेन which is not quite satisfactory.

[4] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

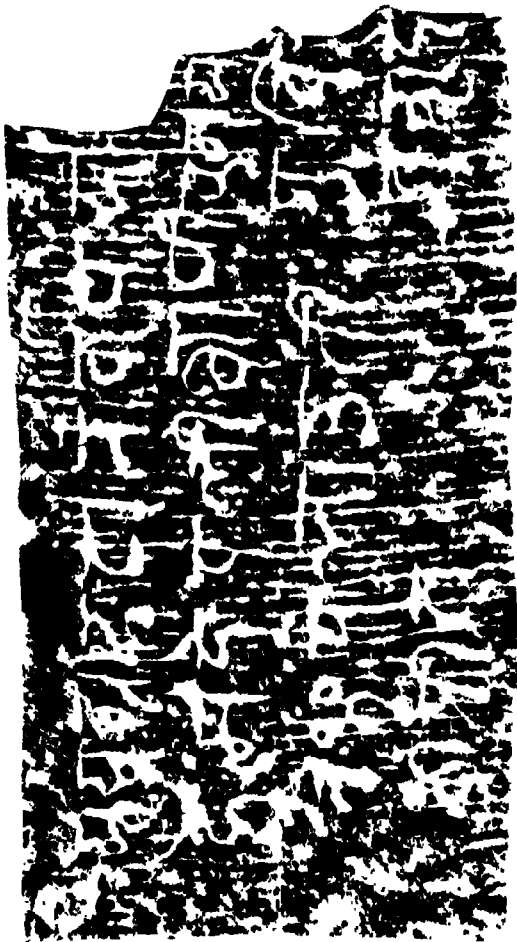
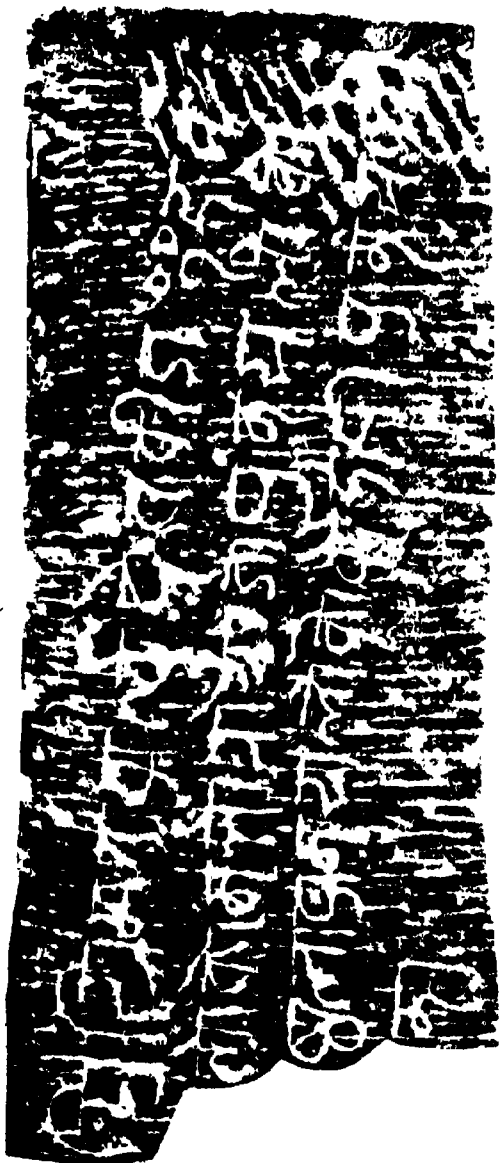
[5] Read यः श्रियं. The Goharwa plates complete the verse as—साक्षाद्विन्द्रोपेन्द्रविज(जं)यिनी(नीम्) ॥

[6] First ed., p. 40; second ed. p., 43. Cunningham, who visited Simrā in 1883-84, does not appear to have noticed this inscription.

[7] Instead of the usual expression *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyē*, we have here *vijai(yī)bhava[ti*]*.

[8] Since the name of Karṇa is mentioned in the beginning, it may be conjectured that they met with death in some battle of that king.

Simra Stone Inscription of Karna

Left Half

Right Half

SCALE. ONE-FOURTH.

B. Ch. Chhabra.
Reg. No 3977 E'36–778'51

Survey of India, Calcutta.

TEXT[1]

1 स्वस्त(स्ति) [।*] श्रीभटा(ट्टा)रकप(प्र)भजि(जि)श्रिम(श्री)मत्[क]र्ण्णदेव श्रीजइ भव[2]
2 हेमद्योपली गोपी पुनयलोके[3] । मलोग्र[रा]जा[ज:?] पुनयलोके[4]।
3 लइपलाउली[5] सु(?)विस्थला(ल:) [पु]नयलोके[4]। [कै]देही पुनयलो-
4 की[4] [।*][कीर्]तं[6] जनादेन[7] ।

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the victorious reign of the *Bhaṭṭārakaprabha*, the illustrious Karṇa, Hēmadōpalī Gōpī (*has gone*) to the holy world, Malōrāgrāja (*has gone*) to the holy world, the *Rāut* Talpa Suvashṭhala (*has gone*) to the holy world, (*and*) Kaidēhī (*has gone*) to the holy world. (*This record*) was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

No. 56; PLATE XLV

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

THESE plates were found enclosed in a large stone chest at Khairhā,[8] a village in Vindhya Pradesh, about eight miles south-west of the Burhar railway station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. They were published, with a lithograph and a translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff. They are edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1′ 6.8″ in breadth and 1′ 1.5″ in height. They were held together by a stout ring, passing through a hole about .8″ in diameter at the top of each plate. Its ends were not originally soldered. To the ring is attached a bell-shaped seal, on the counter-sunk circular surface of which appears in relief a rudely executed figure of Lakshmī attended by an elephant on either side, pouring water on her head. Below this is the legend *Śrīmad-Yaśaḥkarṇṇadēvaḥ* in a single line across the diameter. At the bottom of all is the figure of the couchant Nandī facing proper right, with an incense-pot on either side. The total weight of the plates and the seal is 14 seers and 25 tolas.

The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. There are forty-four lines in all, of which twenty-one are written on the inner side of the first plate, and the remaining twenty-three on that of the second. The average size of the letters is ·5″. The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of the initial *i*—the older one in *Chhitapati-*, l.30 and the later one in *iva*, l.6, the sign of the rare *ḷi* which appears as a subscript letter in *-klipta-*, l.16, and the medial *u* which is added to the left limb of *j* in *jugupsati*, l.8 and to the right side of the vertical of *y* in *-nāmany-udgamam*, l.16. The sign of *avagraha* occurs in ll.11, 15 and 39, and a vertical dash at the end of l.27. In other respects the characters resemble those of the Goharwa plates of Karṇa.

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[1] From inked estampages.
[2] This *akshara* is superfluous.
[3] Read श्रीजयदेवे हेमदत्तेपल्ली.
[4] Read पुण्यलोके.
[5] Perhaps राउत तल्पा: was intended.
[6] Read कृतं.
[7] Perhaps जनार्दनेन was intended.
[8] The place is named Khairā in the Degree Map 64 E.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The first twenty-two lines contain twenty-four verses composed in the *kāvya* style, eulogising the donor and his ancestors. They are followed by a prose portion (ll.22-31), containing the formal part of the grant and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (ll.31-44). The record ends with the mention of the writer's name and the customary blessing, *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*. The following **orthographical** peculiarities may also be noticed:—the palatal *ś* is generally written as the dental *s* (see, *e.g.*, *-rāsi-* and *-sat-ōpabhōgyā-*, both in l.3), while the reverse also occurs in two places, *-bhāśi*, l.19 and *śalila-*, l.38; the sign for *v* is everywhere employed to denote *b*, see *Vrahmaṇē*, l.1 and *-avdhi-*, l.2; the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated, see *chaṁdr-ārkka-*, l.14, *svarggē*, l.36; finally, the *anusvāra* before the dental *s* is wrongly changed to *n* in *-vansa-*, l.6.

The plates were issued by **Yaśaḥkarṇa** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. His pedigree is traced to Vishṇu. After the mythological and legendary ancestors Brahmā, Atri, the moon, Purūravas, Bharata and Kārtavīrya, the first historical personage mentioned here is **Yuvarājadēva,** who is identical with the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. His son **Kōkalla (II)** is said to have been placed on the throne by the chief ministers of the realm. Kōkalla's son was **Gāṅgēyadēva** who became famous as **Vikramāditya.** In the course of his description we are told that wishing to run away from him the king of **Kuntala** ceased to wield his spear.[1] Gāṅgēya died with his hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga. His son and successor was **Karṇadēva** who constructed at Banaras a high temple which he named *Karṇamēru*[2] after himself. He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called **Karṇāvatī.** He married a **Hūṇa** princess named **Āvalladēvī.** From her he had a son named **Yaśaḥkarṇa** whom he himself crowned king. Yaśaḥkarṇa routed the **Andhra** king and worshipped the god **Bhīmēśvara** near the **Gōdāvarī.**

The present plates were granted at **Banaras**[3] by **Yaśahkarṇa** who is described in the formal portion exactly like his father Karṇa in the Goharwa plates. They record the royal donation of the village **Deulā-Pañchēla** situated in the *pattalā* of **Dēvagrāma** in the *uddēśa* (district?) of **Vāsudēva.** The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named **Gaṅgādhara,** the son of Chhitapaï and grandson of Siā, who belonged to the Kāṇva *gōtra* with three *pravaras*,[4] and was a student of the Ṛigvēda. The grant was made on the occasion of a **saṅkrānti** on **Sunday, the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823** (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era. The record was written by **Vāchchhūka,** the writer of religious documents.

The date of the present grant must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out correctly. The fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 823, if we take it to be expired as usual, fell on the 6th March 1072 A.C., when the week-day was Tuesday, not Sunday as required. Besides, the Mīna-saṅkrānti did not fall on that day but had taken place on the 22nd of February of that year, which was a Wednesday. Taking the year as current, we find that the aforementioned *tithi* fell on Wednesday (the 16th February 1071 A.C.), and not on Sunday,

[1] Hiralal took the sentence *yasmād . . . . . va(ba)bhāra* to mean that Gāṅgēyadēva restored Kuntala to its king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207). But this interpretation is wrong, see below p. 297, n. 4. The king of Kuntala defeated by Gāṅgēyadēva was probably Jayasiṁha-Jagadēkamalla, who ruled from about 1015 to 1042 A. C. and was thus a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva.

[2] See below, p. 297, n. 5.

[3] See the words 'here in Kāśī' in verse 13 of the text.

[4] Only two of these are named in ll.29-30, *viz.*, Āpla(na)va(vā)na and Jāmadagni(gnya). The third was probably Aurva. See below, p. 295, n. 6.

while the Mīna-saṅkrānti took place five days later on Monday, the 21st February. In 1073 A.C., though it would not suit the epoch of the era (*viz*., 247-48 A.C.) as finally determined by Dr. Kielhorn, the *tithi* according to Mr. Sewell's calculations[1] fell on Sunday (the 24th February 1073 A.C.), but the Mīna-saṅkrānti had taken place three days earlier, on the 21st February. None of these dates would, therefore, suit; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first edited the present plates, preferred the last of them on the ground that in that case, the *tithi* at least is found to agree with the week-day. As for the discrepancy of the saṅkrānti he conjectured that 'the record was possibly dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donee, though the grant was made on the auspicious saṅkrānti day[2].' The statement in the original plates is, however, quite clear. It couples the saṅkrānti with the *tithi* and the week-day. Besides, the date in 1073 A.C. would not, as already remarked, suit Kielhorn's epoch of the Kalachuri era, the reliability of which in regard to the later dates of the era is now beyond question. The mistake, therefore, must lie somewhere else.

The only year in the period from 1060 A.C. to 1100 A.C., in which the Mīna-saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day came close together is 1076 A.C. In that year the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna ended 17 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 21st February and, therefore, gave its number to that day. The Mīna-saṅkrānti also took place 1 h. 15 m. after sunrise on the following day[3]. The year 1076 A.C. would not, however, correspond to the Kalachuri year 823. There appears to be some mistake in the last numeral of the date. The Kalachuri year, if expired, must have been 827. The date of the Christian era, corresponding to the saṅkrānti, is, therefore, Monday, the 22nd February 1076 A.C.

The present grant refers to Yaśaḥkarṇa's victory over an Andhra king. The latter was probably Vijayāditya VII who ruled from *circa* 1061 to 1076 A.C.[4] After vanquishing him, Yaśaḥkarṇa is said to have worshipped Bhīmēśvara with jewellery. From the description given here, this temple of Bhīmēśvara seems to have been situated near the Gōdāvarī. There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but from the description given here, the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tāluka* seems to be intended. 'The real centre of religious interest at Drākshārām is the temple of Bhīmēśvarasvāmī. It contains a particularly big *liṅgam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high. This is supposed to be a part of a *liṅgam*, which broke into five pieces and fell at five holy places, namely at Bhīmavaram or Bhīmarāma in Cocanada, Pālakollu or Kshīrarāma in Krishna, Amarāvati or Amarārāma in the Guntur District, and Kumārarāma which is not identified. It is supposed to have been erected by the sun and worshipped by the seven sages who made the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The seven sages are supposed to have each brought water from their respective rivers under-ground to the tank at Drākshārāmam which is called the *Sapta-Gōdāvarī*, seven Gōdāvarīs. There is a sacred bathing ghat, which confers in a condensed form all the sanctity which is to be obtained by separate baths in each of the seven rivers..... The temple is a rather handsome two-storeyed building. Its erection is ascribed by popular tradition to an unknown Chōla

[1] According to S.K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* current at sunrise on Sunday was the *pūrṇimā*.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 206.

[3] There is thus a discrepancy of one day. For a somewhat analogous case, see the date of the Basāhi plates of Gōvindachandradēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 363. The saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day occurred together on the 22nd February 1103 A. C., but it is very doubtful if Yaśaḥkarṇa had retained his hold over Banaras at that time, as implied in verse 13 of the present inscription.

[4] Several inscriptions of the reign of this prince are found at Drākshārāma. See *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 724.

king.'[1] The earliest inscription at Drākshārām is that of the time of Rājarāja, dated 1035 A.C. The foregoing account will show that the temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as intimated in the present inscription; for the river flows about fourteen miles away from it, but the description given here can be understood, as has already been suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, to refer to the tank at Drākshārām, which is popularly believed to contain the seven streams of the Gōdāvarī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, **Tripurī** has already been shown to be Tewar, a village about 6 miles from Jabalpur. **Karṇāvatī** has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with the deserted village Karanbēl which lies about a mile from Tripurī[2]. The name has 'a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of *bēl* trees to supply leaves to the numerous Śiva *liṅgas* once enshrined there'[3]. **Kuntala** has been already shown to be the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. As regards **Deulā-Pañchēla** it appears to be a joint place-name. The first part of it is probably represented by Deori, now a deserted village 10 miles north by west of Khairhā, and the second by Pāchri which lies only two miles to the north of Deori. **Dēvagrāma,** the headquarters of the sub-division (*pattalā*) in which the donated village was situated, was identified by R.B. Hiralal with Deogavān close to Khairhā 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings'[4]. The word *Vāsudēv-ōddēśē*, which precedes *Dēvagrāma-pattalāyām* in lines 27-28 of the present grant was taken by R.B. Hiralal to mean 'in honour of Vāsudēva'. From the context, however, it seems to denote a territorial division. Besides Yaśaḥkarṇa was a devotee of Mahēśvara (Siva), not of Vāsudēva. If the grant was made in honour of any deity it must have been Siva. I am, therefore, inclined to take *Vāsudēv-ōddēśe* of the text to mean 'in the district of Vāsudēva'. An analogous expression *Vāsudēva-khaṇḍa-vishayē,* which undoubtedly denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjām plates of Raṇabhañjadēva,[5] edited by R.B. Hiralal himself. There are several places[6] named after Vishṇu in the surrounding territory of Vindhya Pradesh.

TEXT [7]

1 ओं नमो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणे:[8] ॥ जयति वलजभा(ना)भस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जा-
तवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः । अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्ष्णप्त(स्त)वनु जयति जन्म प्रा-

2 प्तवानब्धि(ब्धि)व(ब)न्धुः ॥[9][१॥*] अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गुहजामातरमब्ज(ब्ज)-
बा(बा)[न्ध]वस्य । तनय(यं) जनयांवमूव[10] राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ।[11][।२॥*] पुत्रं
पुरु(रू)रवस-

[1] The *Godavari District Gazetteer*, pp. 250 ff.

[2] It may be noted in this connection that *Karṇapura* is also the name of a ridge near Kāritalāi.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 209. The expression 'the crown of the heavenly river' used in describing the settlement in v. 14 seems, however to suggest that the settlement was on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Hall supposed that the epithet, though usually appropriated to the Gaṅgā was here applied to the Narmadā, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 115, n. 4.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

[6] One place named *Rāmpur*, for instance, lies only about 16 miles north by east of Khairhā.

[7] From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

[8] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[9] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[10] Read जनयाम्बभूव.

[11] Metre: *Aupachchhandasika.*

3 श्रीरत्नस्य सूनु[र्] अस्य [illegible]सि(शि)[illegible] । [illegible](स्य)स(श)तोप–
[illegible]सी(शी) [illegible] सुकन्नमिह्रोर्व (र्वे)रा स ॥[1][३॥*] अत्र(त्रा)न्वये

4 किल स(श)शिकसम्पिने(मे)मयूरोप[म]उयमुनोक्तविस्तकीर्त्तिः । सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नर–
स(श)नाभरण(णा)भिरामविश्वं(श्वं)भरामु(भु)वरतो भरतो ब(ब)भूव ॥[४॥*] हेलागृही–

5 [त]²पुनरुक्तभरस्त्ततो[3] गोत्रे [illegible]कमस्य स कार्त(र्त)वीर्य्यः । अत्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्व–
पुंसि राजेति नाम [म]लमणि [illegible] यः ।[।५॥*] स हिमाच–

6 ल इव र(क)लचु(चु)रिवन्स[4]प्रसूत समान्द(मु)तां भर्त्ता । मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं
महीपतिभिः ॥[5][६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवता(तां) प्रवरो न(नृ)पेन्द्र[:] [पौ]रंदरीमि(मि)व
पुरीं

7 त्रिपुरां(रीं)पुनानः ॥(।) आसीत्सतत्व[6]नृपमन्वणज(जा)भिराजनिमा(र्मा)ण(णि)केसरियुवा युव–
राजदेवः ॥[7] [७॥*] सिंहासने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सुनुमाकल्पकल्पबनिमर्तुर[मा]त्यमुख्याः ॥(।)

8 कोकल्लमर्ण्णवमनु(नु)ष्टयवीचिरा(सं)यस(सं)बद्धस्तचतुरंगचमूप्रचारम् ॥[८॥*] इंदुप्रभां नि–
दति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती । र(य)स प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रति–

9 भाति कीर्त्तिः ।[8][।९॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रोक्ष्वक्षाः स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिघदैर्घां(र्घ्यं) लंघयन्दोर्द्व–
येन ॥(।) शिरसि कुलि[स](श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गे–

10 यदेवः ।[9][।१०॥*] स वीरसिंहासनमौलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्मादकस्माद–
पयानमिच्छ(च्छ)न् कुन्तलः[10] कुन्तलतां ब(ब)भार ॥[11][११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवट्ट(ट)मूलनि–
वेस(श)बन्धौ[12]

11 सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) ॥(।) पुत्रे(त्रो)ऽस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द(न्द्र)–
कुम्भमुक्ताफलैः(लैः) स्म ककुभोर्च्चति [क]र्ण्णदेवः ॥[13][१२॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजय–
न्तीसमीर–

12 ग्लपितगगनलोलस्रो(त्से)चरीचक्रखेदः ॥(।) किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) यस्य दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)–
वीचीवलयब(ब)हलकीर्त्तेः कीर्त्तनं क[र्ण्णं]¹⁴मेरु[:*] ।[15][।१३॥*] अयं धाम श्रेयसो वेद–
विद्याव–

13 ल्लीकन्दः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं(टम्) [।*] ब(ब)ह्मस्तंभो[16] येन कर्ण्णावतीति प्रत्यष्ठापि क्ष्मा–
तलव(ब)ह्माला(लो)कः ॥[17][१४॥*] चा(अ)जनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजल–
निधि[ल]क्ष्मा(क्ष्म्यां) श्रीमता–

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[1] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

[2] The engraver first incised ता, but later on cancelled the second vertical stroke.

[3] Read –शास्त्रो.

[4] Read –वंश–.

[5] Metre: *Āryā*.

[6] Read वासीत्सुतान्व–.

[7] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[9] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[10] Hiralal read –सकुन्तलः.

[11] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[12] Read –बन्धौ.

[13] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[14] The superscript *r* is not completely incised.

[15] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[16] Read –स्तंभो. Compare ब(ब)ह्मस्तंभ(भ)स्थान in l.2. of the Bargaon temple inscription of Śabara (No. 43, above).

[17] Metre: *Śālinī*.

14 वण्ण(ल्ल)देव्यां(व्याम्) । पाशभृद्दयश(श)शाङ्क(ङ्क)स्य(स्य)कुमुदाम्बि(म्बि)केलासहृषरित-
यशःश्रीः श्रीयश:(शः)कर्ण्णदेवः ।[1][।१५॥*] चंद्रार्क्कदीपवति पर्व्वतराजकूर्म्मकुंभावभासिनि
महाब्धि(ब्धि)चतुष्कमध्ये [।*]

15 चक्रे(क्रे) पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिप्ल(पू)तकर्म्मा धर्म्मात्म(त्म)नोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं(कम्) ।[2]
[।१६॥*] न खलखलखगो[ष्ठी]पक्षपातस्य पार्श्वं न खलु कलुषवर्याकज्जकाद्गारकारः ।[3]

16 कलयनि(ति) कलिनामभ्युद्गमं यस्त्रियामातमसि जयति जस्बू(म्बू)दी(द्वी)पतज(ल)प्रदीपः ।[4]
[।१७॥*] चिन्तामणिकल्पतरुप्रित्तियुग्मक्रोडे स्यादि कामधेनुदुग्ध(ग्धम्) । दृस्ये दृसोस्तस्य[5] दा-

17 नुः(तुः) मो(सा)दृस्यं(श्यं) धवलारुणेक्षणस्य ।[6] [।१८॥*] यः ककुप्कुञ्जरो(रा)लानस्तमु-
(म्भ)सव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः । क्ष्मोपान्तेषु जयस्तं[भा]नुवस्तंभयधुन्वकैः ।[7][।१९॥*] [यो] ब्र(ब्र)-
ह्मणां पाणिपु(षु) पंचषाणि दा-

18 सा निषत्ते पयसां पृषन्ति [।*] तैरेव तृप्ता(ष्णा)मवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रव(थ)यन्त्यव-
जा(ज्ञाम्) ।[8][।२०॥*] महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः । गरिम्णा मे[9]रुरत्यर्थं कृ-

19 तार्थयति योधिनः ।[10][।२१॥*] स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)ससु(शु)-
चीनि ॥ (।) सा(शा)र्ङ्गतल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि[11] स्फीततां दधति यस्य य-

20 सां(शां)सि ॥[12][२२॥*] अन्धाधीसमरन्ध्रदोर्व्विलसितं स्वच्छन्द[13]मु[च्छि]न्दता येनाभ्यर्थ्यत
भूरिभिः स भग[वा*]न्मीमेस(श्व)रो भूप(ष)णैः(णैः) । यस्याभ्यर्ण्णगता प्र-

21 नृत्य[14]लहरीभ्रूवल्लिगोदावरी ।[15] गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः सो(स्रो)त[:]स्वरैः सप्तभिः ।[16]
[।२३॥*] कुर्व्वन्महीं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसादरिक्षन्निव(ब)-

Second Plate

22 हूंणः । सार्द्धं परसु(शु)भा(रा)मेण यः स्पर्धामधिरोहति ।[17] [।२४॥*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवा-

23 मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमक(भ)ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रिकलिंगा-
धिपतिनिजभु-

24 जोपार्ज्जितास्व(श्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्यः) श्रीमद्यस:(शः)कर्ण्णदेवः ॥[18]
श्रीग(म)हादेवी । महाराजपुत्रः

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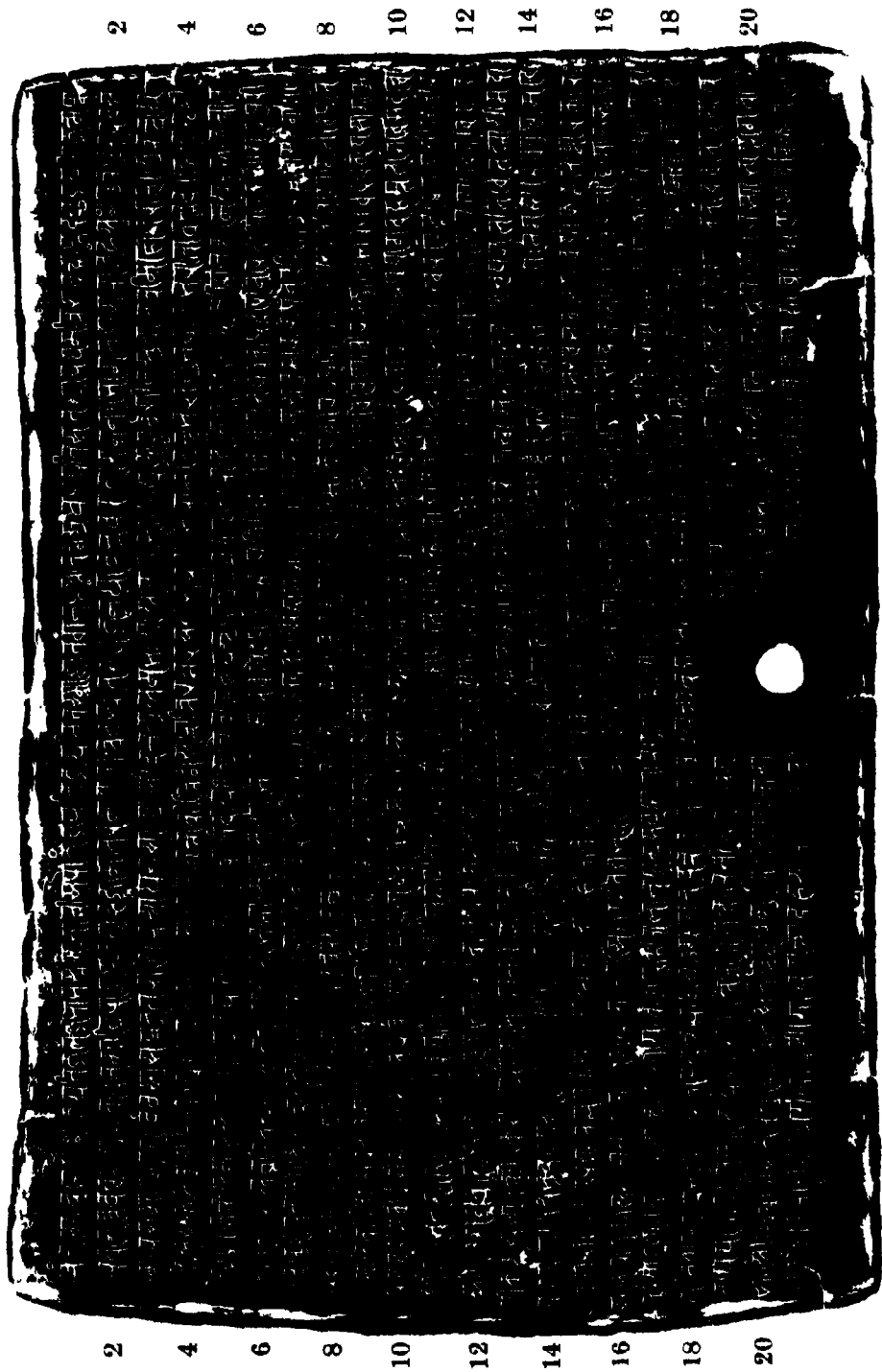
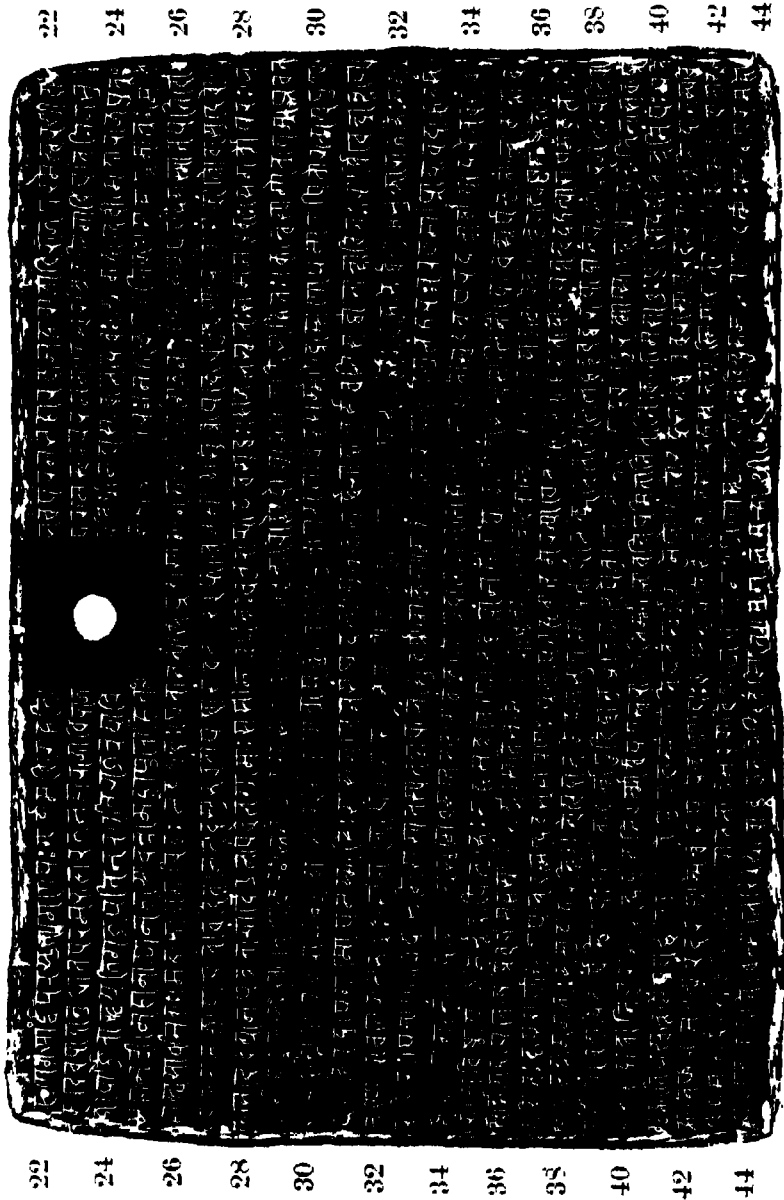
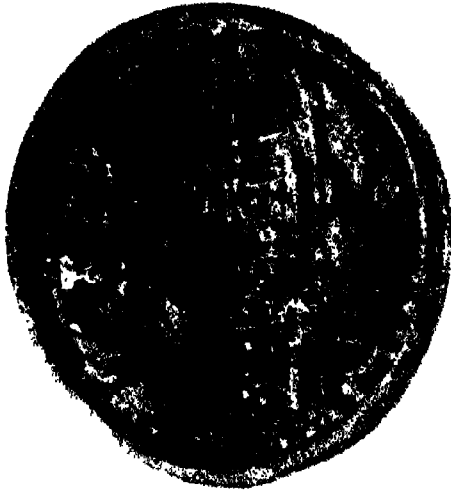
[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.
[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
[3] Read –कज्जलोद्गारकारः.
[4] Metre: *Mālinī*.
[5] Read दृश्येत दृशोस्तदास्य.
[6] Metre: *Bhadravirāj*.
[7] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[8] Metre: *Indravajrā*.
[9] The engraver first incised मे:, but afterwards altered it to मे.
[10] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[11] Read –भांसि.
[12] Metre: *Svāgatā*.
[13] Read अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोर्व्विलसितं स्वच्छन्द–.
[14] This *akshara* is quite clear in the impressions.
[15] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[16] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[17] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[18] These and the following *daṇḍas* in ll. 24-26 are superfluous.

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

Second Plate

SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

Seal

Seal
OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

(From photographs).

25 महाम(मं)त्री । महामात्य[ः*] । महासाम(म)न्त[:*] । महापुरोहितः । महाप्रतीहारः । म- हाक्षपटलिकः । महाप्रमातः¹ म-

26 हाश्व(श्व)साधनिकः । महाभाण्डागारिकः² । महाध्यक्षः । एतानन्यांश्च प्रवासमानग्रामनिवा- सिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथार्हं बस्मा(म्मा)नयति बो(बो)-

27 धयति समाज्ञापय(य)ति [।*] विदित(त)मेतदस्तु भवतां यथा संवत् ८२३ फाल्गुनमासि सु(शु)- क्लपक्षे चतुद(र्द)स्यां(श्यां) रवौ संक्रान्तौ(न्तौ) वासुदेवो-

28 दे(द्दे)से(शे) वेवग्रामपत्तलायां वेउलापंचेलग्रामाः(मः) स(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तः चतुराघाटवि सु(शु) द्धः ।³ सजलस्थलः साम(म्र)मधुकः । सगर्तोषरः । स-

29 निर्गमप्रवेसः(शः) । सलवणाकरः । समोप्रचारः । सजाङ्गलानूपः । वृक्षारा[मो*]द्भे⁴दोद्यान- तृणादिसहितः । कान्वस्यगोत्राय⁵ आप्लवन-

30 जामदग्निऔर्वप्रवराय⁶ ब(ब)हृवृ[च*]सा(शा)खिने सीआपौत्राय भ्भीलपद्मपुत्राय गंगाधरस(श)- र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय मातापित्रोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्य-

31 यशोभिवृद्धये ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः । अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति [।*] सर्व्वान्येतान्भाविनः⁷ । पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो

32 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भव[द्भिः] ।⁸ [।२५*] ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-

33 रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त[दा] फलं(लम्) ।⁹ [।२६।।*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) [।*] हरन्नरकमाप्नो[ति*] यावदाहू(भू)तसं-

34 प्लवं(वम्) ।[।२७।।*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्व(श्व)मेधस(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ।[।२८।।*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) [वा] यो हरेत वसुंध-

35 रां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति । [।२९।।*] फालकृष्टां महीं दद्यात्सवी(बी)जां सस्यसा(शा)लिनीं(नीम्) । यावत्सूर्यकृतालोकान्ताव-¹⁰

36 त्स्वर्ग्गे महीयते ।[।३०।।*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि(णि) स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेतु(त्) ।[।३१।।*] वारिहीने[ष्व]रण्ये(ण्ये)षु सु(शु)[ष्क]कोटर-

37 वासिनः [।] कृष्णसर्प्पास्तु जायन्ते ब(ब्र)ह्मदेवस्वहारिणः ।[।३२।।*] अन्यायेन हृता भूमिरन्या- येन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयन्त(त)श्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं(लम्) । [।३३।।*] अ-

38 स्मत्कुलक्रमगताः समुदाहरन्ति अन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्युपमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)श्चला स(स)लिलबु(बु)द्बु(द्बु)[द*]चञ्चलायां दानं फलं परमतः प्रतिपा-

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¹ Read महाप्रमाता.

² Read महाभाण्डागारिकः.

³ This and the following *daṇḍas* in ll. 28 and 29 are superfluous.

⁴ The *visarga* which was at first incised after द्भे has been struck out.

⁵ Read काण्वसगोत्राय.

⁶ Though the text refers to three *pravaras*, only two are actually mentioned here. Generally the *pravaras* which include the names of आप्नवान and जामदग्न्य are five and are given in the following order:— भार्गव, च्यवन, आप्नवान, और्व and जामदग्न्य. When only three *pravaras* are mentioned, they are generally भार्गव, और्व and जामदग्न्य or भार्गव, च्यवन and आप्नवान. The donee of the present grant had perhaps the *pravaras*, आप्नवान, और्व and जामदग्न्य. Read therefore आप्नवानौर्वजामदग्न्यत्रिप्रवराय. *Kāṇva* is not, however, mentioned in the list of *gōtras* under *Jāmadagnya*.

⁷ Read सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁸ Metre: *Śālinī*.

⁹ Metre of this and the following seven verses: *Anushṭubh*.

¹⁰ Read यावत्सूर्यकृता लोकास्ताव-.

39 कनीयं(यम्) ।[1][।३४॥*] प्रजाहितार्त्थं स्थितयः प्रणीता धर्म्मेषु विद्वान्(न्) प्रतिपालयेत्(त्) । यो लोभमोहाद्धरते दुरात्मा सोऽन्धो व्रजेद्(द्दु)र्गतिषासु(सु) कष्टा(ष्टाम्) [॥३५॥*][2]

40 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यव(वा)न्तिप्रमितानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ।[3][।३६॥*] भूमिं यः प्रति-

41 गृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ।[4] [।३७॥*] सं(शं)खो भद्र(द्रा)सनं च्छत्रं[5] वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि-

42 ह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ।[6] [।३८॥*] अस्मिन्वंसे(शे) परिक्षीणे यः कश्चिन्(श्चि)पतिर्भवेत(त्)॥ (।) तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[३९॥*] वाताभ्र-

43 विभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबि(बि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो

44 परलोकयाने ।[7][।४०॥*] धर्म्मलेखिश्रीवाच्छूकेन लिखितंमिति[8] ॥ मंगलं महाश्री[:*] ॥[9]

TRANSLATION

Oṁ ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1) Glorious is the lotus-navelled (*god*), glorious is the lotus which sprang from his navel and glorious is the (*god*) Brahmā born from (*that*) lotus ! Glorious again is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean[10] who had his birth from his (*i.e.*, Atri's) eye.

(V. 2) Now the king,[11] who is the swan in the expanse of heaven, begat Bōdhana (*i.e.*, Budha), the son of (*that*) primeval king, (*who became*) a son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.[12]

(V. 3) The son of the god (moon), who is the elixir of the seven oceans, obtained as a legitimate son **Purūravas**, who had here as his faithful wife Urvaśī to be enjoyed (*only*) by hundreds of matchless blessings, and also the earth.

(V. 4) In this family verily was born **Bharata**, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunā, hemmed in by the posts of more than a hundred horse-sacrifices (*performed by him*); who was devoted to securing the well-being of the earth made beautiful by the jewelled girdle by the seven oceans.

(V. 5) Exceedingly glorious in his family is that **Kārtavīrya** who wielded with ease all weapons, superfluous (*though they were in his case*), and who allowed the title of king only to the Moon,[13] the progenitor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(V. 6) As the Himālaya, the lord of mountains, produces a bamboo, which is

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[1] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[2] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[4] Metre of this and of the following two verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Read छत्रं.

[6] The Sarkhō plates (No. 85, below) read फलं स्वर्ग: पुरंदर.

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] Read लिखितमिति.

[9] There is a sign here, indicating the completion of the record.

[10] *I. e.*, the moon.

[11] *I. e.*, the moon, the lord of stars.

[12] *I. e.*, the sun.

[13] For the idea, compare verse 16 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasēna, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

rendered bright by stainless and round pearls,[1] so did that lord of princes beget the **Kalachuri** family, which is purified by kings of spotless conduct.

(V. 7) In that family was a king, the foremost among those (*who are*) eminent for political wisdom, who purified **Tripurī** as Indra does his city,—**Yuvarājadēva (II)**, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by arrogance as a young lion kills the leading scent-elephants infuriated by rut.

(V. 8) The chief ministers of the lord of the earth placed on the throne his son **Kōkalla (II)**, a lion-like prince, the advance of whose four-membered army was checked (*only*) by (*its*) encountering the multitude of waves of the four oceans.

(V. 9) That lord having gone far away,[2] his fame appears like a woman separated from her husband; (*for*) throwing away the white sandal paste, she derides moon-light and detests pearl necklaces.[3]

(V. 10) His offspring was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of (*his*) enemies, the lord of the fortune of heroes, whose chest was broad like an emerald tablet, and who, having smiling eyes, surpassed with both his arms the length of a city-bolt.

(V. 11) He (*was*) the crest-jewel of heroic princes; he (*became*) famous by the title of **Vikramāditya**; wishing suddenly to run away from whom (*the lord of*) **Kuntala** ceased to wield his spear.[4]

(V. 12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the (*holy*) banyan tree at **Prayāga**, he attained salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son **Karṇadēva** worshipped the quarters with (*the offerings of*) the pearls from the frontal globes of the best of enemies' elephants cleft by his sword.

(V. 13) What more (*need we say about him*) than that here at **Kāśī** the (*temple*) Karṇamēru[5] proclaims his great fame, which is like the circle of waves of the milk-ocean—

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[1] There is a play on the word *vritta* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct.

[2] *I.e.*, having gone to the other world.

[3] The intended sense is that the fame of the king was brighter than all these. A woman separated from her husband abstains from all decoration and suffers pangs of love in moon-light.

[4] Hiralal translated the second half of this verse as follows: 'Wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again.' In a note added to this, he remarked, 'The meaning of the second line of the verse is very obscure. The writer evidently plays on the word *kuntala* and has brought about what is called *virōdhābhāsa* when he says *akuntalaḥ kuntalatāṁ babhāra*,' *i.e.*, a hairless person bore hairiness (an apparent contradiction). The eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgēyadēva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to the king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair (a second pun on the word *akuntala*)', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 215, n. 2. This interpretation was followed by R. D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī etc.*, p. 16, but it is incorrect. The mistake lies in the *pada-chchhēda* of the last quarter of the verse. We have to take the words as *sa Kuntalaḥ* (not *a-kuntalaḥ*) *kuntalatāṁ na(ba)bhāra*. There is evidently a pun on the word *kuntala* here. The first word *kuntalaḥ* means the king of the Kuntala country. *Kuntalatā* has to be explained in two ways (1) *Kuntalasya bhāvaḥ kuntalatā* 'the position of the king of the Kuntala country' and (2) *kuntam lāti iti kuntalaḥ; tasya bhāvaḥ kuntalatā*, 'the state of one who wields a spear'. As regards the second explanation, see the derivation of *kuṭala* given by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* (ed. by Zalkikar, 1921), p. 42.

The second half of the verse apparently means 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, Kuntala ceased to be Kuntala. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa*; for the words really mean 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear', *i. e.*, he gave up fighting with Gāṅgēyadēva and fled away. The verse is, therefore, intended to record a defeat of the king of Kuntala by Gāṅgēyadēva.

[5] *Mēru* denotes a particular kind of temple, *viz.*, hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows and four entrances; *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, lvi, 20. According to the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, it has sixteen stories and four spires. For other details, see *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, ch. 55, vv. 3-15 and ch. 63, vv. 4 and 5.

(*the temple which is so high that*) it lessens the fatigue of multitudes of celestial damsels playing in the sky, with the breezes of the flags waving from its golden spires.

(V. 14) He established a settlement of Brāhmaṇas[1] called **Karṇāvatī**, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeper of Vedic scholarship, the crown of the heavenly river[2] (*and*) the world of Brahmā on the surface of the earth.

(V. 15) That lord of **Kalachuris** begot on the illustrious **Āvalladēvī**, the goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the **Hūṇa** family, the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇadēva**, the splendour of whose fame is the companion of the waves of the milk-ocean, that surge up mistaking it for the rise of the moon.[3]

(V. 16) Of this pious prince the father, whose actions were pure, being guided by his family priest, performed himself the great coronation ceremony in the quadrangle (*surrounded*) by the great oceans, which had the sun and the moon as lamps and which was rendered resplendent by the lord of mountains[4] as by a full jar.

(V. 17) Glorious is he, who, like a jewel-lamp of the Jambūdvīpa[5] shines in the Kali age, as (*the jewel-lamp shines*) in the darkness of the night; who is not influenced by partiality for the assemblies of wicked men, as a jewel-lamp is not filled by the wings of night-moths,[6] and who does not display evil conduct as a jewel-lamp does not give out lamp-black.

(V. 18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were put in two shells made of the wish-fulfilling gem, then there would be seen a likeness with the white and red eyes of this liberal king.

(V. 19) He set up high pillars of victory near the confines of the earth, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are tied.

(V. 20) (*This*) liberal (*king*) pours five or six drops of water on the hands of Brāhmaṇas. Even with these, they satisfy their desire for wealth, and afterwards show their contempt for (*the ocean which is*) the mine of jewels.[7]

(V. 21) Occupying a high position like Mēru, (*this*) ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies the suppliants by his great gifts such as the *tulā-purusha*.[8]

(V. 22) Bright as the tusks of the elephants of the lord of heaven, white like the conches of the milky ocean, and (*resplendent*) like the slough of the serpent which forms the couch of Vishṇu, his fame has attained abundance.

(V. 23) Extirpating with ease the lord of **Andhra**, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he worshipped with (*the offerings of*) many ornaments the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the **Gōdāvarī**, with her dancing eye-brows of waves, sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams[9] sweet with the cries of the intoxicated swans.

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[1] Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal translate *Vra(Bra)hma-stambhē* by 'the pillar of piety'. But the correct expression is *Brahma-stambē* which means 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas', see above, No. 43, line 2.

[2] This seems to suggest that the settlement was situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

[3] For fame is white like moon-beams.

[4] *I.e.*, Himālaya. What the poet intends to convey is that Yaśaḥkarṇa was crowned Emperor of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans.

[5] *Jambūdvīpa* is the central division of the world, including India, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 6, n. 44.

[6] There is a play on the word *paksha-pāta* meaning (1) partiality and (2) the fall of wings.

[7] The intended sense is that the king's gifts are more precious than the treasure inside the ocean.

[8] *Tulā-purusha* means the gift of some precious metal like gold equal to a man's weight. For this and other *mahādānas* see Hēmādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Banaras ed.) Vol. I, pp. 175 ff.

[9] The seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī, by which it is traditionally supposed to have reached the sea, are sacred to the seven sages. They are the Kāśyapa or the Tulyā, the Atri or the Coringā, the Gautamī,

(V. 24) Extirpating the hostile Kshatriyas and bestowing the earth on Brāhmaṇas, he is (*as it were*) vying with Paraśurāma.

(Line 22) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇadēva,—the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikaliṅga, who has attained by his arm sovereignty over three kings, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva,—having called together the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpurōhita*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Mahāpramātṛi*, the *Mahāśvasādhanika*, the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, (*and*) the *Mahādhyaksha*— these and other (*officials*) and (*also*) the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted, duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*):—

'Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the **saṅkrānti, on Sunday, the fourteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823**, we have given as a grant for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, this village, **Deulā-Pañchēla,** situated in the *paṭṭalā* of **Dēvagrāma** in the *uddēśa* (district ?) of **Vāsudēva,** to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, —together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with (*the right of*) egress and ingress, together with mines of salt, together with pasture-lands, together with arid and marshy lands, together with the groves of trees, the gardens of plants, grass and so forth,—to the Brāhmaṇa **Gaṅgādharaśarman,** the son of Chhītapaī and grandson of Sīī, who belongs to the Kāṇva *gōtra* and the Bahvṛicha (Ṛigvēda) *śākhā* and has the three *pravaras* Āpnavāna, (*Aurva*) and Jāmadgnya'.

In this matter (*this*) is the prayer of the donor—

(*Here follow sixteen benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(*This charter*) has been written by the illustrious **Vāchchhūka,** the writer of religious documents.

May there be bliss and great prosperity!

No. 57; PLATE XLVI

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

THIS copper-plate belongs to a set of two plates, the exact provenance of which is not known.[1] Both the plates were, after discovery, deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, together with an incorrect transcript made by a Pandit of Sihōrā[2] in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The second plate of the set was subsequently lost. The first plate and the old transcript of the second are still preserved in the Museum. The

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the Bhāradvājā, the Viśvāmitrā or Kauśikā, the Jamadagni and the Vasishṭhā. The Bhāradvājā, Viśvamitrā and Jamadagni no longer exist, but pilgrims bathe in the sea at the spots where they are supposed to have been. See the *Godavari District Gazetteer*, p. 6.

[1] Like Kielhorn I have called it the Jabalpur plate, following Sir A. Cunningham (*A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 87). As it records the grant of a village in the Jāulī *pattalā* it must have been found somewhere in the Jabalpur District. Hiralal states that it was originally discovered by a Tahsildar of Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed., p. 25.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

contents of the plates were first noticed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 87 ff., but his account, based as it was on the aforementioned transcript, was very incorrect.[1] The first plate was then edited, with a translation but without a lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn from rubbings and impressions supplied to him. It seems that the plate was not properly cleaned before its impressions and rubbings were taken for Dr. Kielhorn, who could not, in consequence, read with certainty several *aksharas* of it. At my request Mr. M.A. Suboor of the Nagpur Museum has kindly cleaned the plate which now yields fairly good impressions. The inscription is edited here from the original plate and its ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The plate is substantial, weighing 4 seers and 31½ tolas. It is the first plate of its set and is inscribed on one side only. It measures 1′ 6¼″ in breadth and 1′ ¼″ in height and is about .2″ in thickness. Its rims are raised for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the inscribed side, there is a hole, .7″ in diameter, for the ring which must have held the plates together, but both the ring and the seal which must have been soldered to it are lost. The plate is in a state of good preservation, only two or three letters being slightly damaged by rust.

The characters are Nāgarī and closely resemble those of the Khairhā plates, the writer being probably the same as shown below. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the initial *i* is represented by the later sign throughout, see *e.g.*, *iva*, l. 5, *Indu-*, l. 7 *etc.*; the left limb of *kh* is devoid of a tail in some plates see *e.g.*, *-khēlat-*, l. 11 and *khalu*, l. 15, but contrast that in *khadga-*, l. 10; *gh* also appears in two forms, see *-saṁgha-saṁghaṭṭa* in l. 7 and *-parigha-* in l. 8. The sign of *avagraha* is used in ll. 10 and 14.

The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *ōṁ namō Vrahmaṇē* in the beginning and a few initial words of the formal part at the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrically composed. All the verses, which number twenty-four, occur in the Khairhā plates. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in those plates. Besides, *j* is used for *y* once only in *-trijāmā-*, l. 15.

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. It contains the entire eulogistic portion which is identical with that of the Khairhā grant, but it breaks off just after the formal portion begins. As the genealogy in the eulogistic portion stops with Yaśaḥkarṇa, it is plain that the grant was made by him. From the Nagpur Museum transcript of the second plate, which, though inaccurate in some places, may be used with caution in the absence of the original plate, it seems that the object of the inscription was to record the grant, by Yaśaḥkarṇa, of the village Karañjā situated on the bank of the Narmadā in the Jāulī *paṭṭalā*[2] on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti on Monday, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 529. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Hariśarman, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Nāgō and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Bhavanāma(ga ?) of the Vājasanēya *śākhā* with the three *pravaras* Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva. The scribe was probably the illustrious Vāchchhūka, who wrote[3] the Khairhā plates.

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[1] See the mistakes pointed out by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 1, n. 2.

[2] The transcript reads *Jāuli-paṭṭana-pātiṁ-Karaṁjā-grāmaḥ* and so Hiralal has stated that the plates record a grant of a village named Pāṭiṅkar in the Jāulipattan; (see his *Inscriptions etc.*, p. 25), but the correct reading is probably *Jāulī-paṭṭal-āntaḥpāti-Karaṁjāgrāmaḥ*. For *paṭṭalā* meaning a territorial sub-division, see l. 28 of the Khairhā plates.

[3] The transcript has *Dharmalēkhi-śrī-Vākyakala-likhitam=iti* which is obviously a mistake for *Dharma-lēkhi-śrī-Vāchchhūkēna likhitam=iti*. See line 44 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

The numerals of the year, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, are quite unreliable; because Yaśaḥkarṇa for whom we have the date 823[1] (or rather 827 as shown before), could not have flourished in the year 529 of the same era. But the specification of the saṅkrānti, month, fortnight and week-day may be correct. Taking it to be so, Dr. Kielhorn found by calculation that during the sixty years preceding 1151 A.C.,[2] the only year in which the Makara-saṅkrānti fell on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha was 1122 A.C. For, in that year, the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year, the Makara-saṅkrānti took place 15 m. before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday.[3] Dr. Kielhorn, therefore, took Monday, the 25th December 1122 A.C., corresponding, with his epoch of the Kalachuri era, to Māgha *va. di.* 10 of the Kalachuri year 874 as the true date of the grant.

In his article on the Khairhā plates, R. B. Hiralal objected to the aforementioned date on the ground that it gives an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa; for, the Khairhā plates show that 'Yaśaḥkarṇa had defeated the king of Andhra, and crushed the power of several of his enemies before it was written. It is, therefore, likely that he had been in occupation of the throne for at least 4 or 5 years prior to this, and if we suppose that he lived for about the same period after he made the Jabalpur grant his reign would extend to about 60 years and his age to about 80 years, supposing his installation to have taken place at the age of 20.'[4] Rai Bahadur Hiralal, therefore, relied on the numerical date of the Nagpur Museum transcript which he read as 829 and remarked that the details worked out for Monday, the 31st December 1078 A.C., for the expired Kalachuri year 829. The Makara-saṅkrānti had, however, taken place a week earlier. R.B. Hiralal seems to have supposed that as in the case of the Khairhā grant, the saṅkrānti, on which the grant was made, is wrongly coupled with the day on which the record was actually handed over to the donee.

My personal examination of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the lost plate shows that the numerals of the year as written there are 529 and not 829 as stated by R.B. Hiralal. Even if we suppose that 529 is a mistake for 829, the expired year would be expected to correspond, according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., to 1077-78 A.C. and not 1078-1079 A.C. Now, in 1077-78 A.C., Magha *va. di.* 10 fell on Thursday (the 10th January 1078 A.C.) and not on Monday as required. The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place 17 days earlier. So the date would not be regular even if we read the numerals as 829. As for R.B. Hiralal's argument that if Dr. Kielhorn's date is accepted, it would give an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa, it may be noted, as has already been pointed out by Mr. R.D. Banerji[5], that Yaśaḥkarṇa must have reigned for a long time; because, even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jabalpur plates of this prince as read by R.B. Hiralal as correct, there is a gap of 73 years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa, K. 902. It comes to 75 years if we calculate from the date of the Khairhā plates (*viz.*, 827 as determined before). As conjectured by R.B. Hiralal, Yaśaḥkarṇa may have come to the throne about 5 years earlier, *i.e.*, about 822,

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[1] Above, No. 56, l. 27.

[2] This is the date of the Tewar inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇa's son and successor Gayākarṇadēva (No. 58, below) which, as Dr. Kielhorn has remarked, must have been put up towards the end of his reign.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

[5] *H. T. M.*, p. 25.

and Gayākarṇa may have continued to rule till K. 905.[1] So the reigns of the two cover a long period of 83 years. It is not unlikely that Yaśaḥkarṇa had a longer reign than his son, say, of 50 or 55 years. In that case, the date of the Jabalpur plates as fixed by Dr. Kielhorn would not appear altogether impossible.

But Dr. Kielhorn's date (1122 A.C.) appears to be doubtful on other grounds. From verse 13 of the Jabalpur plate the inscription seems to have been drafted at Banaras. We find that only five months before, the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandradēva issued his Kamauli plate[2] from Banaras on the 21st July 1122 A.C. Two years later we find him again at Banaras, issuing his Banaras plates[3] on the 14th August 1124 A.C. Is it likely that Yaśaḥkarṇa ousted Gōvindachandradēva from Banaras some time after July 1122 A.C. and still refrained from mentioning the glorious achievement in the plates issued only a few days after, as he has mentioned his defeat of the Andhra king? The eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plate is almost an exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. It would be strange, indeed, if Yaśaḥkarṇa had nothing to record to his credit during the interval of nearly 50 years,—not even his successful invasion of Banaras!

In the absence of a thoroughly reliable transcript of the second plate, it is not, of course, possible to date the Jabalpur inscription definitely. As in the case of numerals, there may be a mistake, due to mislection, in the specification of the month, day or fortnight in the Nagpur Museum transcript. Of these, a mistake in the specification of the week-day is more possible than any other. Owing to the close resemblance between the letters *s* and *bh* of that period it is not unlikely that the writer of the transcript, who was none too accurate in his decipherment, read *Sōmī* (on Monday) for *Bhaumī* (on Tuesday).[4] Now, we find that in 1084 A.C., Māgha *va. di.* 10 commenced 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 24th December). The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place earlier on the same day, 2 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But as the auspicious time (*parva-kāla*) of the Makara-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikās*[5] it is not unlikely that Yaśaḥkarṇa made the grant on account of the saṅkrānti in the evening of that day, when the 10th *tithi* was current. **Tuesday, the 24th December 1084 A. C.**, corresponding to the **expired Kalachuri year 836**, may, therefore, be the **date of the Jabalpur inscription**. It may be noted, in this connection, that the eulogistic part of the present grant closely agrees with that of the Khairhā plates and the writer of both was probably the same.[5] This shows that the Jabalpur plates must have been issued within a few years of the Khairhā plates and before Yaśaḥkarṇa had lost Banaras to the Gāhaḍavālas some time before A.C. 1090.[6]

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[1] The Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of his widow Alhaṇadēvī (No. 60) is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri era.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 114 ff.

[4] He has confused *s* and *bh* in another place also. See *Atra vāsārth-ārthanā* in the transcript given below for *atr=aiv=abhyarthanā.*

[5] Cf. मकरसङ्क्रान्तौ हेमाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिंशद् घटिकाः पुण्यकालः । 'त्रिंशत्कर्कटके नाड्यो मकरे तु दशाधिकाः ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तात् । *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgara Press), p. 160.

[6] The Chandrāvatī (Banaras District, U.P.) plates of Chandradēva, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District are dated in V. 1148 (*i. e.*, 1090 A. C.).

12 हूलकीर्त्तेः कीर्त्तनं कर्ण्णमेरुः ॥1[१३॥*] अभवदथ श्रे(श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःकबन्ध्याः किरीटं(टम्) । ब(ब्र)ह्मस्तंभो(म्भो) येन कर्ण्णादितीति क्ष्मयशा(श्ला)पि क्ष्मावलम्ब(ब्र)ह्मलोकः

13 ॥2[१४॥*] अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां-(व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस(शा)लक्ष्मीच्युत(क्ष्म)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयसः(शः)श्रीः श्री-यसः(शः)कर्ण्ण-

14 देवः ॥3 [१५॥*] चन्द्रार्क्कदीपवति4 पर्व्वतराजपूर्ण्णकुम्भाकरासिलि(नि) सहाब्धि(ब्धि)च-तुष्कमध्ये [।*] चक्रे पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकर्म्मा धर्म्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं(कम्) ॥5 [१६॥*] न

15 सकलस(श)लभगोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ।6 न खलु कलुषवर्ण्णकज्जलोद्गारकार[:*]7 ॥(।) कलयति कलिनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥8[१७॥*] चिन्ता-

16 मणिक्लृप्त9सुक्तियुग्मकोडे स्यादपि कामधेनुदुग्धं(ग्धम्) । दृश्ये(श्ये)त दृशीस्त[दा*] स्य दातुः सादृस्यं(श्यं) च(ब)वलारुणेक्षणस्य ।10 [।१८॥*] यः कलुषकुञ्जरालानस्तंभसब(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः ।

17 [क्ष्मोपा]11न्तेषु [ज]यस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयचुम्बकैः ॥12[१९॥*] यो ब(ब्र)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [।*] तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञा(ज्ञाम्) ।[।२०॥*]13

18 महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [।] गरिम्णा मेरुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः ।14[।२१॥*] स्वर्ण्णराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)ससु(शु)चीनि । सा(शा)र्ङ्गि-

19 त[ल्प]15फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फीततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥16 [२२॥*] अन्ध्राधीस17मरन्ध्र-दोर्व्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता येनाभ्यर्च्च्यंत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व(श्व)रो

20 भू[ष]णैः ॥(।) यस्याभ्यर्ण्णगता18[प्र]नृत्यल्लहरीभ्रूवल्लिर्गोदावरी गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः स्रो-तःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ।19[।२३॥*] कुर्व्वन्महीं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

---

1 Metre : *Mālinī*. There is no uncertainty in the reading of this verse.

2 Metre : *Śālinī*.

3 Metre : *Mālinī*.

4 The *aksharas* are quite clear here.

5 Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

6 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

7 Kielhorn doubtfully read कज्जलोद्गारकस्य, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above.

8 Metre : *Mālinī*.

9 Kielhorn read with diffidence कृष्ण-, but his reading is not warranted by the original.

10 Metre : *Bhadravirāj*.

11 The *aksharas* are somewhat indistinct here, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above. Kielhorn read [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु.

12 Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

13 Metre : *Indravajrā*.

14 Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

15 Kielhorn was not certain about his reading वेष. The second *akshara* appears like ल्प, but the intended reading is obviously as given above. See also the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56), p. 19.

16 Metre : *Svāgatā*.

17 Read अन्ध्राधीश-.

18 These six *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

19 Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

JABALPUR PLATE OF YAŚAHKARNA

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36-788'51.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

21 [व]रिकर्णनिभ(भ)ंशः [।*] का(क)ां परसु(शु)रामेण कः स्पर्द्धामधिरोहति ॥[1][२४॥*]
स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व(श्व)रश्रीवामदेवपा-[2]

. . . .

(*For a transcript of the second plate which has been lost, see Appendix, No. 2, below.*)

TRANSLATION

Ōṁ ! Adoration to Brahman !

(*For a translation of verses 1—24, see above, pp. 296-99.*)

(Line 21) And he . . . . [meditating on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara,* the illustrious Vāmadēva . . . .

(*For the subsequent portion of the grant, see Appendix, No. 2, below.*)

No. 58; PLATE XLVII

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA : CHEDI YEAR 902

THE slab of black stone which bears the subjoined inscription, was found at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was edited, without any translation or lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVIII, pp. 209 ff. It is edited here from the original stone which is deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The record, consisting of twenty-two lines, is inscribed on the countersunk surface of the stone surrounded by a plain border. The writing covers a space measuring 12.7" in breadth and 14.7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation except in the middle of lines 9-13 where a few *aksharas* have become somewhat indistinct owing to the wearing away of the inscribed surface.[3] The size of the letters varies between .4" and .5." The characters are Nāgarī. *T* and *bh* are, in some places, not clearly distinguishable from *n*, see, *e.g.*, *sūnunā* l. 5 and *Bhāvabrahma-*, l. 8; *ś* has three different forms see, *e.g.*, *śriyī=*, l. 1, *=saṁyaminaś=cha*, l. 16 and *śrī-Dharaṇīdharō=*, l. 18; the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in some cases, see, *e.g.*, *bhikshā-dhanēna*, l. 17, *Mahīdharaḥ*, l. 20 *etc.* The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are eighteen verses in all, none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may notice the doubling of the consonant following *r* and preceding *v*, see *Karṇṇa-*, l. 3, and *Pṛitthvīdharas=*, l. 18; the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* except in three cases, *viz.* *-muktir=bbhavīt*, l. 16, *=abdhiḥ*, l. 19 and *-yugal-ābda-*, ll. 20-1; and the substitution of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *-narēsvarō=*, ll. 3-4, *navasata-*, l. 20.

After two customary verses in praise of Siva and the moon, the mythical ancestor of the Kalachuris, the inscription mentions the king Karṇa, his son Yaśaḥkarṇa and grandson Gayākarṇa[4], and expresses the wish that Gayākarṇa, together with his son, the crown-prince Narasiṁha, would rule the earth to the end of the world. The name of Gayākarṇa as the reigning king occurs again in connection with the date in l. 21. The object of the inscription is to record that Bhāvabrahman, who was a disciple of

[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] For the following words, see ll. 23-24 of the Khairhā plates, above, No. 56.

[3] The inscription was apparently in a state of better preservation when its estampages were taken for Kielhorn; for, in his transcript he does not show these letters as indistinct or doubtful.

[4] In v. 3 his name appears as *Gayakarṇa* owing to the exigencies of the metre.

the Pāśupata ascetic **Bhāvatējas** of the Ananta *gōtra*, constructed a temple of Siva near which the inscribed stone was originally put up. The *praśasti*, as the inscription is called in v. 15, was composed by **Pṛithvīdhara,** the son of the Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇīdhara. It was incised by the architect **Mahīdhara.**

The **date** of the record is rather clumsily expressed in words as **Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Śuchi** (or Āshāḍha) **while the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years** during the reign of the illustrious **Gayākarṇa.** This is one of the few dates in which the era is specifically named. The date is quite regular; for the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the expired Chēdi or Kalachuri year 902 ended 2 h. after mean sunrise on the 17th June 1151 A.C. which was a Sunday as stated in the present inscription.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं[2] नमः शिवाय ॥ त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः । नित्यप्रयत्नवो(बो)धेच्छः सोष्टमूर्त्तिः श्रियेस्तु वः ॥[3][१॥*]

2 कलधौतद्युतिरिव चंद्रकला जयति स्मरान्तकशिरोविधृता । अलिकाक्षिवह्निजनितोष्ततुषा सुतया गि-

3 रेः सुरसरित्पयसे ॥[4][२॥*] आत्रेयगोत्रेऽखिलराजचक्रजिगीषुराजोऽजनि कर्ण्णदेवः । तस्माद्यशः- कर्ण्णनरेस्व(श्व)-

4 रोभूत्तस्यात्मजोयं गयकर्ण्णदेवः ॥[5][३॥*] आकल्पं पृथिवीं शास्तु श्रीगयाकर्ण्णपार्त्थिवः । संगतो- नरसिंहेन यु-

5 वराजेन सूनुना ॥[6][४॥*] गोत्रेऽनन्तसमाह्वयेभवदिनप्रख्यस्तपस्तेजसा दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्म्म- निरतः श्रीभाव-

6 तेजा गुरुः ॥(।) आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पाञ्चार्थिको यः सुधीः कामक्रोधजवर्ग्गदुर्ग्गविपिन- प्लोष-

7 स्य दावानलः ॥[7][५॥*] श्रुत्वा समस्तागमयोगशास्त्रं व्याख्याय च न्यायकणादशास्त्रं(स्त्रम्) । अभ्यस्य यः पाशुपतं च योगं

8 शिवस्य सायोज्यमवाप वो(बो)धात् ॥[8][६॥*] प्रथमस्तस्य शिष्योयं भावन्न(ब्र)ह्मतपोधनः । तपःकर्म्मरतो नित्यं कर्म्मसा(सां)-

9 न्यासिकोपि यः ॥[9] [७॥*] कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्म[शायी पंचार्त्थ]वो(बो)धसुकृती मितमैक्षभोजी । यो व्र(ब्र)ह्मचर्य-

10 विधिनान्यसनत्कुमारः पातञ्जलागमनिरूपित[योगसंगः] ॥[10] [८॥*] भिक्षोपार्ज्जितकाञ्चनाम्र- वसनैः संप्रीणयत्य-

11 र्त्थिनः स्नेहेन प्रगुणीकरोति सुधियः संतर्पितान्सूनृतैः । क्लेशो[न्मूलन]धर्म्मैकर्म्मनिरतः साक्षात्कृत-

---

[1] From the original stone and inked estampages.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre: *Pramitākshar*ā.

[5] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[9] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[10] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA: CHEDI YEAR 902

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

12 ध्यांश(स)कौ भावश(स)मुख्यसमस्तपाशिवकु कस्मी वृथ्वो च [पाञ्चार्थिक:]¹ ॥[९॥*] परिग्रह- विमुक्तोपि गृहा (ह्या)ति² हृदि य[:*] शिवं(वम्)

13 कामक्रोधौ निगृह्णा(ह्या)ति असाध्यानपि सद्गती: ॥³ [१०॥*] [प्राणायाम]समाधिसिद्ध- नियमध्यानासनैरन्वहं य: कृत्वा

14 हृदयांबु(बु)जे स्मररिपुं बु(बु)द्ध्वा समभ्यस्यति । [मैत्री तस्य सुधी]भिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे योगिन: शिष्याणां करुणा

15 सर्वेष्व विषयोपेक्षा शिवज्ञानत: ॥⁴ [११॥*] स्ययामो[स्तवान्वयौ]भिक्षाहिंडजगतीमिमां(माम्) । सोलंचकार प्राकारदेवागारमठैर-

16 पि ॥⁵ [१२॥*] पूर्त्तेन धर्म्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिकर्म्मवेतद्वंयमिमस्य बो(बो)धात् । एतद्व(द्व)यं प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयद्देवमिमं शिवस्य ॥⁶ [१३॥*]

17 शिक्षाचनेन तेनेदं मंदिरं कामविद्विष: । कारितं मुक्तये भक्त्या कीर्त्तये च कृतात्मना(नाम्) ॥⁷ [१४॥*] श्रुतिस्मृतीहास⁸पुराणवेत्ता

18 विप्र: सुधी: श्रीधरणीधरोभूत् । व्यधादिमां तत्तनय: प्रशस्ति पृथ्वीधरस्तर्कविशुद्धबु(बु)द्धि: ॥⁹ [१५॥*] यावन्मेरु: स्व-

19 र्णकुंभ: पृथिव्यां यावद्गंगा वर्त्तते यावदब्धि: । यावल्लोके चंद्रसूर्यौ चकास्त: शंभोरेतत्कीर्त्तनं तावदास्तां(स्ताम्) ॥¹⁰[१६॥*]

20 विश्वकर्म्मकृतं शास्त्रं वेत्ति योर्थेन कर्म्मणा । उत्कीर्ण्णवानिमां शस्तां प्रशस्तिं स महीधर: ॥¹¹ [१७॥*] नवश(श)तयुगला-

21 ब्दाधिक्यगे चेदिदिष्ट(ष्टे) ज[न*]पदमवतीमं श्रीगयाकर्ण्णदेवे । प्रतिपदि शुचिमासश्वेतपक्षेर्क्कवा-

22 रे शिवशरणसमीपे स्थापितेयं प्रशस्ति: ॥¹²[१८॥*]

TRANSLATION

Ōṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May that eight-formed (Śiva) grant you fortune!—(*he*) who is the architect of the mansion of the three worlds (*and*) the noble poet of the composition of the three Vēdas, and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

(V. 2) Glorious is the digit of the moon which is, as it were, the silver-shell held on the head of (Śiva), the destroyer of Smara, by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain, who felt very thirsty on account of the fire of the (*third*) eye on (*his*) forehead.[13]

(V. 3) In the race of Atri's son (*i.e.*, the moon) was born **Karṇa**, the king who strove to subdue the whole multitude of princes. From him was (*born*) the king **Yaśaḥkarṇa**. His son is this king **Gayākarṇa**.

---

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[2] These *aksharas* are quite distinct on the original stone and in the inked estampages.

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[7] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[8] The writer intended to say श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहास–, but has dropped the *akshara ti* for the sake of the metre.

[9] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[10] Metre: *Śālinī*.

[11] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[12] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[13] According to Kielhorn the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n.7). I fail to notice any such difficulty.

(V. 4) May the illustrious king **Gayākarṇa** together with his son, the crown-prince **Narasiṁha,** rule the earth as long as the world will endure!

(V. 5) In the *gōtra* called Ananta was born the religious preceptor, the illustrious **Bhāvatējas,** resembling the sun by the lustre of his penance, and devoutly performing extremely pure actions whether noticed or not (*by others*)—who, a wise man and a follower of the Pañchārtha,[1] expounded the marvellous teaching about the absolute and was a wild fire in burning the impenetrable forest of the multitude of evils arising from lust and anger.

(V. 6) Having listened to the entire systems of the Āgama and the Yōga, having expounded the systems of Nyāya and Kaṇāda[2] and having practised the Yōga system of Paśupati, he attained union with Śiva by his knowledge.

(V. 7) This ascetic **Bhāvabrahman** is his foremost disciple, who, though he has given up all actions, is ever engaged in the performance of penance.[3]

(V. 8) He is clad only in a loin-cloth, lies on pure ashes, is proficient in the knowledge of the Pañchārtha (*system*), lives on a limited quantity of food, is another Sanatkumāra[4] on account of his celibacy, and is devoted to (*the practice of*) Yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali.

(V. 9) (*He*) pleases supplicants with (*gifts of*) gold, food and raiment, makes intelligent men meritorious by his love, delighting them with pleasant speech, performs devoutly religious actions for the eradication of trouble, and has realized the three-eyed (god Śiva). In (*this*) Kali age there is seen no follower of the Pañchārtha system like Bhāvabrahman.

(V. 10) Though devoid of all possessions he harbours Śiva in his heart; though forgiving, he curbs lust and rage through good vows.

(V. 11) By means of control of breath, observances essential for meditation, contemplation and postures, he day by day practises intellectually (*meditation on*) Śiva whom he places in the lotus of his heart; (*being*) a yōgin he would cultivate benevolence towards the wise, the joy of self-realization by the study of the śāstras, compassion towards his disciples and indifference to worldly objects by (*his*) knowledge of Śiva.[5]

(V. 12) He adorned this world of Gāhuṇḍa[6] with processions of the chariot (of Śiva), festivity and the worship (of Śiva) and also with encircling walls, temples and monasteries.

(V. 13) A self-controlled person secures final emancipation by a work of pious liberality which makes one desist (*from worldly affairs*) and by knowledge. To secure both these[7] he installed this image of Śiva.

(V. 14) By means of wealth obtained by begging he caused this temple of (Śiva), the enemy of the god of love, to be constructed with devotion for the liberation and glory of the self-controlled.

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[1] See above, page 232, n. 1.

[2] *I.e.* the Vaiśēshika system.

[3] There is apparent contradiction in this verse, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa.*

[4] Sanatkumāra figures in the Upanishads and the Purāṇas as a great teacher (see, *e.g., Chhāndōgya Up.* VII, 1, 1; 26; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* III, 8, 7; *Mahābhārata,* Śāntiparvan, 227). According to the *Liṅgapurāṇa* he himself received the Śaiva doctrine from Nandin.

[5] This verse describes the cultivation of the four sentiments (*bhāvanās*) of *maitrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkshā* (indifference) mentioned in the *Yōgasūtra* of Patañjali I, 33. They are also recognized in Buddhist philosophy. See Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 54.

[6] Kielhorn has suggested that *Gāhuṇḍa* is probably a local designation of Śiva. It may be noted in this connection that Monier-Williams gives, on the authority of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa, huṇḍana* in the sense of an attendant of Śiva.

[7] *I.e.,* pious work and knowledge.

(V. 15) There was the illustrious Dharaṇidhara, a wise Brāhmaṇa, who had studied the Vēdas, Smṛitis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas. His son Pṛithvidhara, whose intellect has become keen by (*the study of*) dialectics, has composed this eulogy.

(V. 16) As long as Mēru (*which is*) the jar of gold, the Gaṅgā and the ocean endure on the earth, so long may this temple of Śiva last!

(V. 17) That Mahīdhara, who understands the teaching and the practical work of the science invented by Viśvakarman[1], has incised this commendable *praśasti*.

(V. 18) While the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years and the illustrious Gayākarṇa was ruling this country, this eulogy was put up near the temple of Śiva on Sunday, the first (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha.

No. 59; Plate XLVIII

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

Bahuriband is now a small village situated on a plateau at a distance of about 20 miles from Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsil* in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Not far from Bahuriband lie the villages of Tigōwā and Rūpnāth, the former of which is known for its Gupta temple, still in a state of perfect preservation, and the latter, for its Aśokan rock-edict. Bahuriband contains some old ruins, the most conspicuous of which is a colossal standing nude statue of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha. 'It is near the village and stands upon its original site, portions of the foundations of the walls of the shrine, in which it stood, being still around it. It stands 12 feet and 2½ inches high from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head.'[2] There is an attendant holding a *chawri* on either side of it. The *chhattra* over it is now broken away and lies behind the image. It measures 4′ 4″ in height and has the figure of an elephant on either side of it.

The present inscription is incised on the pedestal of the statue of Śāntinātha. It falls into three parts. Parts A and B, each consisting of three lines, are engraved on the top of the pedestal to the left and right respectively of the feet of the image[3]. Part C, which has seven lines, is incised on the front face of the pedestal. Before it is a small *kuṇḍa* intended to receive the water of the Tīrthaṅkara's bath. The inscription was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, who gave his reading of the first two lines and a portion of the third of part C[4]. It was next noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who published a short abstract of its contents[5]. It is being edited here for the first time from the original stone as well as its inked estampages which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is very much weather-worn, especially in parts A and B. Besides, a few *aksharas* in the first line of part C have been broken away. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. It may be noted that *dh* appears here to be fully developed as in the modern Nāgarī; see, *e.g.*, *dharmma-*, l.4 and *Sūtradhāra*, l.5; *th*, on the other hand, has not yet opened its upper loop, see *Śāṁtināthasya*, l.3. The language is Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

[1] *I.e.*, the science of architecture. Viśvakarman is the architect of gods.

[2] *P. R. A. S., W. I.* for 1903-4, p. 55. For a photograph of the image see *H. T. M.*, Plate LII.

[3] These were not noticed by previous writers.

[4] *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 40.

[5] *P. R. A. S., W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 54-55.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that during the victorious reign of the illustrious **Gayākarṇadēva,** while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Gōlhaṇadēva** of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family was flourishing, one **Mahābhōja** (?), the son of Sādhu Sarvadhara, who had been favoured by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the foremost of logicians, erected the temple of Sāntinātha. We are further told that the white canopy over it was built by a *Sūtradhāra*.[1] The image of Sāntinātha was consecrated by the *Āchārya* **Subhadra,** who belonged to the line of the Dēśī *gaṇa*[2] in the *Āmnāya* of the Chandrakara *Āchārya*.[3]

Cunningham read the **date** in the first line, as *samvat* 10..*Phālguna badi* 9 *sōmē*. Dr. Bhandarkar has, on the other hand, remarked that 'the date of the inscription is too indistinct to be read.' Many of the signs in the first line, where Cunningham read the date are now broken away. It is not, therefore, possible to verify his reading completely. But the extant *aksharas* seem to read [*va*] *di* 9 *Bhaumē* (not *Sōmē*). Even in Cunningham's time all the figures of the year were not preserved. What he took to be the figure 1 appears to be the remnant of some *akshara* like *pa* or *sa*. Again, Cunningham's reading of the first two figures, if correct, would relegate the present record to the end of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.C.; for *samvat* 10..would have to be referred to the Vikrama era. But from the Tewar inscription[4] dated K. 902 we know that Gayākarṇa flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A.C. The first two figures of the date, if it was recorded in the Vikrama era, must, therefore, have been either 11 or 12.

TEXT[5]

A

On the top of the pedestal, to the left of the feet of Sāntinātha.

1 साधुश्रीसर्व्वधर[घ?]
2 · · · [महा] · · ·
3 . . . . . .

B

On the top of the pedestal, to the right of the feet of Sāntinātha.

1 साधु श्री स[स्वला]
2 . . . . . .
3 . . . . . .

C

On the front face of the pedestal of the image of Sāntinātha.

1 [स्वस्ति · · · · · · · · · · [6][ब]दि ९ [भौ]मे · · · · [7]श्रीमद्गयाकर्ण्णदेवविजयरा-
2 ज्ये राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीमद्गोल्हणदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानस्य ॥[8]

---

[1] His name appears to be *Sresṭhi*.
[2] The Dēśī *gaṇa* is a branch of the Nandi *gaṇa* and Mūla *saṅgha* of the Digambara sect.
[3] This may be identical with the Chandrakapāṭa-*gachchha* of the Digambara sect, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 73.
[4] Above, No. 58.
[5] From the original stone and inked estampages.
[6] About nine *aksharas* are lost here.
[7] There are indistinct traces of four *aksharas* here.
[8] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36 -778'51

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

3 श्रीमद्गोल्लापूर्व्वाम्नाये वेल्लप्रभाटिकायामुद्धताम्नाये तर्क्कतार्की(र्कि)कचूडामणिश्रीम-

4 ाघवनंदिनानुगृहि(ही)तस्साधुश्रीस[र्व्वं]धर[:*] तस्य पुत्र[:*] महा[भो]ज[:*] धर्म्म-
दानाध्ययनरत: [।*] तेनेदं का-

5 रितं रम्यं सां(शां)तिनाथस्य मंदिरं(रम्) ॥[1] स्वकलत्यमसज्जकसूत्रधार[:*] से(श्रे)स्टि(ष्ठि)
नामा [।*] सितो(ता)नं च महारम्ये-

6 तं निर्म्मितमतिसुंदरं(रम्)[3] ॥[१॥*] श्रीमच्चंद्रकराचार्याम्नायदेसी(शी)ग[णा]न्वये समस्त-
विद्याविनये(या)नंदित-

7 विद्व[ज्ज]ना[:*] प्रतिष्ठाचार्यश्रीमत्सुभद्राश्चिरं जयंतु ॥ ❀ ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

C[4]

Hail! On **Tuesday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight**[5] . . . . . during the victorious reign of the illustrious **Gayākarṇadēva,** while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati,* the illustrious **Gōlhaṇadēva,** born in the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family, is flourishing—

(*There was*) the pious layman, the illustrious **Sarvadhara,** (*born*) in the Gōllāpūrva[6] Āmnāya, the sacred traditions (*Āmnāya*) of which were amplified at Vēllaprabhāṭikā, who was blessed by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the crest-jewel of logicians. His son is **Mahā[bhō]ja** (*who is*) devoted to (*the performance of*) religious duty, charity and study (*of the sacred texts*). By him has been caused to be erected this beautiful temple of Sāntinātha.

The *Sajjaka Sūtradhāra* is named Srēshṭhi.[7] By thim has been constructed (*here*) a very white and extremely beautiful canopy.

(Line 6) May the holy *Āchārya* **Subhadra,** who has consecrated (*this image of Sāntinātha*), be long glorious!—(*he*) who belongs to the line (*anvaya*) of the **Dēśī** *gaṇa*[8] in the *Āmnāya* of the holy **Chandrakara**[9] *Āchārya*, and who has delighted learned men by his perfect learning and humility!

---

[1] The verse is completed below.

[2] Bhandarkar read the last three *aksharas* as *sajjana* which he took to be the name of the *Sūtradhāra* (*P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 55); but the last *akshara* is certainly not *na*. It is more like *ka* than any other *akshara*. I therefore read the word as सज्जक. Cf. सज्जक prefixed to सूत्रधार in No. 105, l. 20.

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Parts A and B, which contain only a few *aksharas* have not been translated. Part A contains the name *Sarvadhara*.

[5] The name of the month and the figures of the year have been broken away.

[6] There are still several Jain families belonging to the Gōllāpūrva Āmnāya in Madhya Pradesh. *Vēllaprabhāṭikā* may be a place-name.

[7] I am unable to explain स्वकलत्यम prefixed to सज्जक.

[8] See above, p. 310, n. 3.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

No. 60; Plate XLIX

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall in 1857 at Bhērā-Ghāṭ on the Narmadā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose Cabinet at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of green stone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2′ 9½″ broad by 1′ 10½″ high. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 499 f.[1]; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 91-94.[2] The inscription was finally edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with an English translation but without a lithograph, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 7 f. It is edited here from excellent large-size photographs which were, at the Government Epigraphist's request, kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

The inscription, consisting of 29 lines of writing, covers a space of about 2′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 9″ high. The letters are beautifully and carefully cut, the *anusvāras*, curves and *mātrās* in the first line being ornamentally treated. Except for two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost completely broken away, and one or two others here and there which are partially damaged, the inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from .4″ to .7″. The **characters** are Nāgarī and resemble those of the Tewar inscription of Bhāvabrahman. The sign of the initial *i* in ll. 7, 17 *etc.* has its two dots at the top joined by a curve, instead of a straight line;[3] *th* and *dh* exhibit transitional forms, the former having its upper loop open in some cases (see, *e.g.*, *tathā*, l.25 and *-Pṛithu-*, l.29) and the latter appearing with a fully developed left member in *dhar-āśraya-*, l.3 *=vyadhattām*, l.25, *etc.*; in other cases, these letters retain their earlier forms; *ṅ* is still without its dot, see, *e.g.*, *-diṅmaṇḍalī*, ll. 27-28; the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l.9 and that of the *upadhmānīya* in l.10. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are thirty-seven verses in all. Though written in a good style, the inscription is not altogether free from mistakes. Thus *chakapē* in l.10 is used for the correct form *chakampē* to suit the metre; *vyadhattām*, which is intended as a form of the Imperative, is incorrect for *vidhattām*, and in *chaṇḍimatām* l.9, there is a superfluous addition of a second *taddhita* affix to form an abstract noun. Finally, rules of *sandhi* have been violated in *kim=vā* l.2, *yushmān=śarīraiḥ*, l.3, and *sarvv-ādāyaiḥ=ssārdhaṁ*, ll.24-25. As regards **orthography,** *b* is in some cases denoted by its proper sign, see, *e.g.*, *babhūva* and *vibudhā-*, both in l.8, *bibhraty-*, l.10, and in others by that of *v*, see *vuddhim=* l.1, *vibhrat*, l.6 *etc.*; the palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *saṭāla*, l.14, and the dental nasal for *anusvāra* in the component *sinha* of the proper names *Vairisinha*, l.16, *Vijayasinha*, l.17, *Narasinha*, l.21, *Jayasinha*, l.22 and *Vālasinha*, l.29, and also in *-sudhānśuḥ*, l.18, *=sansatsu*,

[1] The committee of publications corrected some of the mistakes in Hall's transcript while the paper was going through the press. It is noteworthy that the mention of the Paramāra king Udayāditya in the present inscription enabled Hall to conjecture for the first time that the dates of the present and other inscriptions of the Kalachuris refer to an era which commenced about 250 A. C.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 7.

[3] In line 3 of the Goharwa plates of Karṇa (above, No. 50) and line 8 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (above, No. 56), the top of the initial *i* is formed by a straight line.

l.5 *etc.*; finally, the consonant following *r* is occasionally doubled, see *e.g.*, *nirjjity*=, l.7, =*ūrddhva*-, l.8 *etc.*

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasiṁha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty.** The **object** of it is to record that his mother **Alhaṇadēvī,** the widow of **Gayakarṇa**[1] constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanātha together with a *maṭha* or monastery and a hall of study which she endowed with the income from two villages, *viz.*, **Nāmaūṇḍī** in the **Jāulī** *paṭṭalā* and **Makarapāṭaka** on the right bank of the **Narmadā** in the land near the foot of the hills, for the worship of the deity. The management of the whole establishment was entrusted to the Pāśupata ascetic **Rudrarāśi** of the **Lāṭa** lineage. The inscription, which is called *praśasti* in l. 28, was composed by **Śaśidhara,** the son of Dharaṇīdhara who was himself the son of Mahēśvara of the **Maunya** family (*gōtra*), with the *pravaras* Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvētasa. It was written on the stone by Śaśidhara's elder brother **Pṛithvīdhara,** and engraved by **Mahīdhara,** a son of the artisan Bālasiṁha.[2] Finally, we are told that the buildings were designed by the architect **Pīthē.**

After the introductory verses invoking the blessings of the moon, the Gaṅgā, Śiva, Gaṇēśa and Sarasvatī, the inscription mentions **Arjuna** (*i.e.*, Sahasrārjuna), from whom was descended **Kōkalla (II).** From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** whose son was **Karṇa.** The latter held in check the **Pāṇḍya, Murala, Kuṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kīra** and **Hūṇa** princes. Karṇa's son was **Yaśaḥkarṇa** who made himself famous by devastating **Champāraṇya.** His son was **Gayakarṇa** who married **Alhaṇadēvī.** The queen's pedigree is given in verses 17-22. In the family descended from **Gōbhilaputra** was born the prince **Haṁsapāla.** His son was **Vairisiṁha** who, again, had a son named **Vijayasiṁha.** The latter prince married **Śyāmaladēvī,** the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya,** the ruler of the **Mālava-maṇḍala.** Their daughter was **Alhaṇadēvī** who was married to Gayakarṇa. By him Alhaṇadēvī had two sons **Narasiṁhadēva,** who succeeded Gayakarṇa, and his younger brother **Jayasiṁha.**

The names of Alhaṇadēvī's ancestors are known from some other inscriptions also[3]. Thus the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha[4] mentions Vairisiṁha and his successor Vijayasiṁha in the list of Guhila princes of Mēdapāṭa. The record does not, however, name any prince of the name Haṁsapāla, but makes Vairisiṁha the successor of the king Vairaṭa. Dr. Hall[5] and following him, Dr. Kielhorn[6] supposed that Haṁsapāla was another name of Vairaṭa 'unless Vairaṭa was his brother or some other near relative.' Haṁsapāla is, however, mentioned separately from Vairaṭa whom he is said to have succeeded in the Sādaḍī[7] and Kumbhalgaḍ[8] inscriptions.

The present inscription is **dated** at the end in the **year** 907 (expressed in numerical

[1] This is the form of the name used throughout in this inscription owing evidently to the exigencies of the metre.

[2] Pṛithvīdhara the son of Mahīdhara was the author of the Tewar inscription of Gayākarṇa (No. 58, above). The engraver Mahīdhara also is mentioned in the same capacity in that inscription.

[3] The same pedigree is given in ll. 15-16 of the Karaṇbēl stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva, Appendix, No. 5.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

[5] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 519.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

[7] *A. R. A. S. I.* (1907-08), pp. 214 ff. This inscription mentions Vaṁśapāla as a successor of Vairaṭa and predecessor of Vairisiṁha. Vaṁśapāla is probably a mistake for Haṁsapāla. The successor of Vairisiṁha is, however, named Vīrasiṁha, not Vijayasiṁha, in that inscription.

[8] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* (1905-6), p. 61; G. H. Ojha's *History of Udaipur* (Hindi), Vol. I. p. 140, n 2.

figures only), on **Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha.** This date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-248 A. C., it would correspond, for the *expired* year 907, to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., when the aforementioned *tithi commenced* 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined with that week-day 'on which it commenced and which was almost entirely filled by it.'[1]

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present inscription **Murala** is generally identified with Kērala.[2] It is, however, doubtful if Karṇa led any expedition so far to the south-west. In the *Uttararāmacharita* (Act III) the river Muralā figures as a tributary of the Godavari. The country of Murala is also mentioned in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[3] of Rājaśēkhara and seems to correspond to the northern part of the Hyderabad State. Dr. Kielhorn identified **Kuṅga** with the districts of Salem and Coimbatore,[4] but it is more likely to be identical with Koṅgōda, (Kong-yu-to of Yuan Chwang), corresponding to the Rāmagiri Agency of the Godavari District. **Kaliṅga** comprised the modern districts of Ganjām and Vizagapatam and some portion of the Godavari District. **Vaṅga** is Eastern Bengal. **Kīra** has already been shown to be the name of the territory round Baijnāth in the Kāngrā District. The country under the **Hūṇas** was probably situated to the north of Malwa.[5] **Mālava-maṇḍala** is, of course, the country of Malwa. Of the villages granted by Alhaṇadēvī, **Nāmaüṇḍī** is now untraceable, but the **Jāulī-pattalā** in which it was situated and which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, must have comprised the country round Jabalpur. **Makara-pāṭaka** may be Magarmuha, about 4 m. to the west of Bhērā-Ghāṭ. It is at the foot of a hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmadā. Its situation, therefore, answers to the description of it given in the present inscription.

TEXT[6]

1 सिद्धिः[7] [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय ।। कन्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ।।(।) एकैव या प्रमथसार्थंगतां द्वितीयाबु(बु)द्धिम्प्रदोषबिरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ।।[8] [१।।*]

2 किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किन्दम्भ्यंकम्मांकुराः किम्वा[9] कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी । इत्थशाकिवितर्क्किताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगारिङ्खल्लुतरङ्गभङ्गित-तयः पुण्यप्र-

3 पाः पान्तु वः ।।[10] [२।।*] भूतं सद्विभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जगर्भेशानन्दकरं धराश्रय-

[1] A more satisfactory equivalent of the date would have been Sunday, the 25th November 1156 A.C., on which day the tithi *ended* 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. But Kielhorn was not inclined to accept it as it would have necessitated the shifting of the epoch of the era to 248-249 A. C. This would have made most of the Kalachuri dates cite current, not expired, years, which was contrary to the usage observed in the case of other eras. Kielhorn's view has been supported by some dates discovered subsequently, to which the epoch of 248-249 A. C. would be altogether unsuitable. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff. and the date of No. 90, below.

[2] *H. T. M.*, p. 20.

[3] Act. IV, verse 18.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 102.

[6] From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[9] Read किं वा.

[10] Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

रसावस्थालहेतुस्त वस्तु । यदूपमोङ्गुरवाम यस्य कथते वीरं यवेकान्ततः सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरव-
जलपूणाक्षारीरे:[1]

4 विभ: ॥[३॥*] सन्तिहेतिपरमीतिहेतुस्तनकर्णाभ्यास: । ताण्डवांडव(व)र: कुर्यात्रीलकण्ठ: प्रि-
याणि व: ॥[2] [४॥*] विध्नौघसन्ततसंहरणाय सक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया सकलं सुधांशो: ।
कुर्यादवातरवन्तमिभाननं वा-

5 व: श्रेय: परम्परासु व: सततं हिमांशु: ॥[3] [५॥*] कर्पूरगौरकर्णमहारजाममातन्वती पातु सर-
स्वती व: । यल्लेशकालिकपवाप्यपि स्यात्सन्ततु[4] पुंसाङ्कुरिमा गरीयान् [॥६॥*][5] ⊗
गोत्रे राधिकरस्य भूपति-

6 रमूहि(द्वि)भरसहस्रं कराम्रत्येकम्निजनान्मनोविनवने राशिन्वितं जागृवि: । तेजोभिज्जंगतीमृता-
म्परिनवी सास्ताज्जुर्न: संस्मृतेर्यस्याप्यविरम्यते वसु गतश्चोतं च चौरैरपि वरम् ॥[6] [७॥*]
तस्या-

7 न्वये समभवत्प्रथित: पृथिव्या ताम्र: कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य । कोकल्लदेव इति विश्रु-
[तार]रूपधाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥[7] [८॥*] निर्विघ्नयोर्जितगर्व्वपर्व्वतभृत: प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

8 भुज: प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्तत: । पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमे[णार्थि]-
नां स्वर्ग्गादूर्ध्वमय: स्थितापि त्रिभुवनाधारे[य]मापादिता ॥[8] [९॥*] पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धस-
[त्व]प्रवर्द्धि-

9 [ता] । यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततति: सर्व्वं व्याप ब(व)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥[10] [१०॥*] तेनाजनि मही-
पालकर्ण्ण: स्वर्ण्णेन कुर्व्वता । पूर्ण्णतृष्णार्ण्णवानर्थिसार्थनिर्मितकीर्त्तिना ॥ [११॥*] पाण्डयश्च-
ण्डिमतामुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[ग्र]हं[11]

10 [कु]ङ्ग: सद्गतिमाजगाम चकम्पे[13] बङ्ग: कलिङ्गै: सह । कीर: कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे हूण:
प्रहर्षं जहौ यस्मिन्राजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥[14] [१२॥*] अस्माद्भूर्त्तपराभवेन
सकला-

11 म्भुवं [भुवं] यामसी तस्मेतान्तनवामहं ततुतराकाराविसीव स्थिर: । यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजाश्रयन-
जैर्व्वा(र्व्वा)ष्पै: पयोधीन्व्यधु: स्फारान्रत्नमहोर्म्मिभि: पुनरमी [सं][15]वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-

[1] Read -घृणाञ्चारीरै:.

[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[4] Read स्यात्संततु.

[5] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[8] The *akshara* in the brackets is mutilated. Kielhorn with diffidence proposed to read [स]मापादिता, but this requires the previous word to be taken as त्रिभुवनाधारे which admits of no satisfactory construction. In our reading it would be त्रिभुवनाधारा and would qualify पृथ्वी.

[9] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[10] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[11] I follow Kielhorn in the reading of this verse. The last *akshara* is quite clear in the photographs. Hall read -स्पृहं which is grammatically indefensible. The intended reading may have been गर्व्वग्रहं as suggested by Kielhorn.

[12] The first *akshara* is partly mutilated, but it can be restored with the help of l. 10 of the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva (Appendix, No. 3.). Kielhorn read the following word as सद्गति. It would be better to read सद्भृति in view of the alliteration prevailing in this verse.

[13] Read चकम्पे. The word was altered to suit the metre.

[14] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[15] The *akshara* in the brackets which is somewhat damaged was read as सं by Hall and तं by Kielhorn. I adopt Hall's reading in view of the angular look of its left limb.

12 क्रिरे ॥[१३॥*] कम्मारण्यविचारणोद्गतयशःपुञ्जांशुना मालवक्ष्मापाक्रमणकमाबहुबलः क्ष्मा-
पालचूडामणि: । तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्ण्ण इत्यीवाबह्नि[नवी*][1]-

13 चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानपि ॥ [१४॥*] तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधादभू वल्लभः समभ-
वद्गयकर्ण्णदेवः । यस्य प्रतापतपनोऽरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्ण्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥[2][१५॥*]

14 द्युतिजितहरिताल: श्रीलताकल्पशाल: पृथुतरगुणमाल: शत्रुवर्गैककाल: । विमलितरणमाल: का-
न्तकीर्त्या श(स)टाल: शितरतरकरवाल: सोऽभवद्भूमिपाल: ॥[3][१६॥*] ❁ ॥ अस्ति

15 प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपति: किल हंसपाल: । शौर्यावसज्जितनिरर्गलसैन्य-
संघनश्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवाल: ॥[4][१७॥*] तस्याभवत्तनुभव: प्र-

16 णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जितांह्रि: [5] । श्रीवैरिसिन्ह[6]वसुधाधिपतिर्व्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्निधिर्व्व
परमर्थिजनस्य चोर्व्व: ॥[7][१८॥*] स वैरिसिन्हो[8]ऽप्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि सम्भीरमुहागृ-

17 हाणि । स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥[9][१९॥*] तस्मादजायत
समस्तजनाभिनन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्य्यभरभंगुरिताहितश्री: । पृथ्वीपतिर्व्विजयसिन्ह[10] इति

18 प्रवर्द्धमान: सदा जगति यस्य यश:सुधान्शु:[11] ॥[12][२०॥*] तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदया-
दित्यसुता सुरूपा । शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरर्च्चितश्री: ॥[13][२१॥*]

19 मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभृतानायकाद्धीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृज: ।
तस्मादल्हणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भूपतेरेतस्यामिज-

20 दीर्घवन्श[14]विशदप्रेंखत्पताकाकृति: ॥[15][२२॥*] विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्ण्णनरेश्वर: । चक्रे
प्रीतिम्परामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकर: ॥[16][२३॥*] शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-

21 णपण्यभूमि: । असूत पुत्रञ्जयकर्ण्णभूपादसौ नरेशन्नरसिन्ह[17]देवम् ॥[18][२४॥*] अस्य श्रीनर-
सिन्ह[19]देवनृपते: प्रोद्यन्यशश्चन्दमा दिग्भित्तीर्व्विदधातु व(ब)न्धुपसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव । भूर्भर्त्ता-
रम-

22 वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुयात्पूर्व्वेषान्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभृतां ध्यायति ॥[20][२५॥*]
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्हदेव:[21] सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजेद्भुतरूपसेव: ॥(।) यो मेघनादव(ब)हु-

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[1] Hall's suggestion to read धनिकी here was adopted by Kielhorn. I fail, however, to see any trace of the medial *i* of नि which according to Kielhorn is partly visible. I prefer to restore the text as above in view of the resulting *Virōdbābhāsa* सर्व्वान् विबुधान् धनदीचकार which must have been intended here.

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[3] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[4] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[5] This has not been altered to ह्रः, as supposed by Kielhorn.

[6] Read श्रीवैरिसिंह–.

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[8] Read वैरिसिंहो.

[9] Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

[10] Read –र्व्विजयसिंह.

[11] Read –सुधांशु:.

[12] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[13] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[14] Read –वंश–.

[15] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[16] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[17] Read –न्नरसिंह.

[18] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[19] Read श्रीनरसिंह–.

[20] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[21] Read जयसिंहदेव:.

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASINHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: ONE-FOURTH. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36 -778'51.

23 मान्यमहात्मिकायशैम्यं क्षितामतिमनमहह मह्सतः ॥[1][२६॥*] अकारयम्भवरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्म-
ठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन । सहानुना श्रीनरसिन्ह[2]देवभूरेतावल्हणदेव्युदारा ॥[3][२७॥*] व्यस्थानवा-

24 लामुग्वानमालामविकलाममुम(म्) । अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भुप्रासादावलीद्वयमिजौ: [॥[4][२८॥*] देवा-
यास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादादेषी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् । ग्राममाम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्व्वादायै:[5]स्सा-

25 र्द्धं काव्यकर्म्मप्रसिद्धयै ॥[6][२९॥*] नर्म्मदापश्चिमे कूले पर्व्वतोपत्यकान्वये । तथा परमदाद्ग्रा-
ममाम्ना मकरपाटक[म्] ॥[7][३०॥*] लाटान्वय: पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्व्विविनद्वयधस्ता-
म्[8] । स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26 धिमस्य तावद्यावन्निमीते भुवनानि शम्भु: ॥[9][३१॥*] ॥ मौन्यान्वये[10] भार्ग्गववैतहव्यसा-
वेतसेति[11] प्रवरत्रयाढ्ये । महेश्वराख्याद्धरणीधरोभूनाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥[12][३२॥*]
कोमल-

27 कान्तिलटालेनोक्तै: स्नेहातिभारभरितेन । दीर्घंमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥[13][३३॥*]
पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुत: समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्ण्णवपारदृश्वा । प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्दीपैर्द्दि-

28 क्रमण्डली शिष्यगणैर्व्विजिग्ये ॥[14][३४॥*] एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्णा[तो]द्भुतनैपुण: । प्रशस्ति-
मकरोदेतान्सूरि:[15] शशिधराभिध: ॥[16][३५॥*] आ(अ)[17]सूत्रयदिदं सर्व्वं विश्वकर्म्मविधान-
वित् । धीयेसमभिध: सूत्र-

29 धार: पृथ्वीम्पृथुर्यथा ॥[३६॥*] सूत्रधाराश्मीवा(का)लसिन्ह[18]सूनुर्म्महीधर: । शिलान्तयाक-
रोद्व[र्ण्णं]श्रेमस्तारकितं यथा ॥[३७॥*] संवत् ९०७ मार्ग्ग सुदि ११ रवौ ॥ ❀ ॥ ❀ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) (Siva) grant you perfect bliss,—(*the digit*), which, though only one (*i.e.*, the first), makes the host of Siva's attendants always think, even in the absence of the evening, that it is the second (*digit*)![19]

[1] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[2] Read श्रीनरसिंह–.

[3] Metre : *Upēndravajrā.*

[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[5] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[6] Metre : *Śālinī.*

[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[8] The sense requires the reading त्रिविधविद्ययस्ताम् here.

[9] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[10] Kielhorn thought that this was altered [illegible], but the correction has not been made in the original. The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (below No. 64, l. 26) also mentions this family as मौन्य. See below, p. 333, n. 3.

[11] The last *pravara* is generally mentioned as सावेदस, see the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* (Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press ed.), pp. 25 ff.

[12] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[13] Metre : *Āryā.*

[14] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[15] Read –वेता सूरि:.

[16] Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[17] The correction has not been made in the original.

[18] Read –सिंह–.

[19] The figure is *Virōdhābhāsa.* There is a play on the word *dvitīyā* which means (1) 'the second (digit)' and (2) 'the second lunar day'. The crescent shape of the moon makes Śiva's attendants think every day to be the second lunar day of the bright fortnight in the evening of which that shape of the moon is seen on the western horizon.

(V. 2) May those founts of religious merit, the lines of the creeping, lovely,[1] tortuous waves of the heavenly river meandering on Siva's head protect you!—(*the waves*) about which heavenly beings have such doubts,—Are these wreaths of white lotuses, or digits of the moon, or sprouts of religious deeds, or sloughs of snakes, or ashes emerging (*from Siva's body*)?[2]

(V. 3) May Siva with these (*eight*) bodies[3] (*of his*) protect you—(*viz.*) (*that body*) which, being an element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world becomes manifest; (*that*) which gives delight to the eyes (*of creatures*) in the (*whole*) world; (*that*) which is the cause of the diversity of flavour and other (*qualities*) abiding in the earth; (*that*) which is a vast repository of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is exclusively cold; and (*that*) which, (*though*) devoid of colour, is felt by the touch!

(V. 4) May the blue-necked (Siva), who gives delight to such as are fond of wielding spear and missile, who is adorned with the young moon and exults in his *tāṇḍava* (*dance*), grant whatever is pleasing to you![4]

(V. 5) May the Elephant-faced (*Gaṇapati*) graciously confer on you highest bliss,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark-spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles!

(V. 6) May Sarasvatī protect you,—who by varied forms of speech conducts the intercourse (*of men*), and by obtaining the slightest portion of whose elegance even for a short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies!

(V. 7) There was in the moon's race, a king with a thousand hands, who was, day and night, wakeful to educate individually the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the worlds, (*and*) who surpassed the rulers of the world by his lustre—(*a king*) named **Arjuna**, by the mere remembrance of whom even now is regained wealth which had been lost or taken away by thieves long since.[5]

(V. 8) In his lineage was born a well-known lord of the earth, of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the illustrious name **Kōkalladēva (II)**, the sole source of the happiness of the three worlds.

(V. 9) From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** who, by over-coming the hostile rulers of the earth, possessed of huge mountains of pride, attained endless glory, who, a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants, made this earth, an abode of learned men, though situated below, soar higher than heaven (*which is an abode of gods*), by (*constructing here*) a matchless Mēru.

(V. 10) The creeper of his fame, sprinkled with the water of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, has overspread the whole bower of the universe.

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[1] Kielhorn remarks that *valgu* in the text is used for the participle *valgat*. But *valgu* can be taken as an adjective meaning 'beautiful' or 'lovely'.

[2] Kielhorn translated *bhūty-udgamāḥ* by '(the god's) majesty bursting into view.' But as in the case of other things mentioned in this verse, the poet refers here to a white thing worn or applied to his body by Śiva.

[3] The eight forms are ether (*ākāśa*), the sun, the moon, fire, earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. The same eight forms of Śiva are referred to in the first verse of the *Śākuntala*.

[4] The verse would be equally descriptive of Kārttikēya's peacock. 'May the peacock indulging in dancing, which gives great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to Kārttikēya) and (*the tail of*) which is covered with (*bright*) moon-like spots grant whatever is dear to you!'

[5] Hall cites the following verse form the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* :—कार्तवीर्यार्जुनो नाम राजा बाहुसहस्रवान् । तस्य स्मरणमात्रेण गतं नष्टं च लभ्यते ॥

(V. 11) He, who, seeking glory, filled with gold the oceans of the desires of supplicants, begot the prince **Karṇa.**

(V. 12) While that king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the **Pāṇḍya** renounced violence, the king of **Murala** gave up arrogance, the ruler of **Kuṅga** sought his alliance, the prince of **Vaṅga** trembled with that of **Kaliṅga**, the lord of **Kīra** stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the **Hūṇa** lost all merriment.

(V. 13) 'Let us reduce the size of the earth, the whole of which he enjoys by defeating our husbands'—With this motive as it were, the wives of hostile kings enlarged the seas with tears flowing from their eyes. These (*seas*), on the other hand, presented[1] him with larges waves of precious stones!

(V. 14) From him the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇa** took his spotless birth—(*he who was*) a crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, who had a guiltless heart, who illuminated the circle of quarters with the bright rays of his fame which sprang from his devastation of **Champāraṇya,** (*and*) who transformed into gods of wealth whatever learned men[2] met his eyes.

(V. 15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all merits, was born **Gayakarṇadēva,** the favourite of the earth, in whose case, even the sun[3],—the sun of his prowess—, caused the rise of the ocean—the ocean of grief—of his enemies' beautiful wives.

(V. 16) That king surpassed yellow orpiment by his lustre, was the wish-fulfilling tree supporting the creeper of fortune, wore a large garland of noble qualities, was the sole god of death to the host of his enemies, adorned the fore-front of the battle-field, was surrounded by a (*halo of*) charming glory, and wielded a very sharp sword.—

(V. 17) Famous in this world is the family of the son of **Gōbhila.** Therein was born, forsooth, the king **Haṁsapāla,** who, with his valiant and irresistible armies, humbled all the combined hosts of (*his*) enemies.

(V. 18) He had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious **Vairisiṁha,** whose feet were reddened by the crest-jewels in the diadems of all feudatory princes paying homage to him, (*and who was*) a treasure, not merely of pure thoughts, but also eminently (*one*) for suppliants.

(V. 19) That **Vairisiṁha** too, drove the families of his enemies to deep cave-dwellings, while he himself occupying their cities made them far surpass (*in splendour*) the city of Alakā.[4]

(V. 20) From him was born the lord of the earth named **Vijayasiṁha,** whose beauty was praised by all men, who, by his great valour, made his enemies' fortune unstable, (*and*) the moon of whose fame was always waxing in the world.

(V. 21) His loving wife was **Śyāmaladēvī,** the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya,** the lord of the country of Malwa, a jewel which fulfilled the desires (*of suppliants*) of noble conduct, and a devotee of fortune.

(V. 22) As the beloved of **Saṅkara** (*i.e.*, **Umā**) was born to Mēnā from the lord of mountains (*i.e.* Himālaya), as the wife of the Moon was born to Viriṇī[5] from Daksha, the creator of beings, even so was **Alhaṇadēvī** born to her from that king capable of protecting the (*whole*) world,—(*she*) who appeared like an unsullied banner fluttering from the staff of his long pedigree.

[1] Monier-Williams gives √*sam-vridh* (causal) in the sense of 'presenting'.

[2] There is a pun on '*vibudha*' which means 'a god' also. The verse apparently means that he turned all gods into Kubēra, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa*.

[3] Ordinarily it is the moon which causes the tides of the ocean.

[4] *Alakā* is the city of Kubēra, the god of wealth.

[5] She was the wife of Daksha.

(V. 23) Having performed the nuptial ceremony, the king **Gayakarṇa** bore intense love for her as Śaṅkara did for Śivā (*i.e.*, Umā).

(V. 24) She, a home of amour, a pitcher (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of beauty, a store-house of noble qualities, had, by the king **Gayakarṇa**, a son, the prince **Narasiṁha**.

(V. 25) May the rising moon of the glory of this king, the illustrious **Narasiṁhadēva**, saturate, as it were, the walls of the quarters with a beautiful white-wash; and may the earth, having secured in him a worthy lord, experience such delight that she would not, even slightly, think of its past great rulers!

(V. 26) May his younger brother **Jayasiṁhadēva**, who does marvellous service to his elder brother as (Lakshmaṇa,) the son of Sumitrā, did to Rāma, attain victory! —(*he*) who, behold! being long-armed, vanquishes the gigantic forces of his enemies roaring like clouds, and practising many tricks (*even as Lakshmaṇa defeated the hosts of Mēghanāda and the wily and stalwart Atikāya*)![1]

(V. 27) The generous **Alhaṇadēvī**, the mother of the illustrious **Narasiṁhadēva**, caused this temple of the moon-crested (*god*) to be built together with that monastery of wonderful storeys.

(V. 28) She also caused her people to construct a lecture-hall, that continuous line of gardens, as well as two rows (*of rooms attached*) to the temple of Śambhu.

(V. 29) To the god named Vaidyanātha the queen donated, for his beautiful decoration,[2] the village named **Nāmaüṇḍī** (*situated*) in the **Jāulīpattalā**, together with all income.

(V. 30) And she gave another village named **Makarapāṭaka** (*situated*) on the right bank of the Narmadā and in the land near the foot of the hills.

(V. 31) May the Pāśupata ascetic, the holy **Rudrarāśi** of Lāṭa lineage, duly arrange for the management of this place so long as Śambhu pervades the worlds!

(V. 32) In the **Maunya** lineage which has the three *pravaras* Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvētasa, there was born, from one named **Mahēśvara**, (*a son*) **Dharaṇīdhara** by name, possessed of greatness, glory and fortune.

(V. 33) Who, encircled by a delightful lustre, being full of exceedingly great affection and occupying, for long, an agreeable position, acted like a lamp of the three worlds (*which is surrounded by a halo of light, is filled to over-flowing with oil, and has a long and beautiful wick*).

(V. 34) His son **Pṛithvīdhara**, who has seen the further shore of the deep ocean of all the *Śāstras*, and by the crowds of whose pupils the circle of regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(V. 35) His younger brother, a learned man named **Śaśidhara**, proficient in dialectics and wonderfully clever, composed this eulogy.

(V. 36) The architect **Pīthē**, who is conversant with the science (*taught*) by Viśvakarman,[3] planned all this as Pṛithu did the earth.

(V. 37) **Mahīdhara**, the son of Bālasiṁha, the foremost of artisans, incised the stone with letters so as to resemble the starry sky.

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[1] *Mēghanāda* and *Atikāya* were Rāvaṇa's sons who were defeated by Lakshmaṇa; see the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddhakāṇḍa, adhyāyas 90 and 71 respectively. *Prahasta* was also the name of Rāvaṇa's general.

[2] Kielhorn translates *chāru-charchchā-prasiddhyai* as 'to make known her good report'; but *charchchā* which literally means 'smearing' or 'annointing', seems to be used here in the wider sense of 'decoration'.

[3] As pointed out by Kielhorn the adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work.'

(Line 29) (*In*) **the year 907,** (*the month*) **Mārgaśīrsha** (*and*) **the bright** (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) **day 11, on Sunday.**

No. 61; PLATE L

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909

THIS inscription was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published a transcript of it together with a photozincograph in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 94 and Plate II. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

The inscription is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called **Lāl-Pahāḍ** near Bharhut, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It contains eight lines, of which the last is separated from the rest by some distance. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space 17¼" in height; the first three lines are 2' 6", the next four 1' 9½" and the last 1' 4" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1.2" to 2.5".

The **characters** are Nāgarī. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of *r*, one of which shows a horizontal line and the other a loop on the left, and of *dh* in *-pād-ānudhyāt-*, l. 2, and *-Mahārājādhirāja-*, l. 1; *s* and *bh* appear everywhere in the modern Nāgarī forms. The **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, we may note that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* as in *-Vallāladēvakasya*, l. 6 and the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in all cases except *Śrī*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasiṁhadēva** of the Later **Kalachuri Dynasty.** He is described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the lord of **Trikaliṅga,** who by his own arm had acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, *viz.*, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva.** The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by **Ballāladēvaka** (or Rāuta[1] Ballāladēva as he is called in the last line), the son of the illustrious **Kayavāditya,**[2] *Mahārājaputra* of the village **Vadyavā.** This Kayavāditya seems to have been a high official of the king Narasiṁhadēva, during whose reign the inscription was engraved.

The inscription is **dated,** in line 7, in the **year 909** (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, **on the fifth tithi of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday.** The date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., there were two Śrāvaṇas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 909. Of these the first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently intended here; for the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the corresponding Christian date being the 2nd July 1158 A. C.[3]

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[1] *Rāuta* (*Rājaputra*) and *Mahārājaputra* appear to be titles of officials.

[2] Both Cunningham and Kielhorn read this name as *Kīrt(ti)vāditya*, but there is no sign of the medial *ī* on *k*, and the following letter is not *r* which has a different shape throughout this record.

[3] In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa the *tithi* ended on Friday, the 1st August 1158 A. C. Kielhorn has cited some other instances in which an *adhika* month has not been specified as such in the wording of the date. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212. See also the date of the Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasiṁhadēva (No. 66, below).

The village **Vadyavā** which was probably situated in the vicinity of **Lāl-Pahāḍ** cannot now be traced.

TEXT[1]

1 [सिद्धिः [2]] स्वस्ति श्री[: ।*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्री–
2 वामदेवपादानुध्यात्(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर–
3 मेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रिकलिंगाधिपतिनिजभुजोपा[र्ज्ज]तअ[3]–
4 स्व(श्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र्या(त्रया)धिपति(त्य)श्रीमन्नर–
5 सिंहदेवचरणाः ॥ वद्यवाग्रामकस्य महारा–
6 जपुत्रश्रीकयवादित्य[4]पुत्रव(ब)ल्लालदेवकस्य वहः ।
7 [सं]वत् ।[5] ९०९ स्रा(श्रा)वण सुदि ५ वुद्धे[6] ॥ [श्रीः] [॥*]
8 राउत श्रीव(ब)ल्लालदेव[: ॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Śrī! (*There reigns*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious and venerable **Narasiṁhadēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm has acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. (*There has been constructed*) (*this*) channel of **Ballāladēvaka**, the son of the great prince, the illustrious **Kayavāditya**.[7]

(Line 7) (*In*) **the year 909**, (*the month*) **Śrāvaṇa** (*and*) the **bright** (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) **day 5**, on **Wednesday**.

(L. 8) The *Rāuta*, the illustrious **Ballāladēva**.

No. 62; Plate LI

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

'This inscription together with two others is on a **block of stone**, which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the **Alha-Ghāṭ**, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rewa to the plain of the Ganges." . . . . It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photo-lithograph was published in the *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 115 and Plate xxviii'[8] Its date was next referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in connection with the epoch of the Kalachuri era in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 218. The record was finally edited, without any translation or facsimile, by the same scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

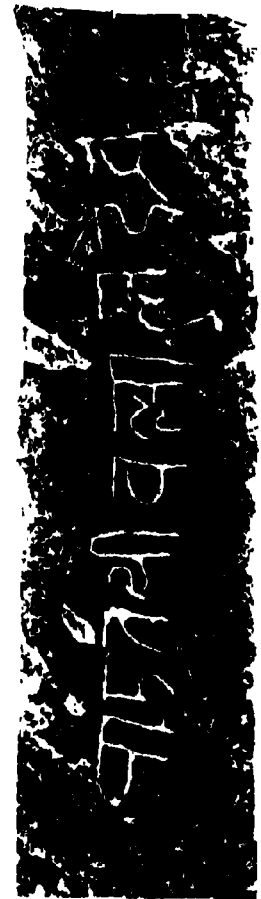
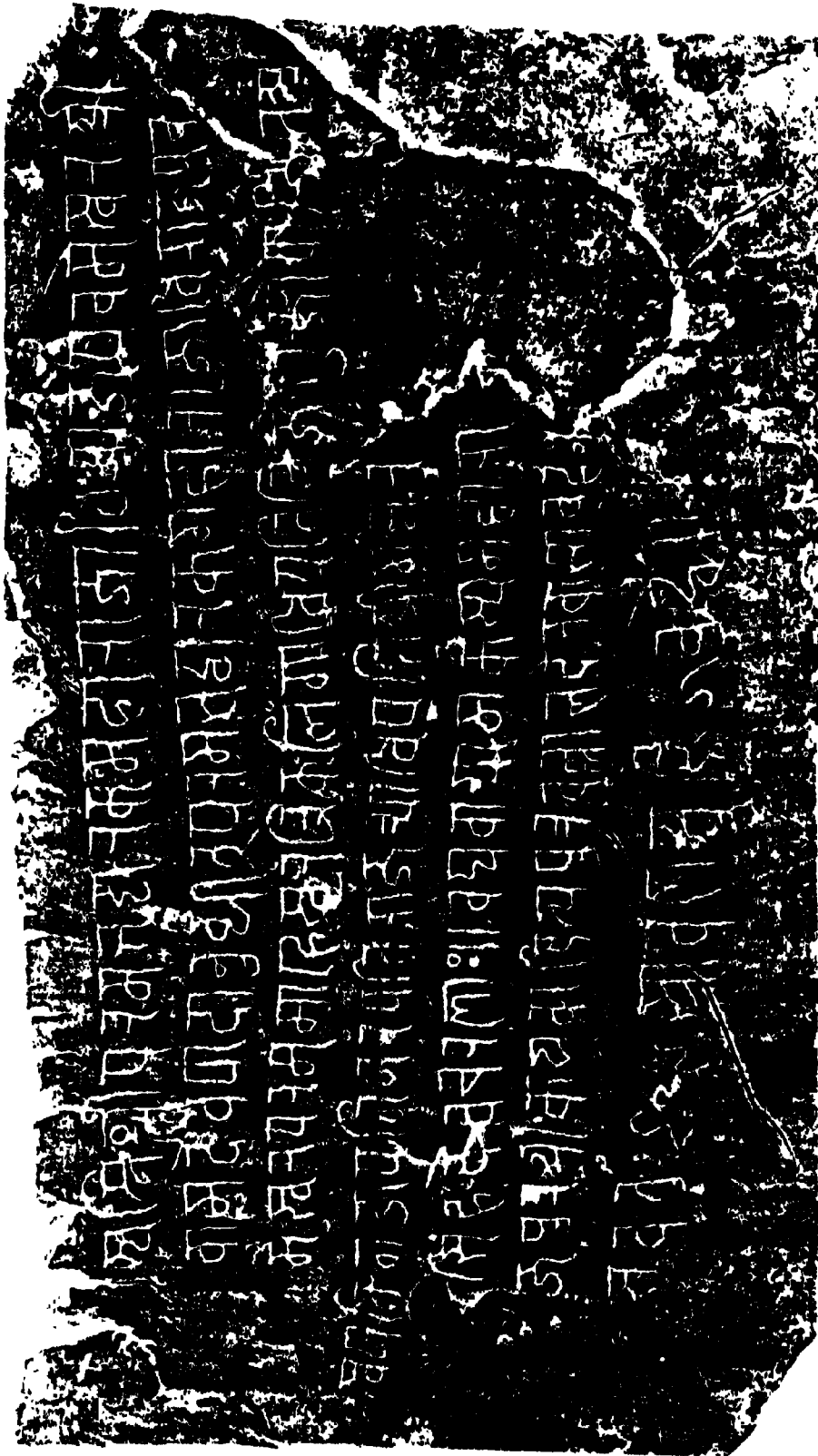
[1] From inked estampages supplied by the Director General of Archæology.
[2] Expressed by a faint symbol.
[3] अस्वपति which was at first omitted was incised later on in ll. 3 and 4. Read भुजोपार्जिताश्वपति–.
[4] This name was read as *Kāmaditya* by Cunningham and Kielhorn; see above, p. 321, n. 2.
[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[6] The *mātrā* on *ddh* is quite clear. Read वुधे.
[7] See above, p. 321, n. 2.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

The inscription contains **seven lines** and covers a space about 2′ broad by 1′ high. It is in a state of good preservation. The letters are deeply engraved, but not well-formed. Their size varies from .8″ to 1.4.″ The **characters** are Nāgarī. The only form which calls for notice is that of *r* which has a triangle instead of a loop on the left of its vertical; see, *e.g.*, *Mahārājā-*, l. 1. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. We may notice, for instance, the wrong elision of the case-affix in *-sādhana*, l. 5, *jāti*, l. 6, *etc.*, and of the feminine affix in *-Āmikādēva* (for *-Āmbikādēvī*) in l. 4 as well as the incorrect participial forms *udharitaḥ* for *uddhāritā* in l. 6 and *karāpitā* for *kāritā*, ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography we find that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *-vandhana-*, l. 4, *Kausāmvi-*, l. 5; *j* is used for *y* in *Kali-juga*, l. 3, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *Kausāmvi* and the lingual *sh* for *kh* in *lishitaṁ* l. 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Narasiṁhadēva**, the *Mahārājādhirāja* of **Ḍāhāla**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who ruled at Tripurī. Its **object** is to record that the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Chhīhula**, the son of the illustrious **Jālhaṇa**, the *Mahārāṇaka* of the **Pipalāma** fort caused the **Shaṭashaḍikā-ghāṭ** to be constructed and (*a temple of*) the goddess Ambikā to be built near the road leading to it. He is thereby said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the Rautiās (Rāuts) dwelling in **Kauśāmbī**.[1] This seems to suggest that he had himself originally hailed from that place. The record finally mentions the names of the writer and of the artisans who executed the work.

The inscription opens with the **date, Saṁvat 1216, the first (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, Sunday.** As we know that **Narasiṁhadēva was** ruling in the Kalachuri year 909, the date of the present inscription must be referred to some other era. The only era which would suit the present case is the Vikrama era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the northern expired (or southern current) Vikrama year 1216 ended 1 h. 23m. after mean sunrise and was, therefore, current at sunrise on Sunday as required, the corresponding Christian date being the 16th August 1159 A. C.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription **Ḍāhāla** or **Ḍāhala**, which the lexicographers give as a synonym of Chēdi, denoted generally the country between the Gaṅgā and the Narmadā,[2] corresponding to the modern Baghēlkhaṇḍ. **Kauśāmbī** has already been identified with the village Kōsam, 28 miles west by south from Allahabad. **Shaṭashaḍikā-ghāṭ** may have been the ancient name of the Alha-Ghāṭ. **Pipalāmadurga** cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धिः[4] [।*] संवत(त्) १२१६ भाद्रसुदि प्रतिपदा(दि) रवौ ।। डाहालीयमहाराजा–

2 धि(धि)राजश्रीनरसिंघदेव[5]विजयराज्ये ।। पिपलामदुर्गात्ये(स्य ?)[6]महा–

[1] The text has clearly *Kausāmvi-nikāya*. Pāṇini, III, 3, 41 gives *nikāya* in the sense of 'habitation', 'dwelling', and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* gives *Kāśī-nikāyaḥ* as an illustration.

[2] See *Bhāgīrathī-Narmadayōr=madhyaṁ Ḍāhala-maṇḍalaṁ* in line 34 of the Malkāpuram stone inscription of Rudradēva, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 156.

[3] From inked estampages.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read श्रीनरसिंहदेव–.

[6] Dr. Kielhorn read *Pipal[ā][au ?]durgga[sya]*. The *mātrā* on *l* is very doubtful and the following

3 राणकश्रीजाल्हणा[1]पुत्र राणकश्रीच्छीहुलस्य[2] कलिजु(यु)ग–
4 धर्म्मार्थं(र्थं) षटषडिकाघाटवं(बं)धनमार्ग्गतटाम्बिकादेव करा–
5 पिता इति[3] ॥ धर्म्मार्थकाममोक्षसाधन(नम्) ॥ कौसाम्बिनिकाय[4] रौ–
6 तिआ नाम जाति उधरित:[5] ॥ ठकुर श्रीकमलाधर[6] लिषि(खि)तं [।*]
7 सूत्रधार कमलसीहा:[7] [।*] सोमे । कोकास ॥ पाल्हण [।] [ड]ल्हण ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (*In*) **the year 1216, on Sunday,** the **first** (*lunar*) **day of the bright** (*fortnight*) **of Bhādra** (*i.e.*, Bhādrapada), during the victorious reign of the illustrious **Narasiṁha-dēva,** the *Mahārājādhirāja* of **Ḍāhāla,** the *Rāṇaka,* the illustrious **Chhīhula,** the son of the illustrious **Jālhaṇa,** the *Mahārāṇaka* of **Pipalāma** fort, constructed the **Shaṭa-shaḍikā** *ghāṭ* and (*the temple of*) the goddess Ambikā near the road (*leading to it*) for (*the acquisition of*) religious merit in the Kali age. This is a means of (*acquiring*) religious merit, wealth, pleasure and liberation. The tribe of Rautiā (Rauts) living in **Kauśāmbī**[8] has been liberated (*by this religious deed*).

(L. 6) (*This*) has been written by the *Ṭhakkura,* the illustrious **Kamalādhara.** (*The work was executed by*) the artisans, Kamalasiṁha, Sōmē, Kōkāsa, Pālhaṇa (*and*) Ḍalhaṇa.

No. 63; Plate LII

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

These plates were found in a stone-box while digging for the foundation of a Kōtwāli building at **Jabalpur,** the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. When first discovered, the plates were thickly covered with verdigris. Several *aksharas* especially in ll. 10-17 of the first plate have consequently been damaged a good deal, but as the present inscription has this portion in common with some other records[9] of the Kalachuri dynasty, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. The writing on the second plate is fortunately in a state of fair preservation. Nothing of historical importance has, therefore, been lost. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The inscription was published, with lithographs but without any translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, pp. 91 ff. It is edited here from the original plates and from ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. K. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

akshara appears to be *ma*, though the horizontal stroke at the top is wanting. The last *akshara* again is doubtful. If the reading given above is correct, it may be explained as formed on the analogy of *atratya*, *ihatya etc.*, though it is against Pāṇini, IV, 2, 104.

[1] Read जाल्हण–. There is no clear indication of the vertical stroke after *ṇa* being cancelled.

[2] The original has *chhchhīhulasya*. Read श्रीच्छीहुलेन.

[3] Read बंधनं मार्ग्गतटाम्बिका देवी च कारितेति.

[4] Read कौशाम्बीनिकाया. The *aksharas* are perfectly clear here. So Kielhorn's suggestion that the reading may be —*nivāsi* cannot be upheld.

[5] Read जातिरुद्धारिता.

[6] Read कमलाधरेण.

[7] Read सूत्रधार: कमलसिंह:. The case-affixes of the following words also are dropped.

[8] See above p. 323, n. 1.

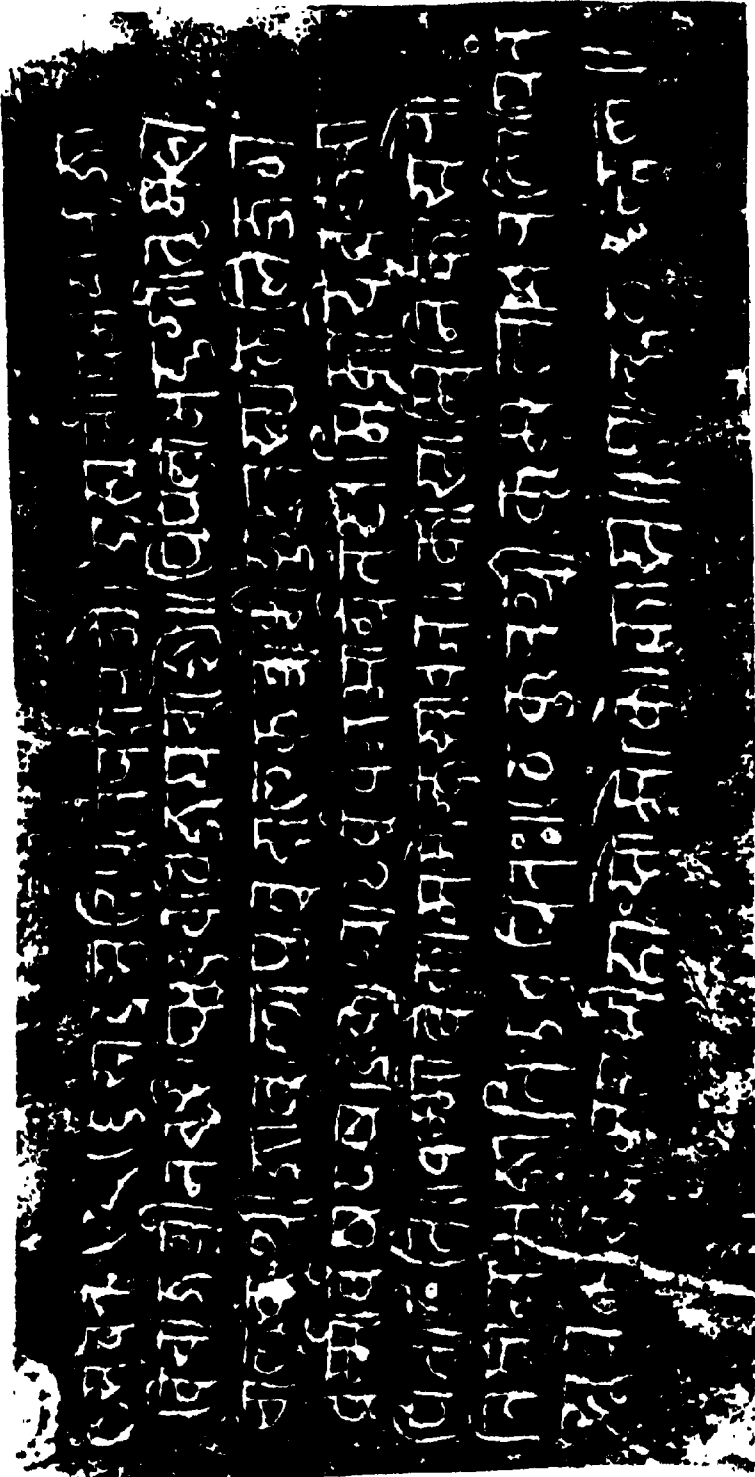
[9] *Viz.*, the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (Nos. 56 and 57, above) and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha (Appendix No. 4, below).

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'51

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1′ 2″ broad and 9½″ high. The first plate weighs 226½ *tolas* and the second 215½ *tolas*. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. In the middle of the top of each plate there is a hole, .8″ in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been attached to it, was apparently discovered.[1]

The record consists of 43 lines, of which twenty are inscribed on the inner side of each plate and the remaining three on the outer side of the second. The inscription seems to have been completed at first in the last line on the inner side of the second plate; for the words *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, which usually indicate the completion of a record, occur at the end of that line. It seems, therefore, plausible, as conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, that the engraver whose name was at first inadvertently omitted, induced the Head of the Department of Religion to compose one more verse about himself to serve as an excuse for engraving the second side of the second plate, before he could insert his own name.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are beautifully formed and carefully incised. The size of the letters varies from .3″ to .4″. The *akshara da* which was omitted in l. 2 has been written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 following it, and the place of omission is shown with an inverted *kākapada* above the line.[2] As regards individual letters we may note that the initial *i* appears in its old form, see, *e.g.*, *iva*, l. 6; *ṅ* is still without its dot, see -*Trikaliṅgā*-, l. 21; while *th*, *dh* and *jñ* approximate to their modern Nāgarī forms; see, *e.g.*, *yathā*, l. 31, -*madhūkaḥ*, l. 28, *samājñāpayaṁti*, l. 25; *b* is indicated by its proper sign in a few cases where it appears as the superscript letter of a ligature, see, *e.g.*, =*abja*-, l. 1. The **language** is Sanskrit. The eulogistic part of the grant which extends to l. 19 is in verse; it is followed by the formal part in prose in ll. 19-21. Then come the benedictive and imprecatory verses, of which as many as eleven are included here in ll. 31-39. Two more verses, one recording the name of the writer and the other in praise of the Head of the Religious Department, are next added. The record finally ends with the name of the engraver in prose. Verses 1-12 of the present grant which carry the genealogy of the donor from Brahman to Yaśaḥkarṇa occur in the same order in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa. The draft of the present grant is, however, shorter than the corresponding portion of the aforementioned grants of Yaśaḥkarṇa by three verses.[3] Again, all the verses of the eulogistic part of the present inscription are repeated in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Vijayasiṁhadēva, which contains seven more verses[4] in its corresponding portion. As regards **orthography**, we find that the sign of *v* is used to denote *b* except in ligatures see, *e.g.*, *abja*-, ll. 1 and 2; -*abdhi*-, ll. 2 and 5 *etc.*; the palatal and dental sibilants are generally used each in its proper place, but occasional deviations from this are also noticed, see, *e.g.*, -*rasanā* for -*raśanā* in l. 5 and *śravaṁtyāḥ* for *sravantyāḥ*, l. 12; finally, *y* is used for *j* in *griha-yāmātaram*=, l. 2.

The plates were issued by the king **Jayasiṁha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of Tripurī. He is described here exactly like his elder brother Narasiṁha in the Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Agarā** near **Akharauda**, which the king made at **Tripurī** after bathing in the

[1] The Rai brothers of Kaṭni kindly showed me a seal of Jayasiṁhadēva which was previously in the collection of Hiralal (Plate LII). But there was no indication of its having been soldered to or otherwise connected with any ring.

[2] It does not, therefore, signify दाम २ or देय २ as supposed by Hiralal and Hirananda Sastri respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 93 and n. 1.

[3] *Viz.*, verses 9, 11 and 13 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

[4] *Viz.*, verses 9, 14, 16, 19-21 and 24.

Rēvā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on **Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina in the year 918** (expressed in numerical figures only). The date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Dēlhaṇa,** the son of Dāmōdara of the Agastya *gōtra* with three *pravaras*.[1] Among the officials to whom the order is addressed occur the names of the *Mahārājñī* **Kēlhaṇadēvī,**[2] the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva,** the *Dharmapradhāna Paṇḍita* **Rāghava,** the *Sāndhivigrahika* Purushōttama, the *Pratīhāra* Kamalasiṁha and the *Dushṭasādhya* Padmasiṁha. Some of these figure in other records also. Thus the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription (No. 64) and in the Dhurēti plates (No. 72) and the *Sāndhivigrahika* Purushōttama in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4). In the enumeration of the rights, privileges and exemptions of the donee there occur some technical terms, the exact signification of which is not yet known. This portion is repeated *verbatim* in the later Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha.

As all the verses descriptive of Jayasiṁha's ancestors down to Yaśaḥkarṇa are repeated here from older records like the Khairhā plates, they furnish no additional historical information. We are next told that **Yaśaḥkarṇa** was succeeded by **Gayākarṇa.** The latter had, from his queen **Alhaṇadēvī,** a son named **Narasiṁhadēva.** His younger brother **Jayasiṁhadēva,** who succeeded him, is the donor of the present plates. The verses descriptive of these princes also contain mere conventional praise and are altogether devoid of historical interest.

The importance of the present inscription lies mainly in the data it furnishes for testing Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. According to Kielhorn's final view,[3] the Kalachuri era commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina in 248 A.C. As the bright fortnight of Āśvina thus fell in the beginning of the Kalachuri year, we should get the Christian equivalent of a date in that fortnight by adding 247 or 248 to the particular Kalachuri year according as the latter is current or expired. Thus the date of the present grant,—Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina with a lunar eclipse in the (Kalachuri) year 918,—should fall in 1165 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 918 was current, and in 1166 A.C. if it was expired. But neither of these would suit; for, in the former year, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in the latter on Monday (the 10th October). Nor was there a lunar eclipse on that *tithi* in either of these years. On the other hand, if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began in some month later than Āśvina, say in Kārttika, the date of the present grant would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 918, to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A.C., on which day the *pūrṇimā* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the present grant. This date, therefore, is clearly adverse to Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. It shows that the year must have commenced on some date later than the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina.[4]

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Tripurī, Rēvā, Karṇāvatī** and **Kuntala** have already been identified. **Agarā,** the donated village, is

[1] The *pravaras* are not mentioned in the present inscription. They are variously enumerated by the authorities on *pravaras*. Some give them as Āgastya, Dārḍhachyuta and Aidhmavāha, while some others substitute Sāmbhavāha in place of Aidhmavāha. For other enumerations, see *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp. 86 ff.

[2] The Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha mention Gōsaladēvī as the mother of Vijayasiṁha and consequently as the queen of Jayasiṁha. She seems to be different from this Kēlhaṇadēvī.

[3] See his article 'Die Epoche des Cedi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

[4] For another case of this type, see the date of the Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva (Second Set) of K. 905 (No. 94, below).

probably identical with Agarā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, about 20 miles north by east of Jabalpur. Akharaud cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 सिद्धिः[2] [।*] ओं नमो ब(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरो[जं] जयति जय[ति त]स्मा[ज्जा]तवानब्जयोनिः । अथ जयति स तस्मा-

2 त्प्रसविस्तव[ण्ण]स्तद[3]नु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवानत्रिव(ब)न्धुः ॥[4][१॥*] अथ बो(बो)धन-माधि[रा]जपुत्रं [गु]हमा(जा)मातरमब्जवा(बा)न्धवस्य । तनयं जनयांब(ब)-

3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराज[हंसः] ॥[5][२॥*] पुत्रं पुरूरवस[मौ]र[स]माप सूनुर्देवस्य [सप्त]जकरा[भि]रतावतस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-

4 भाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वशी च भुव[श्च]मिहोर्व्वरा च ॥[6][३॥*] तथा[न्वये] किल [स(श)ता]धिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपलक्षममुनोक्तविभिन्नकीर्तिः । स-

5 प्ताब्धिरत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविश्वंभरापरिवृढो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥[४॥*] हेलागृ[ही-त]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो [गो]त्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य

6 स कार्त्तवीर्यः । अत्रै[व हैं]हयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्म[णि] चकमे यः ॥[५॥*] [त]हि[मात्र]क इव कलचुरिवंशमसू-

7 त जगतीभृतां भ[र्त्ता ।] मुक्तामणिभि[रिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीपतिभिः ॥[7][६॥*] तत्रान्वये नमवतां प्रवरो [न]रें[द्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव पुरीं त्रि-

8 पुरीं पुनानः । आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराजनिर्म्माथि[8]केसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥[9][७॥*] सिं-[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सूनु-

9 [मारुह्य]पत्रवनिभर्तुरमात्यमुख्याः । कोकल्लमर्ण्णव[तुष्टयवीचि]संघसंघट्टरुद्धवसु[रंग]चमू-प्रचारं(रम्) ॥[८॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढव-

10 क्षाः स्मितास्यो[10] नगर[परि]घदै[र्घ्यं[11](र्घ्यं)] लंघयन्दोर्द्वयेन । [शि]र[सि] कुलिशपातो वैरि[णां श्री]रल[क्ष्मी]पतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥[12][९॥*]

11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[बं(बं)धौ] [सा]र्द्धं शतेन गृहि[णी]भिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) । पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [स्म] ककुभोर्च्चति

12 [कर्ण्ण]दे[वः] ॥[13][१०॥*] अग्रघं धाम श्रे[यसो] वे[द]विद्याव[ल्ली]कंद[:] [स्वः]श्र[14]-

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[1] From the original plates and ink-impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] This *akshara*, which was omitted at first, is written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 indicating the line where it is to be supplied.

[4] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[5] Metre: *Aupachchhandasika*.

[6] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

[7] Metre: *Āryā*. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates (Nos. 50 and 51 read क्ष्माभृतां in place of जगतीभृतां.

[8] See above, p. 303, n. 9.

[9] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] Both the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates read स्मितास्यो, which is also Hiralal's reading here. The original, however, has स्मितास्यो quite clearly.

[11] This *akshara* is partly damaged, but the traces that remain are sufficient to show that it was र्घ्यं, not र्घ्यं as read by Hiralal.

[12] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[13] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[14] This *akshara* is quite clear. Read स्वःश्रेयसः.

वंत्या: किरीटं(टम्) । [ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंबो[1](बो)] येन कण्णवितीति प्रत्यष्ठा[पि] क्ष्मा[त]ल–
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मलो–

13 क: ॥[2][११॥*] अ[जनि] कल[चु]रीणां स्वा[मि]ना [ते]न हूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्यां
श्रीम]दाव[ल्ल]देव्यां(व्याम्) [।*] श[शभृदुद]यशंकाक्षुब्धदुग्धाब्धिवीचीस–

14 हच[रित]यश:श्री: [श्री]यश:कर्ण्णदेव: ॥[3][१२॥*] [त]स्या[त्मजो]भूद[तुल]प्रता[प:]
श्रीमद्गयाकर्ण्ण इ[ति] प्रतीत: । यस्याहवेषूद्धतवैरिकण्ठच्छेदा–

15 [स्र]पूर्ण्णे[व ध]रानुरक्ता ॥[4][१३॥*] [अ]साव[ल्ह]णदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनरेस्व(श्व)रं(रम्)।
[संवे]दन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सु[षु]वे सु(शु)भं(भम्) ॥[5][१४॥*] उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि–

16 पुप्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां विवु(बु)धसंहतिषु प्रकुर्व्वं[न्]। सौंदर्यसार[वि]निवारितसा(मा)रगर्व्वं–
श्चित्रं तथा[प्य]यमहो नरसिंहदेव: ॥[6][१५॥*]

17 तस्यानुजो वि[जय]तां जय[सि]ह[दे]व: शौर्यो[ज्व(ज्ज्व)]लैर[पि] नृपै: क्रियमाणसे[व]: ।
यद्दाम(न)लुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल–

18 तले व(ब)लिना प्रलीनं(नम्) ॥[१६॥*] नष्टं गूर्ज्जर[भू]भुजा भुजव(ब)लं मुक्तं तुरुष्केण
च त्यक्त: कुंतल[नाय]केन सहसा कंदर्प्पकेलिक्रम: । श्रुत्वा

19 श्रीजयसि[ह]देवनृपते राज्याभिषेकं नृपा: संत्रासादपरेप्यपास्य जग[तीं] पारे ययुर्व्वारिधे: ॥[7]
[१७॥*] परमभट्टारक–

20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे–

Second Plate : First Side

21 श्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपार्ज्जिताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य:) श्रीमज्जय–
सिंहदेव एते विजयि–

22 न: ॥[8] महाराज्ञी श्रीकेल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्रीमद्राजगुरुविमलशिव । महा–
पुरोहित । धर्म्मप्रधान

23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखिठक्कुरश्रीदशमूलिक । सांधिविग्रहिकटक्कुरश्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्र–
तीहारश्रीकमलसिंह ॥

24 दुष्टसाध्यश्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार । अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक।
इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा–

25 नग्रामनिवासिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथार्हं मानयन्ति वो(बो)धयंति समाज्ञापयंति च । विदितमस्तु
भवताम् । संवत् ९१८ आश्वि–

26 न सु(शु)दि पौर्ण्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्यां सोमग्रहणे रेवायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहा–
देवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो–

27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अखरौदसमीपे अगराग्राम: स्वसीमापर्यंतश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध: सगोप्र–
चार: ।[9]

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[1] The lower part of this *akshara*, which is extant, shows that the word was स्तंबो, not स्तंभो as read by Hiralal.

[2] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[3] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[4] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] The marks of punctuation in lines 22-24 are superfluous.

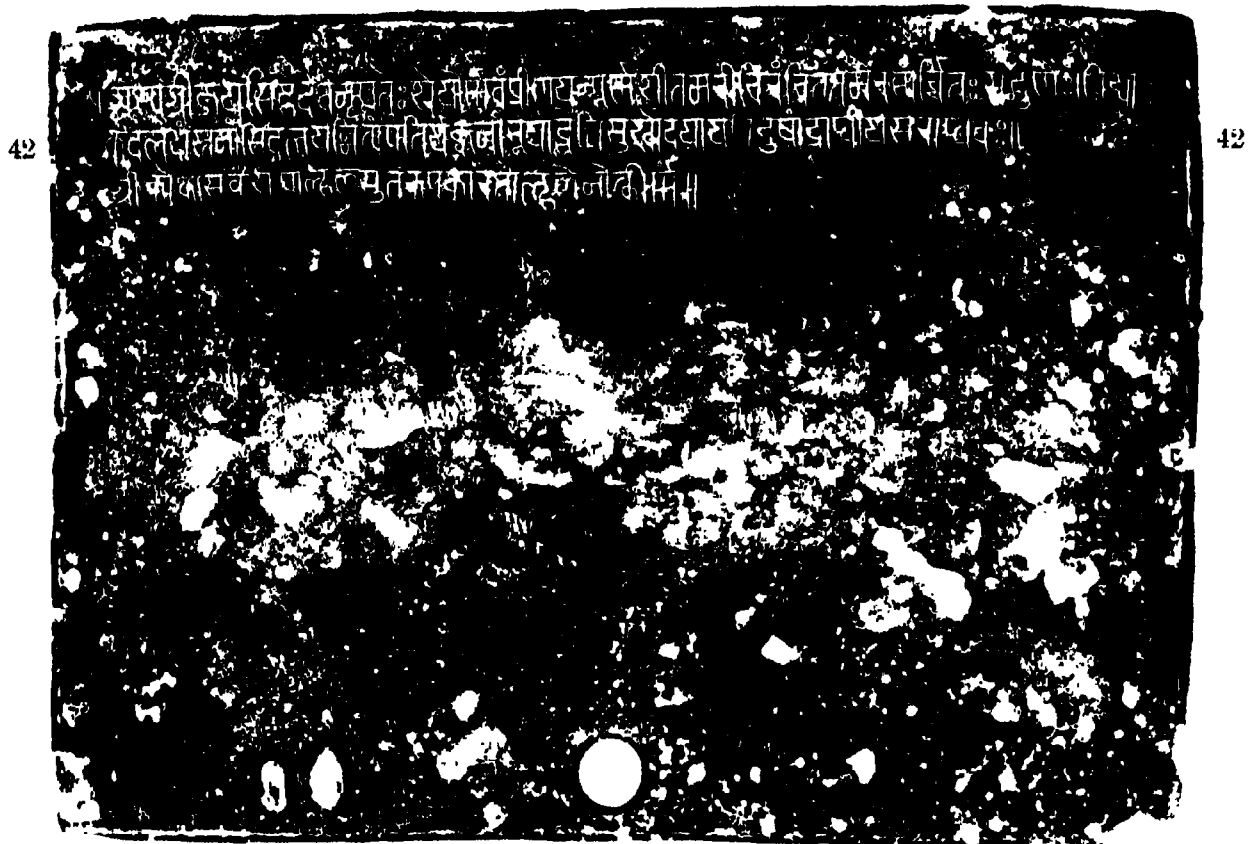
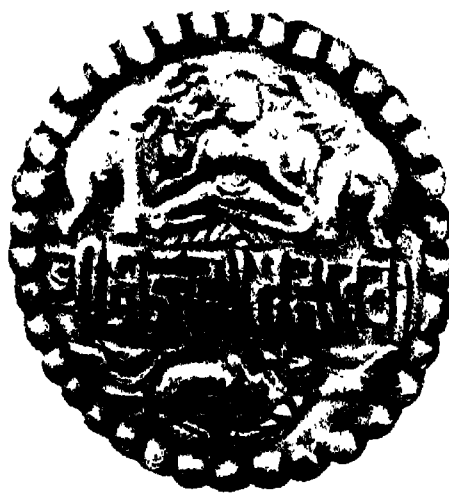
[9] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

42 42

A Seal of Jayasimha.

(From a photograph).

28 सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्त्तोषरः सनिर्गमप्रवेशः सवाकूलानूपो वृक्षारामो-
द्भिदोद्या-

29 नतृणादिसहितः सनदीपर्व्वतः[1] नागकरप्रवणिवाडचरीरसवतीकामतविसेणिमादायपट्टकिलादायदुः-
साध्यादा-

30 यवि(वै)षयिकादायाविकृतकरिष्यमाणादायैः सह[2] अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पंडितश्रीदामोदर-
पुत्राय पंडितश्रीवेल्हण-

31 शर्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणायोदकपूर्व्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा ॥
सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-

32 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुन्(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[3]
[१८॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राज-

33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[4][१९॥*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं
गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-

34 दाभूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥[२०॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भू-
मिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥[२१॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत व-

35 सुंधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥[२२॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

36 व नरके वसेत् ॥[२३॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पास्तु जायन्ते देव-
व(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥[२४॥*] अन्यायेन

37 हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतश्च[5] दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं(लम्) ॥[२५॥*] भूमिं
यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-

38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ [॥२६॥*] शंखो भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा
वरवारणाः [।*] भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा(ह्ना)-

39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥[२७॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिक्षीण(णे) यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तल-
ग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[२८॥*]

40 अभ्युद्धरस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्धर्म्मस्य सूनुना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदीशदशमूलिना ॥[२९॥*]
मङ्गलं ॥ महाश्रीः ॥ ❁

Second Plate : Second Side

41 सिद्धिः[6] [॥*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोर्ण्णवं श्रीपयन्पूर्ण्णः शीतमरीचिर्विचिततमैरभ्यञ्चितः
सद्गुणैः । विश्वाः

42 कंवलयंस्तमांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतिर्यज्वनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्राघीयसे राघवः ॥[7]
[३०॥*]

43 श्रीकोकासवंशपाल्हणसुतरूपकारताल्हणेनोत्कीर्ण्णं (र्णम्) ॥

Seal

श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव[:*] ॥

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[1] Read -पर्व्वतो.

[2] Read सहागस्त्य-.

[3] Metre: *Śālinī*.

[4] Metre of verses 19-29: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] The metre requires a reading like हारयंतश्च, but it would be ungrammatical.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōṁ! Adoration to Brahman!

[*For a translation of verses* 1-12, *see that of vv.* 1-8, 10, 12, 14 *and* 15, *above, pp.* 296 ff.]

(Verse 13) His (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇa's) son of unrivalled prowess became famous as the illustrious **Gayākarṇa**; in whose wars the earth, replete with blood from the cut-off necks of arrogant foes, was, as it were, in love (*with him*).

(V. 14) He begat on **Alhaṇadēvī** the illustrious prince **Narasiṁhadēva**, as sensation produces in will a righteous effort.

(V. 15) Though he caused great joy among multitudes of learned people by his precious gifts of gold and food[1] (*unlike the man-lion god who pleased hosts of gods only by killing Hiraṇyakaśipu*) and did away with cupid's pride by his superb beauty (*unlike the ugly man-lion god*), he was, oh wonder! still (*called*) **Narasiṁhadēva**!

(V. 16) May his younger brother **Jayasiṁhadēva** be victorious—(*he*) who is waited upon even by princes resplendent with valour! Being deprived of their glory by his liberality, the celestial tree hastily left (*the world*) and Bali disappeared underground!

(V. 17) On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious **Jayasiṁhadēva** the **Gurjara** king disappeared, the **Turushka** lost the strength of (*his*) arms, the lord of **Kuntala** suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean.

(Line 19) This victorious (*king*), the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Jayasiṁhadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who has by (*the might of*) his arm, attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, —having called together the *Mahārājñī*, the illustrious **Kēlhaṇadēvī**, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmātya*, the illustrious *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, the *Mahāpurōhita*, the *Dharmapradhāna Paṇḍita*, the illustrious **Rāghavā**, the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Arthalēkhin*[2] *Ṭhakkura* the illustrious *Daśamūlika*,[3] the *Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious **Purushōttama**, the *Pratīhāra*, the illustrious **Kamalasiṁha**, the *Dushṭasādhya*,[4] the illustrious **Padmasiṁha**, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Akshapaṭalika*, the *Pramattavāra*, the *Aśvasādhanika*, the *Bhāṇḍāgārika*—these and other (*officers*) and the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted,—duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*):—

(L. 25) "Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the **lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon** (*tithi*) **of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the year 918**, we, having bathed in the **Rēvā** and having worshipped the holy Mahādēva, have given as a grant with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, the village **Agarā** near **Akharauda** to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with pasture-land for cows, with land and water, with mango and *mahuā* trees, with salt mines, with its pits and barren lands, with (*the right*

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[1] There is a play on the word *Hiraṇyakaśipu* which means (1) gold and food (*kaśipu*) and (2) the name of a demon who was killed by Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation.

[2] This appears to be a technical title corresponding to the modern 'Chief Secretary.'

[3] This officer is called *Daśamūlin* in verse 29 below. The post was then held by Vatsarāja. He is named in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4, below) also.

[4] This corresponds to the *Dauḥsādhasādhanika* usually mentioned in the records of the Pālas. It was a technical title probably denoting 'an officer in charge of criminals.'

of) egress and ingress, with fertile[1] and marshy lands, with tree-groves, plant-gardens, grass and so forth, with rivers and hills, with the (*royal*) share (*of produce*), taxes, (*the cess on*) *pravaṇis*,[2] *vāḍa*, grazing tax, liquor tax, *kāmata*, the cess on *visēṇimā*,[3] the tax levied for *Paṭṭakilas*[4] and *Dusādhyas*,[5] the district rates and such other taxes levied or to be levied,—to the Brāhmaṇa, the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Dēlhaṇaśarman, the son of the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Dāmōdara, of the Agastya *gōtra* and three *pravaras*."

And in this matter this is the prayer of the donor—

(*Here follow eleven benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(V. 29) (*This charter*) has been written by **Vatsarāja**, the son of the illustrious **Dharma** and son's son of **Abhyuddhara**, (*who is*) the *Daśamulin* of the lord of **Chēdi**. May there be bliss and great prosperity !

Success !

(V. 30) May **Rāghava**, the lord of sacrificers, the full moon that delights the ocean of well-being of this illustrious king **Jayasiṁha**, who is honoured on account of his virtues, cause great prosperity and happiness to the learned, making the lores sprout forth, and annihilating ignorance !

(*This charter*) has been engraved by the sculptor **Tālhaṇa**, the son of **Pālhaṇa** of the illustrious **Kōkāsa** family.

Seal

The illustrious **Jayasiṁha**.

No. 64 ; PLATE LIII

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 926.

THE stone bearing this inscription was found at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The record has been referred to several times, *e.g.*, by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 535, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210 and, again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 10, n. 4 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42; but owing presumably to its very bad preservation[6] none attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. The record was for the first time edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 309

[1] Compare अल्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातपः। स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः॥ in Kullūka's com. on *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya VII, v. 69.

[2] Kielhorn draws attention to the similarity of the expression *vaṇik-pravaṇi-pramukha* in l. 6 of the Rājōr inscription of Mathanadēva and *vaṇik-śrēshṭhi-purōga* (*Ep.Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 263, n. 4.). *Pravaṇi* therefore, seems to mean *Śrēshṭhin*, a banker. *Pravaṇi-kara* is mentioned in other records also, see, *e.g.*, line 28 of the Faizābād grant of Jayachchandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 12.

[3] *Vāḍa*, *kāmata* and *vishēṇima*, which occur also in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha (below, Appendix, No. 4), I am unable to explain.

[4] *Paṭṭakilas* are mentioned in some records together with *jānapadas* (residents of the country) as persons living in the village to whom the royal order is addressed. See, *e.g.*, line 18 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 49. *Paṭṭakila* probably represents the modern *Pāṭil* or headman of a village.

[5] These were probably criminals and other suspects living within the limits of the village.

[6] Hiralal remarks that 'this is a pretty big record, but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.' *I. C. P. B.*, p. 42.

ff. It is edited here from the original stone and its inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing covers a space 2′ 7″ broad and 1′ 8½″ high. The average size of the letters is .5″. The surface of the stone which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather and several letters in the middle as well as the right-hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat-*, l. 25 and in its superscript form in *=bvabhūv=*, l. 9, to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ṛi* in *ṛichāṁ*, l. 15 and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8 in *Śivāya*, l.1. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the obeisance to Siva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The **orthography** does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Śiva) by **Vimalaśiva, the** religious preceptor of the king **Jayasiṁha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of **Tripurī**. The god was named Kīrtiśvara after Vimalaśiva's *guru* **Kīrtiśiva.** The inscription also records that the king Jayasiṁha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a **solar eclipse.**[1]

The record is **dated** in words as well as numerical figures in the **year 926** without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 926, to 1174-75 A. C. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, *viz.*, that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausha, on Tuesday, the 26th November. 1174 A. C. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasiṁha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up.[2] It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasiṁha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918[3] to K. 928.[4]

After three *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4–7, but the names of **Vimalaśiva**[5] and **Vāstuśiva**[6] only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of **Purushaśiva** who is described as the cause of **Yaśaḥkarṇa's** prosperity. Next is mentioned **Śaktiśiva** in connection with **Gayākarṇa.**

[1] I take *ravēḥ parvaṇi* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Parvan* also means a *saṅkrānti*, but in that case the name of the *saṅkrānti* would have been specified.

[2] There was a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsyā* of *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha(the 1st June 1174 A. C.) also. So the year can be taken as current. But current years are cited very rarely.

[3] Above, No. 63.

[4] Below, No. 66.

[5] This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

[6] I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmaśiva in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Banaras in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla, dated V. 1083, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Purushaśiva who was the *guru* of Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa. But the second *akshara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma*. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic; see *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 152 ff.

His desciple was **Kīrtiśiva** who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king **Narasiṁha.** Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his description. The next eighteen verses refer to **Vimalaśiva.** He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra and was the son of **Madhusūdana** and **Umā.** Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at **Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā,** and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal, and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king **Jayasiṁha** devoutely bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kīrtīśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kīrtiśiva. The king Jayasiṁha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages, which was named **Ṭēkabhara,** was situated in the *vishaya* (district) of **Navapattalā** and the other two named **Kaṇḍaravāḍa** and **Vaḍōha** or **Avaḍōha** in **Samudrapāṭa** which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the **spiritual preceptors** of the **Kalachuri kings** of **Tripurī** from Yaśaḥkarṇa downwards. It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvindachandra[1] mention the Śaiva Āchārya **Rudraśiva,** not Purushaśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of **Yāśaḥkarṇa.** Perhaps Yaśaḥkarṇa had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the *guru* of Jayasiṁha occurs in his Jabalpur plates[2] also.

The present *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Śaśidhara,** who was a Brāhmaṇa of the **Maunya**[3] *gōtra.* He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī, while his elder brother Prithvīdhara was the author of the **Tēwar** inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. The present record was incised on the stone by Nannadēva, the son of Mahīdhara. His father was the sculptor of the aforementioned stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa and that of Alhaṇadēvī.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present record, **Ṭēkabhara** may be identical with Ṭikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jabalpur. The *vishaya* (district) of **Navapattalā** in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Ṭikhāri. **Samudrapāṭa** is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jabalpur. There are several villages named Kuṇḍa or Kuṇḍan near Jabalpur, one of which may represent the ancient **Kaṇḍaravāḍa.** No place exactly corresponding to **Vaḍōha** or **Avaḍōha** can, however, be traced in the Jabalpur District. Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa and Gayā are too well-known to need identification.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धिः[5] [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलत्कमलावलम्ब(म्बि)तरलिर्वन्द्यद्विजेन्द्रस्थितिर्भिदोषा [म]हितप्रकाशवसतिः [कारुण्यपूर्णोद्गतिः] । सम्यग्वर्जित[संश्रिता]ह्रितकृतिः [श्रीसर्व]-वेहोद्गतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकृदात्मजः

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

[2] Above, No. 63. Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72.

[3] This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāṭ stone inscription of Narasiṁha (above, No. 60, l. 26), but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* spells it as *Mauna.*

[4] From the original stone and ink impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

2 शुभकृतिर्व्विध्वस्तदैत्योद्धतिः[1] ॥[१॥*] वृषप्रतिष्ठः श्रितवारिजश्री ⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑––।
⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑––, ⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–– ॥[2][२॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑
–⏑⏓। ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, –

3 ज्यं पश्यंति तं नुमः ॥[3][३॥*] जगतामात्मसं[सि]द्धये शिवः शैवमकल्पयत्। ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––
⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓ ॥[४॥*] ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–, ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–।
⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–, ⏑–⏑––

4 स्खलितानुभूतयः ॥[4][५॥*] तदन्वये शिष्यपरम्परायाः क्रमाद्धि वंश[:] ⏑⏑–⏑––।⏑–
⏑––⏑⏑–⏑––, ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–– ॥[5][६॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, दिशां चक्र
⏑–⏑⏓। ⏓⏓⏓⏓––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑

5 शः[6] ॥[७॥*] शिष्यं विमलशिवाभिधमाधायासौ पदे स्वीये। . . . .
. . . . . .[7] ॥[8][८॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓। यत्कीर्त्तिर्व[ल्लभा ?]–⏓,
⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓ ॥[9] [९॥*] ––⏑–

6 वास्तुशिवाभिधानः श्रेयःप्रकर्षम्परमादधानः। यश्चेदिपानां वि[षये ?] ⏑––, ––⏑––⏑⏑–⏑
–– ॥[10] [१०॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓। ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓[11]
[॥११॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓ शिवः शिष्यः [पुरुषार्थाय] सम्प–

7 दम्। गुणानां च धनानां च परोपकृतये पर(रा)म् ॥[१२॥*] शासनं ⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–
⏑⏓। ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓ ॥[१३॥*] ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓।
⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑––⏓, ⏓⏓

8 गुणगणानिव ॥[१४॥*] प्रीतिः पात्रे रतिस्तीर्थे स्थितिः पथि मते सताम्। भक्तिश्शर्व्वेभवत्तस्य
समस्य ⏓⏑–⏑⏓ ॥[१५॥*] . . . . । . . . . .
. . . . .[12] [भिक्षः] पुरुषशिवः पुरुषोत्त–

9 मोस्य शिष्यः ॥[13][१६॥*] यस्माद्यशःकर्ण्णनराधिपस्य प्रादुर्ब्ब(र्ब्भ)भूवाभ्युदयप्रगल्भा। धर्म्मा–
र्थकामेषु तथा समृद्धिर्यथा गिरां पत्युरमर्त्यभर्त्तुः ॥[14][१७॥*] [शक्ती] श्रीगयकर्ण्णदेवनृपतेः–
–⏑––⏑–, –––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–––⏑–श्चन्विताः।

10 शिष्यः शक्तिशिवोस्य कीर्त्तिपटलैः प्रज्ञाप्रकर्षैरिवाकार्षीद्दिग्वलयं तथातिविशदं विद्यासमुद्रं यथा ॥[15]
[१८॥*] गयकर्ण्णनृपप्रताप–, ⏑⏑– हैरिनराधिपे व(ब)लात्। ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑––
⏑⏑–⏑–⏑– ॥[16][१९॥*] सुमनोगण[नै]क–

11 स्य सुमनोभूषणश्रियः। गीयते चरितं यस्य सद्भिः कल्पतरोरिव ॥[17][२०॥*] सत्कीर्त्तिकल्प–

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Metre: *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti.*

[3] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre: *Vaṁśastha.*

[5] Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] About 18 *aksharas* are gone here.

[8] Metre: *Upagīti.*

[9] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[10] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[11] Metre of this and the following four verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[12] About 30 *aksharas* are lost here.

[13] Metre: *Gīti.*

[14] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[15] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[16] Metre: *Viyōginī.*

[17] Metre of this and the two following verses: *Anushṭubh.*

नक्षीणक्षोभामरास्वक्षो योजयते सुवर्ण्णविकस(श)स्तद्रोहिणीनां स(श)तैः ॥[1][३८॥*]

21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेक्षासुदाक्ष्यं समधिकमधि – – – – ◡ – जयंधुर्यः । द्विजपतिरपि पूर्ण्णः कोम-
लाभिः कलाभिः कलयति बललीलां योरि – – ◡ – – ॥[2][३९॥*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकुतु-
कतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-

22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमी यः क्वचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेचयिभीम् । पृथ्वीपालेन नित्यं ब(ब)हुल-
समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव आड्यं [कथम]पि विधिवन्नित्यमैभित्तिकेषु ॥[3]
[४०॥*] नित्यं वासनया ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ – – ◡ – संजज्ञे न किया-

23 रपूर्व्वकविधि[र्हृतं] न यस्यास्ति तत् । पात्रं तन्न यदर्च्चितं न व(ब)हुशस्तीर्थं न तद्भूतले दान-
स्नानतपोभिरद्भुततमैर्येनामुना संस्कृतम् ॥[4][४१॥*] साधीयांसि महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणु-
रूपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य वर्द्धन्ते महांसीव यशां-

24 सि च ॥[5][४२॥*] उद्यानसरसी [सत्र]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न कैर्भूषा-
भरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३॥*] यो मंत्रैः करवर्तिनः समकरोल्लेकान्परेभ्यः परान् – – – जयसिंहदेव-
नृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वरः कलिमलप्र-

25 क्षालनैकक्षमां कीर्त्तिं देव[नदीमिव] त्रिभुवने विस्तार[येन्नंदनीम्] ॥[6][४४॥*] अचीकरच्चंद्र-
मौले[7]र्म्मन्दिरमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्त्तिशिवस्यैतत्कीर्त्तये सुकृताय च ॥[8][४५॥*] देवाय कीर्त्ती-
श्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुष्मै जयसिंहदेवः । बिभ्रद्भुवे भक्तिभरं गुरौ

26 च ग्रामान्रवेः पर्व्वणि न[व्य]दायान् ॥[9][४६॥*] [टेकभराख्य]स्तेषामेको नवपत्तलाविषये ।
अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो वडोहस्थ(श्च) ॥[10][४७॥*] मौन्यान्वयद्विजेंद्रश्रीधरणीधरनंदनः ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतामश्रीत्या शसिधरः[11] कविः ॥[12][४८॥*] सूत्रधारशि-

27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतनूद्भवः शिलामलंकरोदेतां[13] नामदेवोऽक्षरैर्वरैः ॥[४९॥*] सम्वत्षड्विंश-
त्युत्तरनवशताङ्केपि[14] ९२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचंद्रौ यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः । तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्यै
कर्त्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥[15][५०॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōṁ! Obeisance to Siva!

(Verse 1) *Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds*, [Siva] who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, and is full of compassion, destroys the

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[3] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Some word like रम्यं is omitted after चंद्रमौलेः.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[9] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[10] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[11] Read शशिधरः.

[12] Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushṭubh.*

[13] अलंकरोत् is grammatically incorrect. Read अलंचकारैतां.

[14] Read संवत् षड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशतेङ्केपि.

[15] Metre: *Āryā.*

(*evil*) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, and annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2) Siva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses . . . . .

(V. 3) We praise the praiseworthy (Siva), whom they see . . . .

(V. 4) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Siva revealed his doctrine . . . .

(V. 5) Those whose direct knowledge failed . . . .

(V. 6) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time . . . . .

(V. 7) . . . .

(V. 8) Having installed his disciple, **Vimalaśiva**, in his own place, he . . . .

(V. 9) Whose dear fame . . . .

(V. 10) (*He*) who was named **Vāstuśiva**, who caused great bliss, who . . . . in the country of the lords of **Chēdi** . . . . .

(V. 11) . . . .

(V. 12) His disciple named —**śiva**, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (*and*) to attain the aims of human life.

(V. 13) . . . .

(V. 14) . . . . . . like multitudes of merits . . . . . .

(V. 15) He, though possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (*and*) was devoted to Siva . . . . . .

(V. 16) **Purushaśiva**, the best of men, who was conversant with . . . . was his disciple . . . .

(V. 17) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of **Yaśaḥkarṇa** as that of (Indra) the lord of immortals through Bṛihaspati.

(V. 18) His disciple, **Śaktiśiva**, ... (*who augmented*) the (*two*) royal powers of the illustrious king **Gayakarṇa**, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19) . . . . the prowess of the king **Gayakarṇa** . . . .

(V. 20) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people, and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21) The disciple of him,—a marvellous tree supporting the wish-fulfilling creeping plant of noble fame—(*was*) **Kīrtiśiva** . . . .

(V. 22) He caused the prosperity of the king **Narasiṁha** . . . .

(V. 23) (*Unlike Siva*) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Vishṇu for his arrow.[1] Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (*as Siva did those of demons*). Hence he (*was*) [clearly] **Kīrtiśiva** (Siva in glory).

(V. 24) He . . . . . filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion[2] and was devoted to Siva (*even as Siva burned the god of love by his glance, has the bright disc of the moon on his forehead,*

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[1] For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇaparvan, adhyāya 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press ed.).

[2] There is a play on the word *vṛisha* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

is mounted on the bull, and is attached to Pārvatī[1]) he was, (*unlike Śiva who is called Ugra*[2] *and wears serpents*), neither dreadful in appearance, nor attended by informers[3].

(V. 26) The great lights . . . . the **Kalachuri** family . . . . . As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27) In the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra which is a friend of the world how many Brāhmaṇas adorned with benevolence[4] and other (*virtues*) have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēshṭhin (God)?

(V. 28) Their . . . . with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner . . . . . Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* **Madhusūdana** who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *krama* recensions of the Ṛigvēda and understood its meaning.

(V. 30) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men even as the rise of the star Agastya,[5] the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*).

(V. 31) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents he, observing vows, ... pleased all people like the southern breeze.

(V. 33) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at **Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā,** and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from **Kīrtiśiva** even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.* Siva).

(V. 34) (*May*) this **Vimalaśiva,** who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which, a multitude of Brāhmaṇas do not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35) In the case of only this (*Vimalaśiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion, are seen (*the following*), *viz.*, birth of a caste (*viz.*, Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to politicians (*and*) blessed silence.

(V. 36) "The goddess of speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishṇu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa." This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused . . . . in the minds of magnanimous people.

(V. 37) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

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[1] *Śiv-āvasaktō* is to be interpreted in two ways; (1) *Śiva-avasaktō* meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (2) *Śivā-avasaktō* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

[2] *Ugra* is a name of Śiva.

[3] *Dvijihva* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) an informer.

[4] *Maitrī* is one of the four *bhāvanās* which *yōgins* cultivate.

[5] The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Śarad* or autumn.

(V. 38) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas who approach him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time of*) making gifts like the creeping plant of religion, in an excellent manner. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.[1]

(V. 39) Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader . . . . The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (*viz.*, Vimalaśiva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies[2] . . . .

(V. 40) Though he is ever looked at with great curiosity by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he, (*though*) of a forgiving nature, does not at all suffer the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed (*by the king*) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (*the performance of*) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41) . . . . . (*There is*) no discriminating action which he has not performed; (*there is*) no gift which he has not conferred; (*there is*) no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times, (*and*) (*there is*) generally no holy place on the earth which he has not sanctified with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings increase like his great lustre.

(V. 43) With what ornaments (*supplied*) by him does not the earth surpass heaven? —(*the earth, which has*) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas?

(V. 44) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva,—who, by his counsel, has made (*even*) the most distant people pay taxes,[3] [to whom] the king **Jayasiṁha** [*bows*] becoming very humble through devotion,—spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45) He caused a temple of the moon-crested god (*Śiva*) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśiva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46) To this god named Kīrtīśvara, **Jayasiṁhadēva**, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (*the occasion of*) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47) Of these the village called **Ṭēkabhara** is situated in the *vishaya* (district) of **Navapattalā** and two others, (*viz.*), **Kaṇḍaravāḍa** and **Vaḍōha**[4] in (*the district of*) **Samudrapāṭa**.

(V. 48) The poet **Śaśidhara**, the son of the illustrious **Dharaṇīdhara** who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *praśasti* with pleasure.

(V. 49) **Nāmadēva**, the son of **Mahīdhara**, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures also 926.

(V. 50) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

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[1] There is a play on the words *daksha*, *dvija-pati* and *rōhiṇī*. Daksha gave only one Rōhiṇī (*i. e.*, the star Aldebaran) to the Moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalaśiva gives hundreds of *rōhiṇīs* (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star *Rōhiṇī* is personified as the daughter of Daksha and the favourite wife of the Moon.

[2] In this verse also, there is a pun on some words like *dvija-pati*, *kalā*, *etc.*

[3] *Karavartin* means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is *Virōdhābhāsa*.

[4] Or, *Avadōha*.

No. 65: Plate LIV

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

This plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the **Rewa** Durbar. A brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of it was given by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 145 ff. The inscription was subsequently edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

The inscription is on a **single plate** measuring about 13" by 9 ⅞" and inscribed on one side only. The surface of the plate itself is smooth; but for the protection of the writing, strips of copper about ⅜" broad are fastened by rivets along the edge of the top and the two sides; and the bottom edge was originally protected in the same way, but the strips have been torn off and lost. The preservation of the inscription is perfect; and there is hardly any letter which is not clear and distinct in the impression.—In the upper part of the plate and secured by a strong rivet passing through the plates, there is a thicker and broader strip of copper, which towards the end projecting above the plate is turned over so as to catch and hold a plain copper ring about ⅜" thick and 2 ½" in diameter. There is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring.[1]—The weight of the plate with the ring is 164½ *tolas*'.[2] The letters in lines 1-2 and 11-12 are much bigger than those in others. Their size consequently varies from .25" to .15".

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are somewhat irregularly formed and carelessly incised. Several letters have more than one form; see, *e.g.*, the initial *i* in *iva*, ll. 7 and 8; *j* in *-rājādhirāja-*, l. 2 and *upārjakō*, l. 5; *dh* in *-Gayādhara-*, l. 10 and *-madhūkaḥ*, l. 12, and *g* in *gaṇa-nāyakaḥ*, ll. 1-2 and *-gajapati-*, l. 3. In some places it is difficult to distinguish between *v* and *ch*, and *ś* and *s*. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in praise of Hēramba and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in verse. It is somewhat carelessly written. Rules of *sandhi* have, in some cases, not been observed. In ll. 8-15 there is a confusion of the active and passive constructions. Besides, there are some mistakes of case-inflections, *e.g.*, in ll. 9-10, the plural is wrongly used in referring to two donees. The wrong number of the compound *chandr-ārkka-mēdinī* and the superfluous addition of a second affix in *utkīrṇṇitam* may also be noted. As regards **orthography**, we find that the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b*; *s* is, in some cases, used for *ś* as in in *Kausika-*, l. 9 and *vice versa* in *Vatsarājaśya*, l. 14; and *kh* is employed for *sh* in *sa-gartt-ōkharaḥ*, l. 12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Jayasiṁha**, evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of **Tripurī**. He is mentioned here with the same imperial titles as in his Jabalpur plates. He is called a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara** and the lord of **Trikaliṅga** and is said to have meditated on the feet of **Vāmadēva** who is also given the same imperial titles. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Ahaḍāpāḍa** situated in the **Khaṇḍagahā** *pattalā*. It was made at **Karkarēḍi** by the *Mahārāṇaka* **Kīrtivarman** on the occasion of offering oblations to his deceased father, the *Rāṇaka*[3] **Vatsarāja**. The donees were two **Brāhmaṇas**, *Ṭhakuras* **Mahāditya** and **Silaṇa**, who belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and had

[1] The seal may have been sliding on the ring as in the case of the Vākāṭaka plates.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 224.

[3] Vatsarāja is, however, called *Mahārāṇaka* in the genealogical portion.

the three *pravaras* Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. They were sons of *Ṭhakura* Chaturbhuja, son's sons of *Ṭhakura* Gayādhara and son's sons' sons of *Ṭhakura* Trilōchana. The inscription was written with the consent of *Ṭhakura* Ratnapāla by Vidyādhara the son of *Ṭhakura* Mālhē, son's son of *Ṭhakura* Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of *Ṭhakura* Rājēśvara. It was engraved by the blacksmiths Kāke and Kīkaṇa.

Kīrtivarman, who made the present gift, was evidently a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha. He was the son of Vatsarāja who was himself the son of Jayavarman. All the three princes bore the feudatory title *Mahārāṇaka*. They claimed descent from the Kauravas, the legendary heroes described in the *Mahābhārata*.

The inscription is dated, in line 14, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 926. The year is again repeated at the end of the record. In both the places it is expressed in decimal figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era and falls in the reign of Jayasiṁha. Dr. Kielhorn, who at first supposed that the Kalachuri era began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in 249 A.C., found by calculation that in 1175 A.C. (corresponding to the *expired* Kalachuri year 926) the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada *commenced* 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st August.[1] The *tithi* was not, of course, civilly connected with that day, but as it was the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, Dr. Kielhorn thought that the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brāhmaṇas connected with them must have been performed after the *tithi* commenced on that day.[2] Later on, even though he shifted the beginning of the Kalachuri era to 248 A.C., he had no difficulty in showing the date of the present grant to be regular; for he had come to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. I have shown elsewhere that the Kalachuri era probably commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, but that also does not affect the present date. The date, therefore, corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 926, to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A.C., but the reason why the *tithi* is mentioned here as *chaturthī* though it was not current at sunrise on that day is not that the ceremonies of the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī were performed in the afternoon on that day as supposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, but that the *śrāddha* of the donor's father, in connection with which the donation was made, was performed in the afternoon when the fourth *tithi* was current. It is well known that for the performance of a *śrāddha*, the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon.[3]

Of the place-names mentioned in the present record, Kakkarēḍikā is clearly Kakreri (long. 81° 12′ E, lat. 24° 55′ N.). Khaṇḍagahā, the headquarters of the *pattalā* in which the donated village was situated, is perhaps identical with Kandaihlī, about 6 miles west by south of Kakreri. The village Ahaḍāpāḍa cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धिः[5] [।*] स्वस्ति ॥ अमोघस्य प्रमोदस्य सुमुखो दुर्म्मु(र्मु)खस्तथा(था) । अविघ्नो विघ्नकर्त्ता च हेल(र)म्बो(म्बो) गणा-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday.

[2] Fleet also confirmed this view, drawing attention to the opening verse which is in praise of Hēramba (Gaṇēśa).

[3] See above p. 240, n. 2.

[4] From ink impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

2 नायकः ॥[1][१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरम[भ*]-
ट्टारक-

3 महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपार्जितास्व(श्व)-
पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र-

4 याधिपतिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये ॥ असे[2](शे)षविशेषार्थ[3]समन्वितायां देवद्विजगुरुतपस्वि[4]-
(स्वि)निषेवितायां ।[5] कक्करेडिकाऽभिधानायां

5 नगय्र्यां[6] कौरव[न्श][7]संभूत उपार्जको[8]ऽशेषराजगुणालंकृतशरीरः परममाहेश्वरो महाव्र(ब्र)ह्मण्यो-
ऽनेकदानोदकप्रक्षालितवा-

6 मेतरकरप्रकोष्ठः ।[5] अनेकसंग्रामभूमौ करिघटाकुम्भवि[श्र]वण[9]पंचाननः समस्तक्षत्रियगर्व-
हृद्भिः:[10] ।[5] महाराणक[:*] श्रीजयव-

7 र्म्मं(र्म्मा) नाम आसीत् । एतस्य पुत्रो दुर्व्वारवैरिवारणसम[र्थं]:[11] ।[5] कर्ण्ण इव कुण्डलकिरीट-
धारी ।[5] मह(हा)राणकश्रीवत्सराजोभूत् [।*]

8 एतस्य पुत्रो महामाहेश्वरः[12] कल्पवृक्षवत् द्विजार्थी(र्थि)नां वांछितफलप्रदोर्ज्जुन इव चापेनेक्षु(षु)-
कोटिस[13]मुत्सारितारातिकु-

9 लो महाराणक[श्री]कीर्त्तिवर्मा[14] कौसि(शि)कगोत्रस्यौ[15]दलविश्वामित्रदेवरात्र(त)[16]त्रिःप्रवरेभ्यः[17]
यजनयाजनाध्ययन(ना)ध्या-

10 पनदानप्रतिग्रहषट्कर्मरतेभ्यः[18] ।[19] ठकुरश्रीत्रिलोचनप्रपौत्रेभ्यः[20] । ठकुरश्रीगयाधरपौत्रेभ्यः[21] ।
ठकुरश्रीचतुर्भु-

11 जपुत्राभ्यां ठकुरश्रीमहादित्यसीलणव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाभ्यां खंडगहापत्तलायां अहडापाडग्रामः[22] स्वसी-

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[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[2] Kielhorn read this *akshara* as शे, but the facsimile accompanying his article clearly shows it to be से.

[3] Kielhorn's proposal to alter this expression to विशिष्टार्थं does not appear necessary, as we find similar ones, (*e.g.*, विशेषगुण) in Sanskrit.

[4] Kielhorn wrongly read गुरुतपस्वि and proposed to alter it to गुरुवर्य-; but the reading तपस्वि(स्वि) is quite clear and suits the context very well.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] Read नगर्य्यां.

[7] Read कौरववंश-.

[8] Perhaps उपार्जिताशेष- is intended.

[9] The intended reading may have been विदारण as suggested by Kielhorn.

[10] Some words like शस्त्रैरुपेतः seem to be omitted here. Kielhorn proposed to read -गर्वहृत्.

[11] Kielhorn read [संव]र्त्तः, but there is no trace of an *anusvāra* on स, the second letter is probably म and the third an imperfectly incised र्थं:.

[12] The *mātrā* on र is cancelled.

[13] A superfluous स which was at first incised between स and मु is cancelled.

[14] There is a *kākapada* below र्मा, indicating that the *akshara* णा incised in the top margin (with the figure 9 to indicate the proper line) is to be inserted here. The resulting form कीर्त्तिवर्मणा (with the shortening of र्मा into र्म) is intended to be construed with संप्रदत्तः in ll. 14-15. But the cases of other adjectives and words in apposition are not similarly changed.

[15] Read कौशिकगोत्राभ्यामौ-.

[16] There is no clear indication in the impression of त्र being changed to त.

[17] Read -त्रिप्रवराभ्यां. In some following expressions also the plural is used for the dual.

[18] Read -रताभ्यां.

[19] This and the other *daṇḍas* in this line are superfluous.

[20] Read -प्रपौत्राभ्यां.

[21] Read -पौत्राभ्यां.

[22] This *visarga*, being very faint, was probably added later on.

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36 -778'51.

SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

12 मापमन्तवपतुराघाटविशुद्धः सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सवणाकरः सगर्त्तोष(व)रः सनिर्ग-

13 मं(म)प्रवेस(श): सगोप्रचारः सनिर्विनि(नि)क्षेपः कल्याणचल: सकरो मातापित्रोरात्मन-श्चानंता(त)पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये

14 संवत् ९२६ भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे [च]तुर्थ्यां तिथौ गुरुदिने राणकश्रीवत्सराजस्य[1](स्य) निमित्ते पिंडार्थेनस्था[ने][2] संप्र-

15 दत्तः [।*] ओं स्वस्ति ॥ ये [भ]वंति कुलेस्माकं [शू]रा वीराश्च संगरे [।] ते पालयंतु मे दानं यावत् चंद्रार्क्कमेदिनी[3] ॥[२॥*] व(ब)हुभिः[4]

16 र्भुक्ता वसुधा राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] कुशोपग्रहहस्ताभ्यां श्वेती राम-

17 लक्ष्मणौ[5] [।*] स्वदत्तं(त्तां) वा[6] परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त) वसुंधरां(राम्) [।*] स वि-[ष्ठा][7]यां कृमि भूत्वा[8] पितृभिः[9] सह मज्जति ॥[४॥*] तडागानां स(स)ह-

81 स्रेण [अ]श्वमे[ध*]शतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[५॥*] ठ[10] । श्रीराजेस्व(श्व)रप्रपौत्रेण । ठ । धारेश्वरपौत्रेण

19 ठ । माल्हेपुत्रेण । ठ । रत्नपालस्य संमत्या ठ । विद्याधरेणालेखि ॥ लोह[कार]कूकेकी-क[11]काम्यामुत्कीर्ण्णितमिति [।*] संवत् ९२६[12] [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Hēramba, the lord of Gaṇas.

(Line 2) During the victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Jayasiṁha**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**,—

(L. 4) In the city called **Kakkarēḍikā** which is furnished with all excellent things (*and*) which is resorted to by gods, Brāhmaṇas, preceptors and ascetics,—

There was the *Mahārāṇaka* named the illustrious **Jayavarman** who was born in the family of the **Kauravas**, whose person was adorned with all royal virtues which he had acquired, (*who was*) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious, whose right

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[1] Kielhorn read this *akshara* as स्य, but there is no trace of the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the letter.

[2] Originally ये, subsequently altered to ने.

[3] The correct reading should be चन्द्रार्क्कमेदिन्यः, but it would not suit the metre. Metre of this and the following verses: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] This *visarga* is superfluous. Besides, the usual expression is *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*.

[5] Kielhorn took this to be the beginning of the unfinished verse. Perhaps it is meant to be connected with the following imprecation. Compare तथा श्वेतं रामभद्रेण which occurs in a similar connection. There is one syllable less in the present *pāda*. Read —हस्ताभ्यामूचतु रामलक्ष्मणौ.

[6] This word is superfluous.

[7] Here the letters appear to be actually incised as *ṭhṭhā*.

[8] Read कृमिर्भूत्वा.

[9] Originally पितृभिः.

[10] ठ in this and the next line means ठक्कुर.

[11] The *mātrā* of के and the *anusvara* on म्या have been cancelled. Read कूकेकीककाम्यामुत्कीर्ण्णमिति.

[12] The figure 6, though it has has not come out in Pl. LIV, is quite clear in the plate facing p. 226 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII.

fore-arm was washed by (*libations of*) water in making many gifts, who was a lion in breaking open the frontal globes of hosts of elephants on many fields of battle (*and*) (*whose arms*) had deprived all warriors of their pride.

His son was the *Mahārāṇaka,* the illustrious **Vatsarāja,** who was able to turn back the irresistible elephants of the enemies, (*and*) who, like Karṇa, wore ear-ornaments and a crown.

(L. 8) His son, the *Mahārāṇaka,* the illustrious **Kīrtivarman,** a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—who, like the celestial tree, grants their desired objects to the Brāhmaṇa supplicants, (*and*) who, like Arjuna, has routed multitudes of enemies with the tips of arrows (*discharged*) with (*his*) bow,—has granted, at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the *Rāṇaka* the illustrious **Vatsarāja, on Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada in the year 926,** for the increase of infinite religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and himself, the village **Ahaḍāpāḍa** in the **Khaṇḍagahā** *pattalā* extending as far as its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with salt mines, together with pits and barren lands, together with the rights of egress and ingress, together with pasture-lands, together with treasures and deposits, with beneficial wealth and together with taxes—to the *Ṭhakuras,* the illustrious Brāhmaṇas **Mahāditya** and **Sīlaṇa,** the sons of the *Ṭhakura,* the illustrious Chaturbhuja, son's sons of the *Ṭhakura,* the illustrious Gayādhara, son's son's sons of the *Ṭhakura,* the illustrious Trilōchana, who belong to the Kauśika *gōtra* and have the three *pravaras* Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, who are (*always*) engaged in the six duties, (*viz.,*) performance of sacrifice for themselves and for others, studying and teaching, making and receiving gifts.

Ōṁ! Hail!

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(Line 18) (*This charter*) has been written by the *Ṭhakura* **Vidyādhara,** the son of the *Ṭhakura* Mālhē, son's son of Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of the *Ṭhakura,* the illustrious Rājēśvara, with the consent of the *Ṭhakura* **Ratnapāla.** It has been engraved by the blacksmiths **Kūkē** and **Kīkaka. The year 926.**

No. 66: Plate LV

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F.E. Hall at **Tēwar,** a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is said to be of like character with that of Alhaṇadēvī's inscription. Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. VI, pp. 512 f; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India,* p. 110 and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. IX, pp. 95 f.[1] The inscription was next edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with a translation, but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, pp. 17-19. It is edited here from two excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. II, p. 17.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing of which the first eight are written breadthwise, while the last is written along the proper left margin. The writing covers a space 11" in breadth and 7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation. The letters are irregularly formed and carelessly cut. In two places in l. 5 they seem to have been changed subsequently. Their size varies from .5" to .8".

The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and except for the last three lines, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, *v* is used for *b* in *Vrahma* and *Vrahm-ādi* in l. 1, the dental for the palatal sibilant in *nar-īsvaraḥ* 1.3, *aisvaram*, l.6 and *Kēsava* ll. 6 and 8 and *n* in place of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*, l. 4. The rule of euphony is unnecessarily applied in *Narasiṁhadēvō*, which occurs at the end of a hemistich in l. 4, while it is neglected in *Samrāṭ jīyā-* in l. 4.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Samrāṭ* **Jayasiṁhadēva**, the younger brother of the king **Narasiṁhadēva** who was a son of the king **Gayākarṇa**, evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī**. The object of it is to record the building of a temple of Īśvara (Śiva) by the *nāyaka* Kēśava of the Kātyāyana *gōtra*, who was the son of Āladēva. The latter was probably the son of the Brāhmaṇa Āstaka. Kēśava was a resident of the village **Sikhā** in **Mā[la]vaka.**

The inscription is dated in the **year 928**, on **Sunday, the 6th** *tithi* **of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism **Hasta.** The year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, there were two Śrāvaṇas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 928, corresponding to 1176-77 A.C. The month Śrāvaṇa of the present date, though not further particularised, was the first or *adhika* (intercalary) Śrāvaṇa[1]; for the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 3rd July 1177 A.C.) and the *nakshatra* Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The 6th *tithi* of the *nija* Śrāvaṇa on the other hand fell on Monday, the 1st August, on which day the *nakshatra* was Chitrā. Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A.C., is thus the date of the present inscription.

The village Sikhā may be identical with **Sikhā** which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur. The territorial division **Mālavaka** in which it was situated I am unable to identify.[2]

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धि:[4][।*] ज्ञानानंदं परं व्र(ब्र)ह्म व्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवितं(तम्) । वंदेम-

2 हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥[5][१॥*] श्रीमद्गयाक-

3 र्णनृपस्य सूनुर्नरेस्व(श्व)र: श्रीनरसिंहदेवो(व:) । वि(जि)ग्ये परि-

4 श्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्[6] जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिन्हदेव:[7] ॥[8][२॥*]

5 विप्र[स्या]स्तकनाम्नो[9] सूनुराल्हदेवस्तदात्मज: ।

[1] For another instance of the same kind, see the date of the Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription, No. 61, above.

[2] It may have been identical with *Māla-dōḍḍaka* named in l.51 of No. 42.

[3] From photographs.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Read सम्राट्.

[7] Read श्रीजयसिंहदेव:.

[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[9] The engraver seems to have cut at first विप्रो आस्तकनामा and subsequently changed विप्रो into विप्र and नामा into नाम्नो. आ has not been clearly altered to स्या as required.

6 केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमेस्व(श्व)रम् ॥[1][३॥*]
7 सम्वत्[2] ९२८ श्रावण सुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
8 नायककेस(श)वस्ये(स्य) गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]-
9 वके सीखाग्रामः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success!

(Verse 1) May we bow to Mahādēva, the god of gods, the father of the world, (*who is*) knowledge and bliss, the Supreme Brahman, served by Brahmā and other gods!

(V. 2) The illustrious lord of men, **Narasiṁhadēva,** the son of the illustrious king **Gayākarṇa,** conquered the earth. May his younger brother, the illustrious *Samrāṭ* **Jayasiṁhadēva,** long be victorious!

(V. 3) The Brāhmaṇa named Āstaka had (*a son named*) Āladēva; his son **Kēśava** caused this temple of Īśvara to be built.

(Line 7) (*In*) **the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa,** (*the moon being*) **in** (*the asterism*) **Hasta.**

The *Nāyaka* Kēśava's *gōtra* is Kātyāyana and (*his*) place of residence the village **Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka.**

No. 67; PLATE LVI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure' at **Rewa**[3] in Vindhya Pradesh. It is said to have been brought over to Rewa from the Kastarā tank in the Rewa *tahsīl*[4]. The record was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle* for 1920-21. Subsequently he gave a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*[5] and finally edited it, with a lithograph, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 295 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The record is incised on an oblong plain **slab of sandstone** measuring 4′ 3½″ by 1′ 8½″. The writing covers a space 4′ 2″ broad by 1′ 7″ high. It contains 27 lines, of which the last measures only 2′ 7″ in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are irregularly and carelessly cut and incised. The letters *ṭh*, *bh*, *ś* as well as the medial *i* in some places present earlier forms; see, *e.g.*, *Ṭhakkurō*, l. 22, *-bhūt* and *Yaśaḥpāla*, both in l. 4, *=yasmiṁs=tishṭhē-*, l. 16. Attention may also be drawn to the peculiar form of the initial *i*, *e.g.*, in *iti*, l. 4, and *iv-*, l. 5, the subscript *ḷi* in *prakḷiptaḥ*, l. 5, and *-pratikḷipta-*, l. 17, and *th*, of which the upper loop is open, in *yath=ēśa-*, l. 21. In the ligature *ṇṇ*, the superscript letter has in most cases the same form as the dental *n*, see, *e.g.*, *-pūrṇṇa-*; l. 1, *-Karṇṇa-*, l. 4; but notice *=Gayākarṇṇa*, l. 4, where it appears in its usual form; *t* is looped in some places, see, *e.g.*, *kṛita-giraṁ*, l. 16; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is de-

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Read संवत्.

[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, (1920-21), p. 52.

[4] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 295, n. 1. This place is perhaps identical with Kahtarā near Mukundpur p. 295, where also there is a large tank.

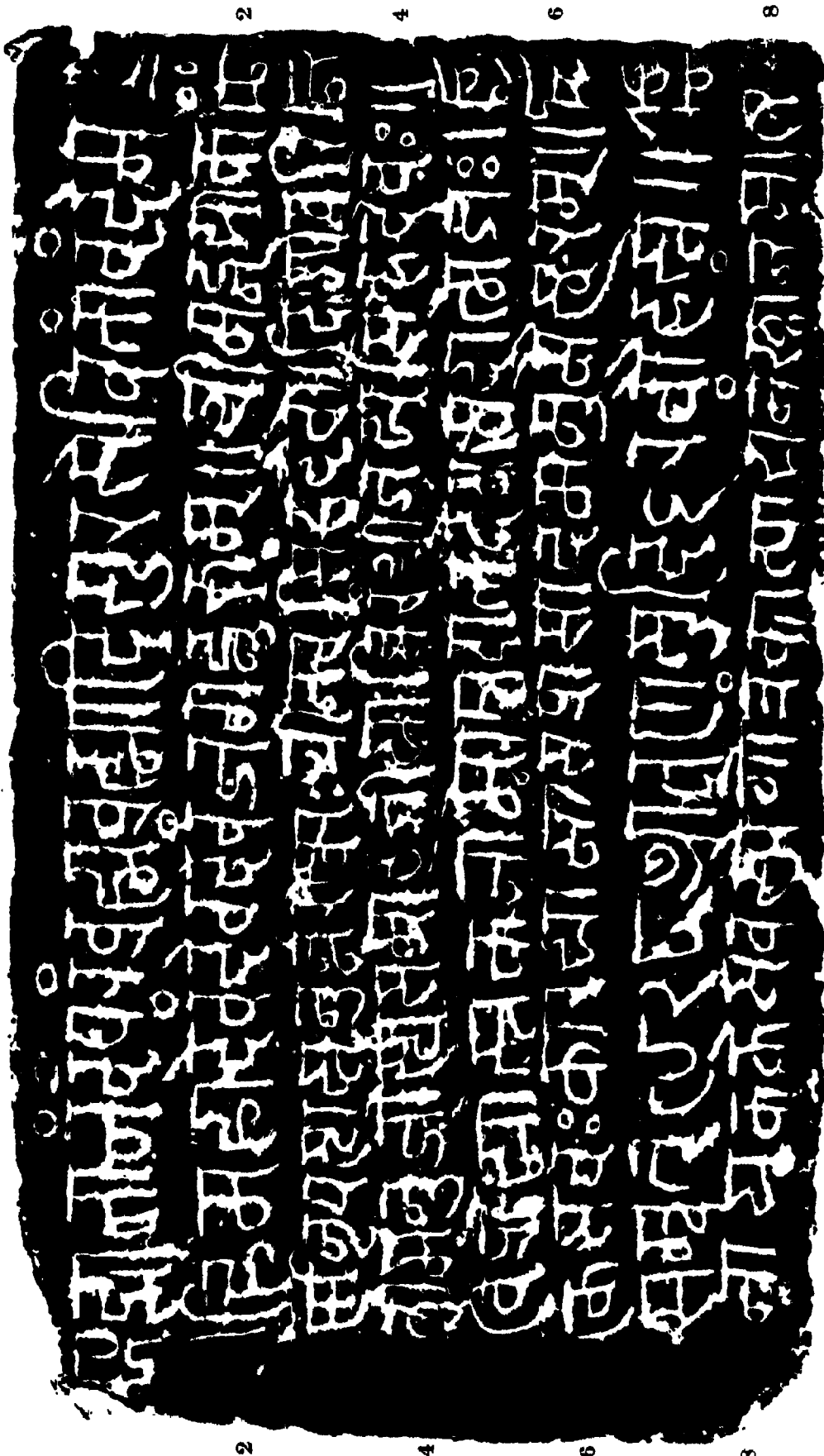
[5] *M. A. S. I.*, No. 23, pp. 133 ff.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

noted by it proper sign only in the form *babhūva* in ll. 7, 22, 23 *etc.* The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs, though wrongly, in *nihpanka-*, l. 7 and *vā(bā)h-pah-*, l. 12. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *svasti* in the beginning, and the date and *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ* towards the close, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. The verses, which are 54 in all, are not numbered. The composer of the *praśasti* (as the record is called in l. 25), though he claims proficiency in the science of word and sense, had but an imperfect command over the Sanskrit language. His style is obscure, his compounds uncouth, and his meaning uncertain[1] in several places. Notice, for instance, the compounds *nitāmita-vāhuḥ-*, l. 6 and *Vāstavya-vritti-pratham-aika-liṅgaṁ*, l. 21, the meaning of which is obscure. He has used verbal forms of the potential mood in the sense of the present tense in several places see, *e.g.*, *rakshēt*, l. 6, *āndōlayēt*, l. 9. His unsuccessful attempt to embellish his style with figures of sense will be pointed out in the notes to the text and the translation. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* is everywhere used to denote *b* except in the form *babhūva*, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in several places, *e.g.*, in *darsanānt*, l. 2, *śasinaḥ*, l. 7 and *vice versa* in *vāri-āmbhaśi*, l. 12; *y* is employed for *j* in *yushṭaḥ*, l. 22; one of the two similarly sounding consonants is wrongly elided in *ujvālayē*, l. 13 and *prādā-tripada*, l. 10; similarly the *visarga* is omitted in some places to suit the metre;[2] finally, the sign of the *anunāsika* is used in place of the *anusvāra*, generally when followed by *v* or *s*, see *śrōṇiṁ vidhi-* and *-giräṁ vasan*, both in l. 16, *tit-āṁśu*, l. 8; but see also *laṁkāṁ* l. 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijayasiṁhadēva** (called **Vijayadēva** in line 3), evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**, who ruled at **Tripurī** on the Narmadā. The **object** of it is to record the construction of a tank by **Malayasiṁha** who was probably a feudatory chief of Vijayasiṁha.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Mañjughōsha, the Buddhist god of learning. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Buddhistic about the present inscription. The composer was not a Buddhist, as he describes himself as always engaged in the study of the Vēdas. It is again doubtful if his patron Malayasiṁha, who caused the tank to be excavated, was a follower of Buddhism; for verse 27 speaks of a temple of Rāma built by him. Verses 5 and 6 refer to the illustrious **Vijayadēva** (evidently identical with Vijayasiṁha, the lord of Chēdi, mentioned in v. 12) who was ruling at Tripurī on the Narmadā. He was born in the family of **Karṇa**. The poet then turns to the pedigree of **Malayasiṁha**. The first ancestor named here is **Jāṭa**, who was appointed the head of a *vishaya* (district), and by the might of whose arms the illustrious (Kalachuri) king Karṇadēva is said to have vanquished his foes. His son was **Yaśaḥpāla** who was a devoted councillor of **Gayākarṇa**. He had two sons **Padmasiṁha** and **Chandrasiṁha**. One of them, probably Chandrasiṁha[3] who was the younger of the two, became the pre-eminent Home Minister of the **Chēdi king Vijayasiṁha**. Padmasiṁha had a son named **Kīrtisiṁha** who was the father of **Malayasiṁha**. The only historical information that can be gleaned from the lengthy eulogy of Malayasiṁha is that he defeated **Salakshaṇa** and **Vikrama** (Vikramāditya?).[4] The battle in which the former is said to have lost his

[1] See below, p. 556, n. 1.

[2] See below, p. 555, n. 15.

[3] As it stands, the text makes Padmasiṁha the minister of Vijayasiṁha, but this seems improbable because his grandson Malayasiṁha was a contemporary and feudatory of the same Kalachuri king. Perhaps *Chandrasiṁh-ānujō* in verse 11 is a mistake for *Chandrasiṁhō=nujō*, and it was Chandrasiṁha, the younger brother of Padmasiṁha, who was the Home Minister. There is not much improbability in his being a contemporary of his elder brother's grandson. Verse 12 would thus contain a description of Chandrasiṁha. This would also satisfactorily explain why Padmasiṁha's name is repeated in the next verse.

[4] Banerji took no notice of this Vikrama.

arm was fought at **Karkarēḍī.** He is, therefore, identical with the homonymous prince of Karkarēḍī (modern Karkrēri, 28 m. north of Rewa) whose Rewa plate is dated V. 1253 (1195 A.C.). His elder brother Kīrtivarman was a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha and he himself in the aforementioned Rewa plate acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasiṁha. He seems, therefore, to have revolted against his liege-lord sometime during the period 1175 A.C. to 1193 A.C., but was defeated by Malayasiṁha and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuri king. Vikrama, the other adversary of Malayasiṁha, cannot be identified.

Verse 28 mentions the queen **Talhaṇadēvī** who was probably a wife[1] of Malayasiṁha and had two sons, the elder of them being named Pṛithvīdhara. The inscription then mentions several **officers** of Malayasiṁha. **Garga,** the son of Raṇasiṁha, was his chief Record Officer, while **Harisiṁha,** the son of Jagatsiṁha, was his excellent Councillor. The latter is said to have got the tank excavated, to the description of which eight verses (34-41) are devoted. Malayasiṁha is said to have spent fifteen hundred *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (Buddha?) on this work. No such coins have yet been discovered.[2]

The pedigree of **Vidyādhara,** the Superintendent of the excavation of the tank, is next given in vv. 43-46. In the Vāstavya family there was a person named Uddharaṇa. His son was perhaps named Śrīdhara[3]. The son of the latter was the *Ṭhakkura* Lakshmīdhara, who was the father of Vidyādhara. Next is mentioned **Purushōttama,** the son of Valhaṇa, who designed the tank. The genealogy of the poet **Purushōttama** begins in verse 48. There was a learned Brāhmaṇa named Rāmachandra, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son was Divākara. The latter's son was Purushōttama who composed the present *praśasti*. He belonged to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra* and was a resident of Banaras. He describes himself as proficient in logic, the science of word and sense, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Yōga and as devoted to the study of the Vēdas. The mason who incised the present record was **Ananta,** the son of Galhaṇa. After the inscription was closed with *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*, one more verse was added to describe the door-keeper **Ralhaṇa,** the valiant son of Dalhaṇa.

From the contents summarized above, it will be seen that Malayasiṁha and his ancestors were hereditary ministers and feudatory chiefs of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī. Of the latter only Karṇa, Gayākarṇa and Vijayasiṁha are mentioned in the present record, the names of Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha being passed over. As Mr. Banerji has already observed, Jāṭa may have flourished towards the close of Karṇa's reign, so that he was a contemporary of both Karṇa and Yaśaḥkarṇa. Jāṭa's son Yaśaḥpāla was a councillor of Gayākarṇa. Padmasiṁha and Kīrtisiṁha may have served Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha. During the reign of Vijayasiṁha the office of the Home Minister seems to have been held by Chandrasiṁha, while Malayasiṁha was ruling over the territory round Rewa. It may, however, be noted that the name of Chandrasiṁha is not mentioned in the Rewa stone inscriptions of Vijayasiṁha, the Chief Minister (*Mahāmantrin*) mentioned therein being Haripāla.

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[1] Banerji took Talhaṇadēvī to be the mother of Malayasiṁha and altogether passed over Pṛithvīdhara and his brother mentioned in v. 28. Had Talhaṇadēvī been the mother of Malayasiṁha, she would have been introduced much earlier along with the latter's father Kīrtisiṁha (vv. 13-14).

[2] As the present inscription has been composed in a slip-shod manner, *Bhagavan-mudrayā* in l. 20 may be a mistake for *Bhagavatī-mudrayā*. In that case the well-known coins of Gāṅgēyadēva, stamped with the effigy of Lakshmī, would be meant.

[3] See below, p. 357, n. 6.

The inscription is dated, both in words and numerical symbols, on Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Sāhasamallāṅka year 944. Though the era is not specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri reckoning. It regularly corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 944, to Friday, the 30th July 1193 A.C. On that day the *tithi* ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. The importance of the date lies in the data it furnishes for determining the commencement of the Kalachuri year. If the Kalachuri era began in 248-49 A.C. as was finally concluded by Dr. Kielhorn, the present date shows that the years of the era could not have commenced with the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada as was once supposed by him.

The significance of *Sāhasamallāṅkē* is not clear. Mr. Banerji[1] took it to mean 'the *aṅka* named Sāhasamalla' and Dr. Hiranand Sastri[2] suggested that *aṅka* means *abda* or year; but neither of them has explained how the year was called *Sāhasamalla*. The cyclic year corresponding to the above date was *Piṅgala* according to the northern system and *Pramādin* according to the southern system. Neither of these names can be said to be a synonym of *Sāhasamalla*. According to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar[3] *aṅka* means *ākhya*. He has suggested that the Kalachuri era was called *Sāhasamallābda* and called attention to two other dates[4] which are called *Sāhasa* and which, though referred to the Vikrama era, work out all right for the Kalachuri era also. But *Sāhasamalla* does not mean the same as *Sāhasāṅka*. The latter, which is a synonym of *Vikramāṅka*, occurs in many places[5] as the name of Vikramāditya, the well known patron of Kālidāsa and the reputed founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat. As Kielhorn has shown, both the dates qualified by *Sāhasāṅka*, which Prof. Bhandarkar proposes to refer to the Kalachuri era, appear quite regular as dates of the Vikrama era also. There is, therefore, no necessity to take them as dates of the Kalachuri era. Besides, if they are referred to that era, the first would fall towards the close of the fifteenth and the second in the first half of the sixteenth century A.C.[6] The palæography of the inscriptions is certainly against ascribing such late dates to them. Besides, there is no evidence that the Kalachuri era was current in North India down to the sixteenth century A.C. Even in Madhya Pradesh where petty Haihaya princes continued to rule until their principalities were annexed by the Marathas, the latest date of the Chēdi era known from inscriptions is 969.[7] Thereafter the Haihaya princes used the Vikrama and Saka eras in dating their records.[8] There is thus not the least evidence in favour of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that *Sāhasamalla* was a name of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era.

A king named Sāhasamalla is indeed known from several coins with the legend

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 295.

[2] *Loc. cit*, n. 4

[3] See *I. N. I.*, p. 282, n. 2.

[4] These dates are (1) V. 1240—Mahōbā (Hamirpur District, U.P.) fort-wall fragmentary inscription noticed by Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72 and Pl. XXII. L. 15, *Vyōm-ārṇṇav-ārkka-saṁkhyātē Sāhasāṅkasya vatsarē*, l.17 *saṁvat* 1240, *Āshāḍha va di* 9 *Sōmē* (Monday, the 4th June, 1184 A. C.) and (2) V. 1279—Rōhtāsgadh (Shahabad District, Bihar) rock inscription of the time of king Pratāpa, ed. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311 f. L. 1, *Nand-ābhir=atha muni-Indrair=maṇḍitaiḥ vadhīśaiḥ parikalayati saṁkhyāṁ vatsarē Sāhasāṅkē* | *madana-vijaya-yātrā-maṅgalē māsi chaitrē pratipadi sita-kāntau vāsarē Bhāskarasya* || (Sunday, the 5th March 1223 A. C.).

[5] *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 ff. Cf. *Vikramādityaḥ Sāhasāṅkaḥ Śak-āntakaḥ* in an old verse cited in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakōśa*, II, 8, 2.

[6] The first date would correspond to Monday, the 22nd June 1489 A. C., and the second to Sunday, the 3rd March 1527 A. C.

[7] No. 102, below.

[8] See Nos. 103—108, below.

Srīmat-Sāhasamalla. But as V. Smith has shown, he was a king of Ceylon[1] and therefore could not have had anything to do with the Kalachuri era.

What then does *Sāhasamallāṅkē* mean ? Since no other explanation is satisfactory, the conjecture may be hazarded that the expression is intended to signify the year by the system of word-numerals. *Sāhasa* stands for four; for a verse from the *Nāradasmṛiti*[2] (XII, 2) cited in the *Mitākshará* states that *sāhasas* or violent crimes were four in number. *Malla* means 'a wrestler', 'a match for', and therefore conveys the sense of equality. Here it probably signifies an equal number, *i.e.*, four in the present case. *Aṅka*, as is well-known, signifies nine.[3] These numerals are to be placed from right to left, *i.e.*, as 944 by the rule *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*. Thus *sāhasamallāṅkē* means 'in (the year) 944' and this we find is actually the year in which the record was put up.

The **geographical names** Narmadā, Tripurī and Karkarēḍi, occurring in the present record, have already been identified.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धिः[5] [।*] स्वस्ति ।। अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णचन्द्रं पद्मासनस्थं हिमशैलगौरम् । सव्येतरापा-
णि[6]गखड्गपुस्तम्वक्ष्यामि[7] नत्वा खलु मंजुघोषम् ।।[8][१।।*] मलयसिंहकुलानि गुणानथ स्वसम-
येन य[9]थोचितशक्तिकः [।] अ[व]तरंति पदानि यतः स्वतः सुमह-

2 तां ननु केन न कीर्त्यंते ।।[10][२।।*] वाचश्चेमा[:*] प्रवृत्ता मे रवेरिव मरीचयः । मलयसिंह-
कुलाव्ज(ब्ज) [स्य*] प्रवो(बो)धाय सहस्रशः ।।[11][३।।*] अतिविमलजलौघैः प्लावयन्ती पवि-
[त्रै]र्मुनिवरपुरलोकात्संस्तुता सिद्धगीर्भिः । अप[न]यति सुवंशाज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलु-
षभारं दर्स(र्शं)नान्नर्मदा या ।।[12][४।।*] तस्यास्तटेस्ति त्रिपुरी पुरीति तस्याम-

3 भूत्कर्ण्णकुलप्रसूतः । राज्ञां गुरुः श्रीविजयाख्यदेवो राजाधिशास्ता विदिशान्दिशाञ्च ।।[13][५।।*]
यस्य प्रतापानलशुष्ककण्ठा रा[ज्ञां] गणा अंगुलिसंज्ञयापि । साधंकमेवं विवदन्ति चिन्त्यं[14] सेवा-
फलास्तत्सदसि[15] प्रपन्नाः ।।[६।।*] [तत्पू]र्व्वपूर्व्वा भुवि ये [ब]भूवुस्तेषां [य]शोवर्द्धनमन्त्र-
मन्त्री ।

4 श्रीजाटनामा विषये नियुक्तो वाचस्पतिः [स]र्व्व[गुणै]रिवाभूत् ।।[७।।*] धर्म्मध्वजानां धुरमत्र
गुर्व्वीम्विश्राणनेना[16]वहतो द्विजेभ्यः । यस्यैव वा(बा)ह्वोर[पि] पौरुषे[ण] श्रीकर्ण्णदेवो
जितवान्रिपूंश्च ।।[८।।*] तस्माद्गयाकर्ण्णमहीशभक्तो मन्त्रस्य गोप्ता भुवि वल्लिजीवः । जज्ञे
यशःपाल इति प्रतीतस्तारात्मजः

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[1] V. Smith assigns the date, 1200-1202 A. C. to him. See *C. C. I. M.*, Vol. I, p. 330.

[2] *Manushya-māraṇaṁ stēyaṁ para-dār-ābhimarśanam | pārushyam=ubhayaṁ ch=ēti sāhasaṁ syāch=chatur-vidham* || *Mitāksharā on* the *Yājñavalkyasmṛitii*, ch. II, v. 72.

[3] *I. P.*, p. 85

[4] From an inked estampage.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Properly सव्येतरपाणिग-, but so changed to suit the metre.

[7] Read पुस्तं वक्ष्यामि.

[8] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[9] There is a superfluous ornamental *mātrā* on this *akshara.*

[10] Metre : *Drutavilambita.*

[11] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[12] Metre : *Mālinī.*

[13] Metre of this and the following six verses: *Indravajrā.*

[14] Banerji read चित्य which he proposed to alter to नित्यं, but the superscript *n* of *ntya* is quite clear.

[15] Read सेवाफलं तत्सदसि-.

[16] Read गुर्व्वीं विश्राणनेना-.

12 दुःखेन्धनदीर्घबाष्पैः[1] संधुक्षितो दत्तांतिकूलवह्ना ॥[2][२३॥*] उत्खातो निर्म्मलकणो-
भवत्सुकर्क्करेडयामपि यो रणे यथा । विलू[न]बा(बा)हुव्यसनः शिलीमुखैः कराद्विमुक्तैर्म्मं-
लयस्य सिंहजात् ॥[3][२४॥*] रे रे विक्रम भूर धावसि वृथा अब्धापवा(बा)णांबधि(सि)
मग्नो यास्यसि ना-

13 त्र किं तव कृते खड्गाग्निमुज्वा(ज्ज्वा)ल्ये । इत्युक्त्वाभिहतो रणे नववयस्यानेषु बा(बा)णैर्हुं दि
यातोध: परिभूतविक्रमव(ब)लो यस्मात्स जीया[दिति] ॥[4][२५॥*] प्रासादमाला द्विजदेवतानां
सृष्टा विचित्रा गगनं विलग्ना । येनापि याम्यस्त्ववरोधभीत्या यातीव भानो रथ आशु तिय(र्य)क्
॥[5][२६॥*] तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकु-

14 त्य सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्द्ध(र्ध्वं)मुच्चैः । यद्रामदेवालयबाधिता ये प्रायेण [ते] विश्वपदं[6] प्रया-
ताः ॥[7][२७॥*] योयं सुतस्तल्हणदेवदेव्यास्त्रायेत [मि]त्राणि निहन्ति शत्रून् [।] भीष्मो
यथानेकसमानुवर्त्ती जीयात्स पृथ्वीधर[8]सानुजोपि ॥[२८॥*] श्रीगर्ग्गनाम्ना रुचिरां[शु]धामा
यस्याभवच्छ्रीरणसिंहसूनुः । धर्म्मस्य विद्याहृयकौशले-

15 श्री सर्व्वाधिकारैरिव चित्रगुप्तः ॥[२९॥*] ताम्बू(म्बू)लदानाधिकृतिप्रयुक्तः श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहसुतः
सुमंत्री । यस्याभवच्छ्रीहरिसिंहनामा सर्व्वार्थिसंपत्परिपूरिताशः ॥[३०॥*] प्रौढप्रचण्डारिकरि-
प्रमाथी नाराचपाशांकुशखड्गयोद्धा । वा(बा)हुप्रशक्त्यातिदृढप्रहारः सेनाग्रयायीव रणे कुमारः ॥
[३१॥*] व्र(ब्र)ह्मणो

16 ज्ञानवादेन वेदतत्पा(त्वा)र्थयोगिना । तिस्तीर्ण्णानि पा[9]षण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥[10] [३२॥*]
स सोमश्येनाग्नीश्रयति चयता(ना)न्तर्द्विजगणो महीं कृत्वा यूपं रविकरचषालोर्द्धवकटकां(काम्)
ततो वेदिश्रोणीं विधिविहितमन्त्रैः कृतगिरं वसन्त्यस्मिंस्तिष्ठेत्पृ[पु]रमिह का[स्ठा?]लकमिति

17 ॥[11][३३॥*] भुक्त्वापि यस्मिन्वरपाणिपात्रे चकास्तु नक्तं स्वधर्म्मन्विहाय । अंभो निरीक्षा(क्ष्या)-
हृतजीवसंघास्तीव्रं तपो वा मुनयश्चरंति ॥[12][३४॥*] तिग्मांशुतापकलमनोवदनौरुक्षां विचक्रु-
स्त्रिय आत्मनोंगे । प्राणेशहस्तप्रतिक्लृप्तयन्त्रनिर्म्मुक्तधार[13]पयसां कणौघैः ॥[३५॥*] पीत्वा-
लिचक्रैर्म्मधु-

18 मत्तमुग्धैः पद्माकरालीढमुखैं[14]र्मदद्भिः । आकर्ण्य मुग्धा अनुजापयन्ति गीतं यशो यस्य च नाग-
कन्याः ॥[३६॥*] से(शै)वालकल्हारकवारिपर्ण्णीसालूकसंघाटकरेबमाधैर्म्मधैरमक्षै[15]र्युतमम्बु(म्बु)-
वी(बी)जैर्व्वंप्रैः ससज्जार्थिश(स)रो य ईदृक् ॥[३७॥*] क्रीडाप्रवृत्ताः पतिभिः श(स)रोव्यौ(ध्यौ)
संय[म्य]

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[1] Read -बाष्पैः.

[2] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[3] Metre : *Vaṁśastha.*

[4] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[6] Perhaps विष्णुपदं is meant.

[7] Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indravajrā.*

[8] The context requires a reading like पृथ्वीधरः, but the *visarga* seems to have been dropped *metris causa.*

[9] The metre requires the syllable to be short.

[10] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[11] Metre : *Śikhariṇī.*

[12] Metre of this and the following four verses : *Indravajrā.*

[13] The metre requires here a reading like -धारैः or धारा-.

[14] This should properly be आलीढपद्माकरमुखैः-.

[15] Read संघाटक एवमाद्यैः । भक्ष्यैरभक्ष्यै-.

26 धारेण श्रीमद्वल्हणसूनुना । नाम्नाकंतेन चन्कोकी[1] सुबोधं पंचपद्यति ॥[2][५२॥*] चत्वारि-
शत्यधिकेब्दे(ब्दे) चतुर्भिर्नवमे शते । शुके साहसमल्लांके माकस्मे प्रथमे दिने ॥[५३॥*]
संवत् ९४४ भाद्रपद सु(शु)दि १ शुक्रे श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवराज्ये ॥ मं-

27 गलं महाश्रीः ॥०॥ श्रीः ॥ [श्री]वर्यकार्यकमर[ल्हणा]ख्यो यस्यानकवल्ह[ण*]सूनुवीरः
द्वारीव न(नं)दी गिरिशस्य युक्तः संग्रामसू(शू)रो रिपुवर्णमर्दी ॥[3][५४॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verses 1-2) Having bowed to Mañjughōsha, who is as white as the snow-mountain, who is (*seated*) on a lotus-seat, who is the full moon resembling a wheel of eight spokes, (*and*) who has a sword and a book in his right and left hand (*respectively*), I shall describe **Malayasiṁha's** family and (*his*) excellences duly (*and*) with suitable vigour; for words occur (*to my mind*) of their own accord. Who, indeed ! would not describe the great ?

(V. 3) These words of mine in thousands are engaged in glorifying the family of **Malayasiṁha** even as the rays of the sun are in opening the lotuses.

(V. 4) The **Narmadā** which flows with sacred and extremely limpid water from the world which is the abode of the best of sages (*like*) a maiden born in a noble family, and which is praised by the words of the Siddhas, removes by (*mere*) sight the weight of the sins due to the Kali age.

(V. 5) On its bank is a city named **Tripurī** where is a king named the illustrious **Vijayadēva**, the lord of princes, who is born in the family of **Karṇa** (*and*) is the ruler (*of regions*) in all directions.[4]

(V. 6) In whose assembly the supplicant kings, whose throats are parched by the fire of his prowess, discuss, through apprehension, the doubtful reward of their service[5] by signalling with their fingers.

(V. 7) The illustrious **Jāṭa**, a minister whose counsel[6] increased the fame of those who preceded him on this earth, (*and who was*) like Bṛihaspati in all his merits, was appointed to (*this*) *vishaya* ;

(V. 8) Who bore here the heavy yoke of pious people by making gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, (*and*) by the prowess of whose arms alone, the illustrious **Karṇadēva** conquered his foes.

(V. 9) From him was born (*a son*) known as **Yaśaḥpāla** as Budha, the son of Tārā, was born from the moon god,—who, a venerable person on the earth, was a devotee of the king **Gayākarṇa** and the keeper of (*his*) counsel.

(V. 10) His son also, who had large arms, was created as a light incarnate of auspicious rays, by the creator who found the world enveloped in the darkness (*of ignorance*) in order that he might illuminate it.

(V. 11) **Padmasiṁha**, the abode of the goddess of fortune, had a spotless and pure family as a lotus has excellent petals and white sprouts. In (*that*) Kshatriya family was born (*his*) younger brother the illustrious **Chandrasiṁha**,[7] the progenitor (*of a family*).

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[1] Perhaps चान्द्री या is intended.

[2] Metre of this and the following verse : *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Metre : *Indravajrā*.

[4] *Lit.* in (*all*) directions and sub-directions.

[5] Banerji, who read *nityaṁ* in place of *chintyaṁ*, translated,—'in whose assembly kings . . . . always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (*for him*)'.

[6] *Mantra* means here 'counsel' not 'incantation' as rendered by Banerji.

[7] See above p. 347, n. 3.

(V. 12) (*He*),[1] the sole home-minister of the king Vijayasiṁha, the lord of Chēdi, who is most powerful with his fame spreading to all cardinal points—(*he*) who by the force of the prowess, conferred by the boons of the Brāhmaṇas, protects[2] the bodies of the twice-born besieged by a host of elephants of poverty.

(V. 13) In this family, from the learned and illustrious Padmasiṁha was born the illustrious Kīrtisiṁha of long[3] arms, who had the strength of a lion, even as Rāma, the lord of Kōśala, was, in times of yore, born from Daśaratha. Himself fearless, he was a dart in the hearts of a host of (*his*) enemies.

(V. 14) In his court there shone various learned men who were his well-wishers, versed in policy, as gods do in the assembly of Indra. (*Their*) words flashed forth like the rays of the moon sent forth for dispelling the darkness (*ignorance*) of the world.

(V. 15) Malayasiṁha,[4] the son of the illustrious Kīrtisiṁha, the hero who was a peerless wrestler in rescuing those born in Kshatriya families, had the dust of his lotus-like feet swept off by the locks of (*his*) feudatory chiefs.

(V. 16) He is the moon that makes the night-lotuses, that are the learned men, bloom. He is the ocean (*the mine of jewels*), as he confers jewels on needy men. All excellences have become established in the personage of Malayasiṁha. On account of (*these*) excellences he has not even the deer-spot (*which is seen in the moon*).

(V. 17) Causing the destruction and blooming of the lotuses which are (*his*) enemies and friends (*respectively*), he, like the moon (*and*) the sun, has made the skies of the ten quarters bright. With a sharp pike (*śakti*) in his hand, there has appeared the skilful Malayasiṁha on the earth.

(V. 18) He is a flawless bowman whose sword causes the forces of the enemy (*which appeared*) weak (*before him*) to tremble even as wind tosses the reflection of the sun amidst waves of water.

(V. 19) The hostile soldiers being plunged into the ocean of his horses, and seeing the whirls and oysters (*in the form of*) foam (*from the horses' mouths*) on their faces, heads and feet, did not soon come out of it !—Such was the lion of Malaya (*i.e.*, Malayasiṁha) !

(V. 20) 'Did the valiant Bali give the three worlds measuring the three steps (*to Vishṇu*) ? I shall confer on men the rank of the moon (*or*) that among Śiva, Vishṇu, Indra and others, by winning it openly (*and*) at once with my sword or with (*the help of other*) princes.'—May he (*i.e., Malayasiṁha*), who had such confidence, in his prowess be victorious !

(V. 21) The fire, whose flame in the form of (*Malayasiṁha's*) sword burned brightly with ghee which was the blood gushing forth from the heads of his feudatories, obtained that satisfaction in battle here, which it had not obtained from Hanumān (*even*) after burning (*the city of*) Laṅkā.[5]

(V. 22) 'Having vanquished Indra, gods (*and*) also the moon, this moon (*in the form of Malayasiṁha*) roams about together with Sachī who is the Mahādēvī. Oh ! this

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[1] *I. e.*, Chandrasiṁha, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Rakshēt* 'should protect' is here used for *rakshati* 'protects.'

[3] *Nitānta* seems to be used here in the sense of 'long.'

[4] The text has *Malay-ānu siṁhaḥ* which literally means 'Siṁha following Malaya,' *i.e.*, Malayasiṁha.

[5] Banerji's translation 'he (*i.e.*, Malayasiṁha) ...... obtained (*such*) satisfaction as the Son of Wind (Hanumān) himself did not obtain by burning Laṅkā' is unacceptable as the text has clearly *Mārutēr=*, not *Mārutir=*.

(our) king is Sēsha, the lord of serpents, (*created*) to enjoy their pleasures!' So is he described by the people in the country.[1]

(V. 23) The fire of his anger being fed by the wife of his enemy with the fuel of tears which she shed for a long time on account of her grief of widowhood, destroyed the forces of the enemy, even as that produced from Siva's eye (*burned*) the god of love.

(V. 24) **Salakshaṇa** became deformed[2] when in the battle of the glorious **Karkarēḍī** he had the misfortune of having his arm cut off by the arrows discharged by the **lion of Malaya** (*i.e.* Malayasiṁha).

(V. 25) May he (*i.e.* Malayasiṁha) be victorious!—who, addressing (*Vikrama*) in battle with the words 'O valiant **Vikrama**, thou art vainly running away! Thou canst not escape being drowned in the flood of the arrows (*discharged*) from (*my*) bow! Why need I kindle here the fire of (*my*) sword for thy sake?', struck him in the heart in nine or ten places with his arrows and brought him down, overcoming his prowess and strength.

(V. 26) He erected a marvellous row of mansions touching the sky for gods and Brāhmaṇas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes obliquely with speed.

(V. 27) Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (*while*) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (*built*) by him, generally go to the abode of Vishṇu.[3]

(V. 28) May that **Pṛithvīdhara**[4] together with his younger brother be victorious, living for many years like Bhīshma—(*he*) who, being the son of the queen **Talhaṇadēvī**, protects friends and destroys enemies!

(V. 29) The illustrious **Garga**, the son of the illustrious Rāmasiṁha, the repository of beautiful lustre, who (*was invested*) with all powers, was, like Chitragupta, his (*i.e.* Malayasiṁha's) writer of religious documents and of education, horses and treasury.

(V. 30) His excellent minister was the illustrious **Harisiṁha** by name, the son of the illustrious Jagatsiṁha, who was appointed as the distributor of betel, and fulfilled the wishes of all supplicants with (*gifts of*) wealth.

(V. 31) He killed huge and fierce elephants of the enemy, fought with arrows, a noose, a goad and a sword, dealt a very firm blow with the might of his arm, and marched in the fore-front of the army like Kārttikēya.

(Vv. 32-3) This city of men is an ornament of the region here,—in which even students have refuted heterodox doctrines with discussions about the knowledge of Brahman together with the real import of the Vēdas; (*in which*) the multitude of Brāhmaṇas bring the fires of the Sōma and Syēna sacrifices to the altars, filling the surface of the earth with the golden rings of sacrificial posts (*touched*) by the rays of the sun[5]; and in which they dwell making the sides of the altar resound with the *mantras* as laid down by (rules) (*vidhi*).

(V. 34) Where[6] the Chakravāka birds, having been fed from the vessels in beautiful hands, and having left their mates at night, practise severe austerities like sages, fixing

[1] This verse does not yield a satisfactory and coherent sense.

[2] *Lit.* devoid of auspicious marks. As the word *bāhu* occurs in a compound, the sense may be that Salakshaṇa lost both his arms.

[3] See above p. 352, n. 6. Banerji, who took *viśva-padam* as the correct reading, translated, 'They mostly obtain the feet of God (*without endeavour*)'.

[4] Banerji takes *Pṛithvīdhara* as a common noun in the sense of 'a king' and refers it to Malayasiṁha. The context shows that *Pṛithvīdhara* was the name of Malayasiṁha's son.

[5] The significance of this expression is not quite clear to me.

[6] This and the following two verses describe the tank which is mentioned in v. 37.

their gaze on water and doing no harm to the multitudes of (*aquatic*) creatures;

(V. 35) (*Where*) women (*had*) their bodies sprinkled with sprays of water, discharged from the syringes held in the hands of their husbands, which (*sprays*) were efficacious in removing the fatigue caused by the rays of the sun;

(V. 36) (*Where*) beautiful Nāga maidens repeat (*the songs of*) his fame sung by multitudes of humming bees which, with their mouths licking clusters of lotuses, have become intoxicated with the honey they have drunk (*from them*);

(V. 37) He constructed such a tank for the needy (*provided*) with dams, which contains edible and unedible seeds (*growing*) in water such as the *śivāla* (moss ?), the white water-lily, water-plants (*vāriparṇī*) and lotus-roots.

(V. 38) How did the rosaries fall from the hands of the sages who were sitting (*on the bank of the tank*) curbing their vital airs,[1] when they saw the eyebrows and limbs (*such as*) breasts, legs and thighs of (*the women*) who were engaged in sporting with their husbands in the ocean which is this tank!

(V. 39) On whose bank the gods, the manes, the seven sages and men, being propitiated by the Brāhmaṇas seated on excellent slabs of emerald, whose thighs are touched[2] by silvery fishes darting through the waves (*of water*), praise him (*i. e.*, Malayasiṁha) of well-known fame. May he live (*long*) on the earth!

(V. 40) He constructed (*this*) large tank, a matchless reservoir of water, in which flamingos sport in joy, their feathers being coloured with the spray of water yellow with the fresh saffron-paste on the bodies of heavenly damsels.

(V. 41) He spent fifteen hundred *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with (*the effigy of*) the Bhagavat for (*constructing*) this reservoir of water.

(V. 42) May the three gods[3] confer their blessings on that **Malayasiṁha**,[4] the successful *yōgin*, who has been eulogised by all hosts of suppliants and panegyrists with words of praise.

(V. 43) Then there was the wise man, the foremost[5] of the **Vāstavya** (family?), (*who was*) **Uddharaṇa** in name also (*as he was the saviour in reality*), (*and who*) having raised up nectar to the earth, had, as it were, the form of the god (*Vishṇu*), the sole lord of the world.

(V. 44) Then was (*born*) his son,[6] attractive to young women, who, being served by the goddess of fortune resembled in form Śrīdhara (*i.e.*, Vishṇu), (*and*) who, by the numerous collections of his virtues and abundant religious merit, made the earth pure and possessed of all qualities.

(V. 45) His son on the earth was the *Ṭhakkura* **Lakshmīdhara** who was conversant with marks[7] and poetry. His son was **Vidyādhara** who was proficient in the qualities required for all offices.

(V. 46) **Vidyādhara**, who is (*fully*) conversant with the principles of the three aims[8] (*of human life*), but slightly with the essence of love, was the Superintendent and the cause of this tank as Sagara was of the ocean.

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[1] The words *saṁyamya ch=āsūn* are obviously to be connected with *munīnām* and not with *tāsām* as done by Banerji.

[2] *Vañchita* (*lit.* deceived) is used here in the unusual sense of 'touched.'

[3] *I. e.*, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.

[4] Here also the text has *Malay=āma-siṁhaḥ* for which see p. 355, n. 4, above.

[5] The sense of *prathama-sikha-liṅgam* is not quite clear to me.

[6] Banerji takes Śrīdhara to be his name. This is possible as a teacher named Śrīdhara is named below in v. 47, but the text is not clear on the point.

[7] *I. e.*, with the science of palmistry.

[8] *I. e.*, *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth) and *mōksha*.

(V. 47) **Purushōttama** (*of*) the **Vāstavya** (*family*), who knows how to measure a tank, was the son of the illustrious Valhaṇa and resembled (*his*) teacher **Śrīdhara**.

(V. 48) There was, again, the illustrious **Rāmachandra**, a learned man, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son also, named **Divākara**, being almost omniscient, was the foremost among the Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 49) His son, who belongs to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*,[1] dwelt in **Kāśī**, obliged others and had his mind devoted to his preceptor, was, by fate, deprived of fortune.

(V. 50) (*He*), the illustrious **Purushōttama**, a great Brāhmaṇa, whose knowledge of logic is profound, who is adept in the science of lexicography, and is equally versed in Mīmāṁsā, whose mind is engaged in (*studying*) the Vedānta, Yōga and other (*systems*), who is devoted to the study of the Vēdas and folds his hands on his head before those who are very learned, is in intelligence a Bṛihaspati on (*this*) earth.

(V. 51) By him has been made this excellent *praśasti* (eulogy) which, containing the desired meaning, is composed in good metres, resembling the string of a pearl-necklace (*which contains round pearls*) which has a good theme as the necklace has a cluster (*of pearls*), and which describes the glory of a noble family even as the necklace has the thread passing through the pearls produced from a good bamboo.[2]

(V. 52) This eulogy of the family, faultless like the moon-beams (?), has been incised by the *Sūtradhāra* named **Ananta**, the son of the illustrious Galhaṇa,—

(V. 53) On **Friday, the first day of Bhādrapada in the year nine hundred increased by forty and four** (*denoted by the expression*) **Sāhasa-mall-āṅka.**[3]

(*In*) **the year 944,** (*the month*) **Bhādrapada** (*and*) the **bright** (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) **day 1, Friday,** during the reign of the illustrious **Vijayasiṁhadēva.**

(*May there be*) bliss and great fortune!

(V. 54) Śrī. His (*i.e.*, Malayasiṁha's) door-keeper was named **Ralhaṇa,** the valiant son of Dalhaṇa, who is capable of executing a responsible (?) work, is brave in fighting, and destroys the pride of his foes, as Nandi is (*the door-keeper*) of Śiva.

No. 68 ; Plate LVII

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

THIS **plate** was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the **Rewa** Durbar. Its contents were briefly and somewhat incorrectly given by him in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 146. It was subsequently edited with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

[1] *Krishṇa-pūrvaḥ Ātrēya-gōtraḥ* evidently means 'belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*' and not 'born in the race of Atri, before whom Kṛishṇa was born' as translated by Banerji. The sense is clumsily expressed here as in so many other places in this inscription.

[2] There is a play on the word *sad-vaṁśa* which means (1) a good family and (2) a good bamboo. The metaphor in this verse is not properly expressed.

[3] See above, p. 350. *Sāhasa*, *malla* and *aṅka* denote the numbers 4, 4 and 9, and according to the rule *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*, the expression stands for 944.

The plate measures 13¾" by 9" and is inscribed on one side only. It is quite smooth, the edges of it being not fashioned thicker, nor turned up, nor protected in any way. As the result, the preservation of the inscription is only fairly good; for the surface of the plate is a good deal worn, especially in the proper left half down to about line 14 and in the right half from about line 8 to 14, so that some *aksharas* here are only faintly visible, and a few others are altogether illegible.....—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole; but the ring with any seal that may have been attached to it is not now forthcoming. The weight of the plates is 192½ *tolas*."[1] The average size of the letters is about .25". The characters are Nāgarī. The technical execution is fair. Except for two opening verses in honour of Brahman and Bhāratī (the goddess of speech), the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end and a stray quarter of the *Indravajrā* or the *Anushṭubh* metre here and there, the whole record is in prose. Both the metre and the grammar are faulty in several places. Mistakes of the former are pointed out in the foot-notes to the text. As regards those of grammar, attention may be drawn to the wrong gender in *sāmanta-śirō-ratnō* in l. 6, the faulty compounds in *śuta-dvan* and *mātri-pitrō-* in ll. 6 and 14 respectively and the syntactical blunder in *sō-haṁ*. . .*samājñāpayati vādhayati cha* in ll. 7-8. Final consonants, are not properly marked. The writer's carelessness is betrayed by the omission and transposition of words in many verses and the orthographical mistakes such as the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (*e.g.*, in *sarmaṇī* for *śarmaṇī* in several places in ll. 10-12) and *vice versa* (*e.g.*, in *śūkshmā* for *sūkshmā* in l. 2, *śuta-dvan* l. 6 *etc.*), that of *n* in for *ṇ* in *punya-yaśō*, l. 14 and *punya-karmmāṇau*, l. 18. The sign of *v* is used to denote *b* in all places except *babhūva* in l. 5.

As stated before, the inscription opens with two verses, one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of Bhāratī, the goddess of speech. The first of these occurs in several copper-plate charters of the Later Kalachuris, while the second with some alterations is met with in three records of the Kalachuri king, Karṇa.[2] The inscription then refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vijayadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trikaliṅga, who by his own arm had acquired suzerainty over the three kings (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirājā* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. Worthy of note is the epithet *Parama-māhēśvara* here applied to Vāmadēva, for it clearly shows that the latter cannot be identified with the god Śiva. As the description of Vijayadēva is closely similar to that of the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha in the Rewa plate of Kīrtivarman, he is evidently identical with Vijayasiṁha, the son and successor of Jayasiṁha. This identification is again corroborated by the agreement of dates. For, as shown below, the date of the present inscription corresponds to 1195 A.C. It is twenty years later than the date of the Rewa inscription of Kīrtivarman (*viz.*, K. 926 or 1175 A.C.), and this squares with the relation of Vijayasiṁha to Jayasiṁha. Again, the date of the present inscription is only two years later than that of the preceding Rewa stone inscription of Malayasiṁha which belongs to the reign of Vijayasiṁha.[3]

The inscription next gives the pedigree of the donor Salakshaṇavarman, who

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 227.

[2] Nos. 50, 51 and 54. In these it is in praise of Brāhmī, while in the present record it glorifies Bhāratī. *Bhāratī* which is here substituted for *Brāhmī* does not, however, suit the metre.

[3] As a matter of fact, Salakshaṇa is mentioned in verse 25 of that inscription, as one who suffered a defeat in Karkarēḍī at the hands of Malayasiṁha, a feudatory of Vijayasiṁha.

was then plainly a feudatory of Vijayadēva. In the capital **Kakarēḍī** there lived a personage named **Dhāhilla** who was honoured by all princes. After him flourished in course of time **Vājūka, Dandūka, Khōjūka** and **Jayavarman**, whose relation to Dhāhilla and to one another is not specified. Jayavarman's son was **Vatsarāja** who, again, had two sons **Kīrtivarman** and **Salakshaṇavarman** (or Salakhaṇavarman). The former, being the elder of the two, succeeded his father and was himself succeeded by his younger brother Salakshaṇavarman.[1]

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the donation of the village **Chhiḍauḍā**, situated in the **Kūyīsambapālisa**[2] *pattalā*, which Salakshaṇavarman made after bathing and worshipping Śiva at **Kakarēḍī**. The **donees** were all grandsons of one Mādhava and belonged to the Kauśilla *gōtra* with the three *paravaras* Kauśilla, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. It seems that Mādhava had four sons Mahasōṇa, Chīthu(?) Pīthana and Śrīdhara. The village or its revenue was divided into five *padas* or shares of which two were allotted to Rāmaśarman, Gāṭhēśarman and Dāmaraśarman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa and one each to Pāṇḍu(?)śarman, Paitēśarman and Haridattaśarman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa's three brothers.

The **date** the donation is given in line 13 as **Friday**, the **seventh tithi of the dark fortnight**[3] **of Mārgaśiras in the year 1253** (expressed in decimal figures only). No era is specified; but there is little doubt that the date is to be referred to the Vikrama era. It is found to be regular for the *current* Vikrama year 1253. The seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśiras of that year ended 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Friday,[4] the corresponding Christian date being the 27th October 1195 A.C.

Of the **place-names** occurring in the present grant, **Kakarēḍī** has already been identified with Kakrēri in Vindhya Pradesh. I have not been able to trace any place exactly corresponding to **Kūyīsambapālisa.** There are, however, some villages named Kooiah in the adjoining territory; the nearest to Kakrēri that I have been able to trace is 12 miles to the east by south. **Chhiḍauḍā** I am unable to identify.

TEXT[5]

1 [सिद्धिः[6] ।] स्वस्ति । [निर्गु]णं व्यापकं।[नि]त्यं शि[वं] परमकार[णं](णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पनं(रं) [ज्यो]तिस्तस्म(स्मै) सद्‌व(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ।[7][।१॥*] शुद्धे हृदय[क्षेत्रे] वल्लीमि[व] ध्या–

2 यन्ति[8] [यां] मुनयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी भारती शू(सू)क्ष्मा[9] सा जयति ॥[10][२॥*] परम–भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा–

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[1] Cunningham wrongly stated that Salakshaṇavarman was the grandson of Kīrtivarman.

[2] See below p. 361, n. 13. Cunningham read the name of the village as *Navagrāma.*

[3] Cunningham inadvertently stated the date to be the 7th of waxing moon.

[4] According to Kielhorn's calculations the *tithi* ended 7 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise on that day. Cunningham, who presumably took the Vikrama year as expired, stated that the *tithi* fell on Thursday, as indeed it did in 1196 A. C.

[5] From ink impressions.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[8] ध्यायन्ति does not suit the metre. Read रोपयन्ति as in the Goharwa plates.

[9] The metre is faulty here also. The Goharwa plates read ब्राह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा जयति ।

[10] Metre: *Āryā.*

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

3 [हे]श्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात ।[1] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरत्रिकलि-
[ङ्गा]धिपतिनिजभुजोपार्जिता-

4 श्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य)श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये ।(॥) ककरे[ड्यां]
[राजधान्यां] वाहि[ल्लो नाम]भवत्[2] । स च श्री[3]-

5 श्रीमहत्सर्म्मनरेन्द्रराणा(णाम्) [।*] तस्माद्राणुको नंदनश्चापि [क्रमत:[4]?] सोनूको[5] जय-
वर्म्मा च बभूव [तदनंतरौ] [।*] अथ[6] जयवर्म्मदेवा[प ?]त्यं वत्सराज[:*] सु-

6 तोभवत् । सामन्तशिरोरत्नो[7] येन जातौ सुतद्वौ । कीर्तिवर्म्मा सु(सू)नो ज्ये[ष्ठ]: प्राप्तपितृ-
पदं[8] स्व[त:] । श्रीमल्ल[क्ष्म]णवर्म्म[दे]वोपि[9] भ्राता-

7 ज्यमवाप स: । सोहं समस्तप्रक्रियोपेत[10]समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(ब्दा)लंकारविराजमानश्रीसल्लक्षण-
वर्म्मदेवो[11] विजयी ।[12] कूषीसंव[13](ब)पालिस-

8 पत्तलायां छिंदौ[डा]ग्रामनिवासिन: समस्तप्रजाकोकानन्यांश्च यथास्थानाधिष्ठितान् समाज्ञापयति
बो(बो)धयति[14] च । विदितमस्तु [भ]व[तां*] ग्रा-

9 मोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध[15]सजलस्थलसाम्रमधूकसमस्तोपरिविधिनिक्षेपाकप्रश्नोत्पत्तिसु(स्व)सी-
मापर्यन्तसवनतृणपक्षिजनि-

10 गोचरपर्यंत: ॥[12] कौशिल्ल[16]गोत्राय कौशिल्लविश्वामित्रदेवराज(त)त्रिप्रवराय । ठ[17] । माध-
वप्रपौत्राय महसोण[18]पुत्राय [राम ?]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । त-

11 था गा[ठे]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा वामरस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । एतेषां पद[19]
२[।*] ठ माधवप्रपौत्राय । [चीधु ?]पुत्राय [पांडु ?]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । पद १
[।*] ठ ।

12 माधवप्रपौत्राय पीजलपुत्राय पैतेस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पद १ [।*] ठ । माधवप्रपौत्राय
श्रीधरपुत्राय [ह]रिदत्तस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय प-

13 द १ [।*] एवं ग्रामस्य पद ५ संवत्स(त्स)राणां स(सं)वत(त्) १२५३ मार्गसि(शि)र(रो)मासे
कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ शुक्रदिने ककरेड्यां स्थाने स्नात्वा शिवं अ-

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[1] This *danda* is superfluous.

[2] This requires only one *akshara* to become a hemistich of an *Anushṭubh* verse. Read नाम योऽभवत् to suit the metre.

[3] Here we have the cadence of an *Indravajrā* verse.

[4] After this word a *daṇḍa*, which was at first engraved, is cancelled.

[5] This sounds like the latter half of an *Anushṭubh* verse.

[6] What follows appears to be in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

[7] Read सामन्तानां शिरोरत्नं यस्माज्जातं सुतद्वयम् । to suit the metre.

[8] Read प्राप्तपितृपद:.

[9] If this is intended as part of an *Anushṭubh* verse, we should have श्रीसल्लक्षणवर्म्मापि. The *sandhi* in the text is due to the royal name being taken as मल्लक्षण–.

[10] The letters are quite clear here. Read –प्रकृत्युपेत:. Kielhorn's reading प्रकृत्योपेत–does not give a good sense.

[11] This name is a corrupt form of श्रीसल्लक्षणवर्म्म–.

[12] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[13] Kielhorn read कूषीसवपालि, but the impression clearly shows an *anusvāra* on स.

[14] Read समाज्ञापयति and बोधयति.

[15] Here and in the following expressions the sign of *visarga* is wrongly omitted.

[16] Read कौशिक–. This is shown to be derived from कौशिक in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛitti*, V, 2,61.

[17] *I. e.*, ठक्कुर.

[18] The last two *aksharas* of this name though faint, are legible. The name occurs also in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva II, though it refers there to a different individual.

[19] This word is used here and in some places below without a case-affix. Read पदे २.

14 पूज्य मातृपित्रो[1]रात्मनश्च पुन्य(ण्य)यसो(शो)विवृद्धये एत(ते)भ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणे(णे)भ्यो ग्रा- मोयं सासनत्वे[2] प्रदत्तः । मत्वैषा[3]माज्ञाविधेयीभूय सर्व्वैर्म-

15 [ते]भ्यः प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) । यत्प्रदत्तं[4] मया अस्माकाम्ब(न्व)यैः सामन्तादिभिरपि पालनीया रक्षणीयाश्चेति[5] । भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यस्लो(श्लो)काः ।

16 सर्व्वानेतान(न्) भा(भा)विनः पार्थिवेंद्रान(न्) भूयो भूयो याचित रा[6] । सामान्या(न्यो)यं धर्म्मः[7] स(से)तुन्(नृं)पाणां काले काले पालनीयः[8] ।[।३॥*] शंखं(खो) भद्रासनं

17 छत्रं वराश्वं(श्वो) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलम(मे)तत्पुरंदर ॥[9][४॥*] ब(ब)हुभि- र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य

18 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयछ(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगा-

19 मिनौ ॥[६॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुंधरां[10] । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥[७॥*] गामेकं शु(सु)वर्ण्णमेकं[11] भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) [।*]

20 हरन्नरकमाप्नोति मा(या)वदाहूत[12]संप्लवं(वम्) ॥[८॥*] वि[13] नापी श्रीकूके तथा पुत्र[:।*] वी(वी)जे क्षेत्र षाडी[14] २ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*) and supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V. 2) Glorious is that speech[15] on which the sages contemplate[16] as on a creeper planted in the pure field of their heart, and which, (*though*) subtle, yields the great fruit of final emancipation.

(Line 2) During the beneficial and victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijayadēva**, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who, by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmādēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—

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[1] Read मातापित्रो-.

[2] Read शासनत्वेन, as the expression is generally used.

[3] This *akshara* is quite clear.

[4] Originally यत्प्रदत्ता.

[5] Read पालनीयं रक्षणीयं चेति ।

[6] Read याचते रामभद्रः ।

[7] Read धर्म्म-.

[8] Read पालनीयो भवद्भिः । Metre: *Śālinī.*

[9] Metre of this and the following verses: *Anushṭubh.*

[10] Read हरेत वसुन्धराम्.

[11] The metre is faulty. Read सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां.

[12] Read -दाभूत-.

[13] *Vi* also occurs in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72, l. 20. *Nāpī* seems to mean 'an engraver'. Kūkē is mentioned in line 19 of No. 65, above.

[14] Perhaps खारी (a measure of grain) is meant.

[15] In the Goharwa and other inscriptions where this verse occurs, it is Brāhmī, not Bhāratī which is eulogized.

[16] The use of the metaphor 'the field of the heart' shows that *rōpayanti* (plant), not *dhyāyanti* (contemplate) is the appropriate verb in this relative clause.

(L. 4) There was (*a personage*) named **Dhāhila** in the capital of **Kakarēḍī**. He became venerable to all princes. From him were born in course of time **Vājūka** and **Dandūka**, and after them, **Khōjūka** and **Jayavarman**. Afterwards was born **Vatsarāja**, a son of **Jayavarmadēva**, the crest-jewel of feudatory princes, from whom two sons were born. (*Of them*) the elder son **Kīrtivarman** himself obtained his father's throne, and the illustrious **Salakshhaṇavarmadēva** also obtained the kingdom in course of time.

(L. 7) I, who am that **Salakhaṇavarmadēva**,[1] being possessed of all the powers of the state,[2] shining with the distinction of having obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda* (*and*) being victorious, command and inform all the subjects, residing in the village **Chhiḍauḍā** (*situated*) in the *pattalā* **Kūyisambapālisa**, and others established in their respective posts—

(L. 8) "Be it known to you that having bathed at the town of **Kakarēḍī** and worshipped Śiva, We have given as a grant, on **Friday**, the **seventh** *tithi* **of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśiras in the year 1253**, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, this village (*divided into*) the following five *padas*[3], with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with pits and barren lands, treasures and deposits, open space and products, extending as far as its limits (*and*) together with woods, grass, birds and mineral products,—to the following Brāhmaṇas, (*viz.*,) two *padas* to the Brāhmaṇa **[Rāma]śarman**, the son of Mahasōṇa and the grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Mādhava, of the Kauśila *gōtra* with the three *pravaras* Kauśila, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, the Brāhmaṇa **Gāṭhēśarman** and the Brāhmaṇa **Dāmara**[4]; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa [Pāṇḍu]śarman, the son of Chithu (*and*) grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Mādhava; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa **Paitēśarman**, the son of Pithana (*and*) grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Mādhava; (and) one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa **Haridattaśarman**, the son of Śrīdhara (*and*) grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Mādhava.

(L. 14) Knowing this, (*you*)[5] should pay all (*dues*) to them, obeying their orders. What has been granted by me should be preserved and protected by feudatory princes and others who submit to my commands."[6]

And there are the (*following*) holy verses in this connection:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(*The engravers*[3] *were*) the illustrious *Vi Nāyī* **Kākē** and his son. The field requires two *khārīs*[7] (*of grain*) for seed.

No. 69: PLATE LVIII

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr. T. Bloch,[8] Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, in his *Annual Report* for 1907-08, p. 15.

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[1] Properly, *Salakshaṇavarmadēva*.

[2] *Prakṛitis*, are 'the powers of the state' or 'constituent elements of the realm' which are seven, *viz.*, king, minister, allies, treasure, territory, forts and army.

[3] *Pada* seems to be used here in the sense of *bhāga* 'a share'.

[4] Gāṭhēśarman and Dāmara also were evidently sons of Mahasōṇa.

[5] *I.e.*, the residents of the village.

[6] See above, p. 343.

[7] For *khārī*, a measure of grain, see above p. 193, n. 2.

[8] Cunningham has not noticed this inscription in his account of Bherā-Ghāṭ. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 60 ff.

A transcript of its text accompanied by a lithograph was published by Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, p. 142. The record is edited here from excellent estampages supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a **stone slab** let into the front wall, on the right-hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara at **Bhērā-Ghāṭ**, 13 miles from Jabalpur, the chief town of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The writing, which measures 1′ 9″ broad by 9″ high, contains four lines. It has suffered considerably on the right-hand side owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. About six *aksharas* at the end of the first three lines and one *akshara* in the beginning of the last two have been either wholly or partly damaged.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any remark.

The record is of the time of the king **Vijayasiṁhadēva** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of **Tripurī**. Its **object** is to record the obeisance of the *Mahārājñī* **Gōsaladēvī**, (her son)[1] the *Mahārāja* **Vijayasiṁhadēva** and (the heir-apparent) **Ajayasiṁhadēva** to the enshrined god who appears to be named here *Bhagnakhidra* (the Destroyer of diseases).[2]

TEXT[3]

1 महाराज्ञी श्रीमद्गोसल[देवी[4]] [श्रीमहा]रा[5]–
2 जश्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेव [महाकुमार[6]]–
3 [अ]जयसिंहदेव[7] एते [भ]ग्नखि[द्राय] [हिता][य*]
4 [नि]त्यं प्रणमंति[8] ॥

TRANSLATION

The *Mahārājñī* the illustrious **Gōsaladēvī**, the glorious *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasiṁhadēva**, the *Mahākumāra* **Ajayasiṁhadēva**,—these constantly bow to the Destroyer[9] of diseases for (*their*) welfare.

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[1] Hiralal makes Gōsaladēvī the queen of Vijayasiṁha. See *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 37. The Kumbhī copper-plate inscription, however, makes it plain that she was his mother. See Appendix, No. 4, below.

[2] See below, n. 7.

[3] From the original stone and ink impressions.

[4] These *aksharas* are almost certain.

[5] Banerji read [महारा]–. The *akshara* रा at the end of the line is quite clear and there is space for three *aksharas* between it and देवी.

[6] Banerji reads the last two *aksharas* of this line as श्रीम and the first *akshara* of the next as द्द, but the latter, not being open on the right, cannot be read as द्द. The title *Mahākumāra* of Ajayasiṁha occurs in the Kumbhī plates.

[7] Banerji reads the text from here to the end as -दजयसिंहदेवेनेदं(?) श्री[विश्वनाथचरणं] नित्यं प्रणमति. Apart from the ungrammatical construction, there is no sign of the medial *ē* on *v* in *-dēvēna*. The *aksharas* following अजयसिंहदेव are certainly एते. As regards the reading भग्नखिद्राय the *aksharas* ग्न and खि are almost certain. Lexicons give *khidra* in the sense of 'a disease'. *Bhagna-khidra* may be a name of Śiva who is so called because he drives away diseases.

[8] Banerji read प्रणमति, but the *anusvāra* is clearly seen at the foot of the vertical stroke of *ha* in *Ajayasiṁha*, l.3.

[9] It is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god installed by way of thanksgiving after the recovery from illness of the dowager queen or one of her sons.

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

No. 70 : (No Plate)

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 96x

This inscription was brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who found it deposited in the guard-hall of the old palace at Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. The original provenance of it is not known. A short account of its contents was published by the Government Epigraphist in his report for the year 1935-36.[1] The record is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by him.[2]

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone which is broken irregularly on the proper left. The extant writing covers a space measuring 2′ 1¼″ in height and from 1′ to 1′ 1″ in breadth. No lines are broken off from the top and the bottom, but on the proper left from three to twelve *aksharas* are lost at the end of each line. The writing has again suffered very much by exposure to weather, several *aksharas* being completely effaced in almost every line. As shown below, the inscription appears to be a public copy of a copper-plate charter. It has a large portion in common with other Kalachuri grants, especially the Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha[3] and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha.[4] Many of the lost or illegible *aksharas* can, therefore, be restored with the help of these latter records; but some names of officials mentioned in lines 9-12 and a few fiscal terms which occurred in lines 13-16 are now irrecoverably lost. The record consists of 19 lines. The size of the letters varies from .8″ to 1″. The characters are Nāgarī. They resemble in a general way those of the Lāl-Pahāḍ stone inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. In style the inscription is in the customary form of a copper-plate charter.[5] The orthography does not call for any remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Vijayasiṁha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the king's grant of the village Dhōṭṭavāḍa in the Rēvā *pattalā*. The name of the donee, which seems to have occurred at the end of line 13, is lost.

The present record appears to be a public copy of a charter which must have been originally engraved on copper-plates. As in the Kumbhī plates, the royal order is issued here from the capital Tripurī. Again, in lines 6-16 the present record names dignitaries and mentions several rights and privileges after the manner of copper-plate grants.[6] It seems, therefore, that Vijayasiṁha caused the charter to be copied and incised on the stone in order to give it full publicity.

Like his predecessors, Vijayasiṁha is described here as one who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva and assumed the titles Trikaliṅgādhipati and others. Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed there are the *Mahāpradhāna Ṭhakkura* Kiki, the *Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Kēśava, the *Sāndhivigrahika* Lakhaṇa the *Mahāmantrin* Haripāla?, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasiṁha and the *Rājaguru* Vimala-

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[1] *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

[2] The estampages are not suitable for plating.

[3] Above, No. 65.

[4] Appendix, No. 4.

[5] An analogous instance is furnished by the Deo-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta; see Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff.

[6] See especially the corresponding portions of the Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha.

[7] He is probably identical with the *Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura* Haripāla mentioned in l. 8 of the Dhureṭi plates (No. 72, below.)

siva.[1] Malayasiṁha is probably identical with the homonymous feudatory of Vijayasiṁha. His inscription[2] dated K. 944 shows that he was in charge of the territory round Rewa during the reign of Vijayasiṁha.

The inscription bears in line 17 a date in three digits, the first two of which are probably 9 and 6. The third digit is completely effaced. But as the Dhurēti inscription of Trailōkyamalla shows that the Chandēllas occupied the territory round Rewa in K. 963 the third digit of the date must have been 0, 1, or 2. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. The corresponding Christian date will, therefore, range from 1208-9 to 1210-11 A.C.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, the **Rēvā** *pattalā* must have comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa. The village **Dhōṭṭavāḍa** I am unable to identify.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धिः[4] [।*] स्वस्ति श्रीम[त्त्रि]पुरीतः परमभट्टारकम[हाराजा*]-
2 धिराजपर[मे][श्व*]रश्री[वा]मदेवपादा[नु]ध्या[तपरम*]-
3 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]र[मेश्व]र[परममाहेश्व*]-
4 रत्रिकलिंगाधिपति[निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपतिगज*]-
5 पतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य)[श्रीम]द्वि[5][जयसिंह*]-
6 देवचरणा[:] अद्येह श्रीम[हाराज्ञी श्रीमहाकुमार श्रीम*]-
7 हाप्रधान ठ[क्कु*]र[कीर्ति][6] [अर्थ*]लेखि[ठक्कुर*]-
8 [श्री*][के]स(श)व सांधिविग्रहिकः[7]। [श्री]लक्षण [श्री][महाप्रती*]-
9 हार श्री[म*][8]हाम(मं)[त्रि]ह[रिपाल[9]]......[श्रीमहा*]-
10 मंडलीक[10] श्रीमलय[सीह](सिंह)[महा]धि....
11 ......पाकलित(?).....[रा]......
12 पाल[11] राण[क*] [श्रीमद्रा]ज[गुरु श्री] [वि*]मल[12][शिव*]...
13 [स?] रे[वा]पत्तलायां धोट्टवाडं [नाम]........
14 ......क[र]वि[सेषा]दा[य[13] भू]मि[जा*]कुल [*:] [साम्रम*]-

[1] Chakravarti reads the name of the *Mahāpratīhāra* as *Bhīmasiṁha*, but it appears to be a mislection for *Mahāmantri*—. The Kumbhī plates mention *Mahāmantrin* after *Mahākumāra*.

[2] Above, No. 67.

[3] From inked estampages.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] This *akshara* is fairly clear in the estampages. The following four *aksharas* are broken off.

[6] The name कीर्ति is faintly seen in the estampages. It occurs in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4, below).

[7] The *visarga* and the following *daṇḍa* appear to be superfluous.

[8] Chakravarti read these four *aksharas* as भीमसिंह.

[9] These *aksharas* are not quite clear, but the Dhurēti plates of the reign of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, below) mention one Haripāla as *Sāndhivigrahika*.

[10] Read –मांडलिक-.

[11] Some official like कोट्टपाल seems to have been mentioned here.

[12] The *aksharas* म and ल are fairly clear. The preceding *akshara* वि of the *Rājaguru's* name seems to have been omitted inadvertently. For a similar omission, see श्री[म*]हामंत्रि–, l. 9, above.

[13] This seems to correspond to विशेषिकादाय mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha and Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiṁha.

15 चूक[पोत्र[1]]तुणो[द्रुमादि]सक[ल*]. . . . .
16 [कामत]मवाडमवलिक[र*][सर्व्वा][दाय*] [स ह(हि)][तः*]. . .
17 [इसि ?]त [प] अहते(त ह)रि ॥ संव[त्*][९*][६][×]. . . . . . .[म*][2]–
18 हरिवत्त मंडाज्ज(?) मंत्रि श्री[मलय ?[3]]. . . . .
19 श्री[रेवा]. . . . . .[4]॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success ! Hail ! From the famous Tripurī,—the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vijayasiṁhadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikaliṅga, who by (*the might of*) his arm has attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* the illustrious Vāmadēva, (*commands as follows*):—

(L. 6) Today here[5] (*in the presence of*) the illustrious *Mahārājñī*, the illustrious *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Mahāpradhāna*, *Ṭhakkura* Kīki, the *Arthalēkhin*, the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* Kēśava, the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious Lakhaṇa, the illustrious *Mahāpratihāra*, the illustrious *Mahāmantrin* Haripāla . . . . the illustrious *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasiṁha . . . . the [*Kōṭṭapāla*] *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva, . . . We have granted a village named Dhōṭṭavāḍa (*situated*) in the Rēvā *paṭṭalā*, together with the cess on Visēṇa, together with fertile[6] and (*other*) lands, together with mango and *mahuā* trees, together with pasture-land, grass *etc.*, together with ...*kāmata*, *mavāḍa*, and the cess on the *pravaṇis*, and all other taxes to . . . .

(L. 17) (*In*) the year 96 [*x*] . . . . (the illustrious *Mantrin* Malaya—)...the famous Rēvā....

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[1] Read पौत्रस्तु.

[2] The first figure of the date is illegible, but it must have been 9 as the Kumbhi plates of his reign are dated in K. 932. From its top which alone appears in the estampage, the second figure appears to be 6. The third figure again is completely effaced.

[3] Only the first *akshara* of this name is fairly distinct.

[4] Traces of five or six *aksharas* appear here.

[5] *I. e.*, at Tripurī.

[6] See above p. 331, n. 2.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 71; PLATE LIX

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published a transcript and a lithograph of it and drew attention to its date in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101-3, and plate xxvii. The date was subsequently discussed by Dr. Kielhorn in his article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. The record is edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a loose broken **stone slab** near the ruins of a temple at **Bēsāni** (long. 80° 17′ E. and lat. 24° 12′ N.) in Vindhya Pradesh, about 14 miles north-west of Jukēhi, a station on the Katni-Manikpur branch of the G.I.P. Railway. The record is fragmentary. The extant portion contains six lines. Nothing is lost at the top and the proper right side. The first four lines seem to be complete on the left side also. But as the lower corner on that side is broken off, the fifth line has lost about six *aksharas*, while the last one shows only the upper fragments of three *aksharas* in the left corner. Besides, an indefinite number of lines has been lost at the bottom. The extant portion has suffered here and there by exposure to weather. The letters were carelessly written or incised. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. The **orthography** does call for any remarks.

The inscription opens with the **date**, *viz*., the **year** 958 (expressed in numerical figures only), **the third tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha**. The **object** of it seems to be to record gifts in **drammas** received from different persons for some purpose not specified in the extant portion of the inscription. The gifts may have been made, as conjectured by Cunningham[1] for some work connected with the temple near the ruins of which the stone was found. It may be noted that the preserved portion of the record does not mention any reigning prince.

The interest of the inscription lies in its date which, on the evidence of its characters, must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. Its wording shows that there were two months named *Āshāḍha* in the year 958 and the month in which the inscription was put up was the first or intercalary Āshāḍha. We find that in 1207 A.C., which corresponds to the *expired* Kalachuri year 958, there were two Āshāḍhas,[2] of which the first or intercalary Āshāḍha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June. The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it fell on Thursday, the 31st May 1207 A.C.

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[1] See *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102.

[2] Kielhorn has shown that Āshāḍha was intercalary in 1207 A. C. 'For in that year the solar month Āshāḍha lasted from May 26, about 1 h. 40 m. after sunset, to June 27, about 4 h. after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise'. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219.

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT[1]

1 संवत(त्) [९]५८ प्रथम आषाढ[2] सु दि ३
2 सू(सू)त्रधा(धा)र जगदे[व[3]]गृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) ३० त[था[4]]
3 [गृ]हीत(द्र)म्म(म्माः) १० पु[ज]गृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) १०
4 [त][था] वंद[धा]लि[5] गृ[ही]तद्र(द्रम्माः) १० रौ–
5 काग़ृहीत द्र(द्रम्माः) १........[6]
6 .[कईंच(?)]........

[*The lower part of the stone is broken off and lost*].

TRANSLATION

The year 958, (*the month*) first Āshāḍha, the bright (*fortnight*), the (*lunar*) day 3.

From the *Sūtradhāra* Jagadē[va] 30 *drammas* have been taken. Similarly (from . . .) 10 *drammas* have been taken; (*and*) from Pūjā 10 *drammas* have been taken. Similarly from Vandadhāli 10 *drammas* have been taken. From Rauka 1*. *drammas* have been taken . . . . .

No. 72 ; Plate LX

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILŌKYAMALLA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

These plates were brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. He first published a brief notice of their contents in his report for the year 1935-36[9] and subsequently edited them with a lithograph in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff. They are edited here from an excellent ink-impression kindly supplied by him.

They are two copper-plates measuring 1′ 3.2″ broad and 10½″ high. They were discovered in 1926 in the village of Dhurēti,[10] about 6 miles south-east of Rewa by a cultivator while ploughing his field. They have raised rims. When discovered they were apparently held together by a ring, but it had already been cut when Dr. Chakravarti examined the charter. This ring has a seal measuring 6¾″×4½″ attached to it, bearing in relief the figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head, and the legend *Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla* in one line below it. The weight of the plates together with the seal is 419 *tolas*. The record consists of 22 lines, of which eleven are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .5″.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the closely similar forms of the initial *i* and *pa*, *t* and *bh*, and *ch* and *v*. The *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are used

[1] From inked estampages.

[2] Read प्रथमाषाढ–.

[3] Cunningham read सूत्रे. The second *akshara* appears more like *ga* than *ma*; the horizontal line which seems to join its two limbs may be accidental.

[4] Cunningham read here *ta Śrī* which gives no sense. It seems that the name of some person is omitted through inadvertence in the beginning of l. 3.

[5] Cunningham read this *akshara* as सु.

[6] Cunningham read [illegible], but the reading does not appear to be supported by the original.

[7] Cunningham reads 1000, but the ciphers after the first figure are uncertain.

[8] The second figure here is lost owing to the peeling off of the stone.

[9] *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, pp. [illegible].

[10] The place-name is spelt as [illegible] in the Degree Map 63 H.

here and there to denote medial diphthongs. The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses in the beginning, the inscription is in prose throughout. The record is very carelessly written especially in lines 18-22. The writer had evidently a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As shown below, this is a private document. Still the writer states that it was issued from a camp and that the camp was situated at some auspicious place ! It is clear that he has blindly copied the introductory part of the record from some royal charter. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *v* for *b*, of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Trailōkyamalla** who, as shown below, is identical with the **Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman**. The object of it is to record the mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) of a certain village by the Saiva ascetic **Śāntaśiva** in favour of one *Rāṇaka* **Dharēka.**

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati. It has then three verses in praise of Kṛishṇa, Śūlapāṇi (Śiva) and Sarasvatī.[1] It next proceeds to state that during the reign of the illustrious **Trailōkyamalladēva,** the lord of **Kānyakubja,** who meditated on the feet of **Vāmadēva,** had assumed titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*), and had attained supremacy over the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men,[2] the Śaiva ascetic **Śāntaśiva,** the son of the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva,** conveyed by way of **mortgage** (*vitta-bandha*) at **Dhōvahaṭṭapattana** in the **Dhanavāhi** *pattalā*, the village of **Alaura,** to the *Rāṇaka* **Dharēka,** the son of Sēvarāja, who was himself the son of the *Ṭhakkura* Rāsala. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by **Nādaśiva,** a younger son of Vimalaśiva, with the authority of his elder brother Śāntaśiva. Some persons are cited as witnesses at the end of the record. The record was written by the *Paṇḍitas* **Viśvēśvara** and **Gaṅgādhara.** It was engraved by **Śīruka.** There are no benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of the record, as it is not a land-grant.[3]

Trailōkyamalla, during whose reign the deed was executed, is evidently identical with **Trailōkyavarman** (or Trailōkyamalla), mentioned in the Rewa plates of V. 1297 and 1298 of his feudatories Kumārapāla and Harirāja.[4] He, therefore, belonged to the **Chandēlla** dynasty. Still the same epithets are here applied to him as were applied to his predecessor Vijayasiṁha of the Kalachuri dynasty, evidently through the ignorance of the writer, who seems to have drawn upon some Kalachuri record for the description of the Chandēlla king.[5]

Among the **officers** of Trailōkyamalla mentioned in the present inscription, there is one who deserves special notice[6]. This is the *Mahāmahattaka, Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalika* **Malayasiṁha.** He is evidently identical with the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasiṁha mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha. As shown below, the present inscription was incised in K. 963, *i.e.*, within two or three years of the aforementioned inscription of Vijayasiṁha. During this short interval the rule of the Kalachuris in the Rewa

[1] The verse in praise of Sarasvatī occurs in the *Kāvyādarśa* (I, 1) of Daṇḍin.

[2] In line 12 the king is called *tri-śati-rājy-ādhipati*, 'the lord of three hundred kingdoms.'

[3] For a similar instance, see Anjaneri plates (Second Set), of Bhōgaśakti, No. 32, above.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 232 and 236.

[5] It may, however, be noted that Trailōkyavarman is called here *Kānyakubjādhipati*, not *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. The latter epithet is applied to him in the Rewa plates of Kumārapāla, dated V. 1297 mentioned above.

[6] Another officer, the *Kōṭṭapāla* Vāhaḍa may be identical with Vāhaḍavarman, the son of Salakshaṇavarman, the feudatory chief of Karkarēḍi, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 236. The *Sāndhivigrahika* Haripāla may be identical with the *Mahāmantrin* of the same name mentioned in No. 70, l. 9.

territory was supplanted by that of the Chandēllas, and Malayasiṁha seems to have transferred his allegiance to the rising power. Perhaps he was himself instrumental in causing this revolution!

The inscription is dated on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 963 of an unspecified era. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out regularly; for in the current Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11 A.C.) the *tithi* fell on a Friday and in the expired year 963 (1211-12 A.C.) on a Wednesday. It is not, however, unlikely, in view of the careless writing of the present record, that *Sōmē* of the text is a mistake for *Saumyē* (on Wednesday) as suggested by Dr. Chakravarti. The date would in that case regularly correspond, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

Of the places mentioned here, **Dhōvahaṭṭa** has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Dhurēti, but there is not much similarity in their names. It is more likely to be Dhōbhaṭ near Makundapur, about 10 miles south by west of Rewa. **Dhanavāhi**, the headquarters of the *paṭṭalā* in which it was situated, may be identical with Dhanavāhi which lies 22 miles to the south-west of Dhōbhaṭ. **Alaurā** I am unable to identify.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनंदनोयं(यम्) ।[2] जयतु जयतु कृष्णो वृष्णिवंस(श)प्रदीपः ॥(।) ज-

2 यतु जयतु मेघश्यामल[:*] कोमलांगो जयतु जयतु पृथ्वी[भा]रनाशो(शी) मुकुंदः[3]॥[१॥*] जयतु सकललोकाधी-

3 शकंठ[:*] स्मरारिस्ति(स्त्रि)पुरदहनसमर्थो[4] मूर्ध्नि(र्ध्नि) शस्बछ(च्छ)सां(शां)कः । तुहिन-गिरिसुताया वल्लभः शूलपाणिः ।[5]

4 सकलजनशरण्यः सर्व्वलोकैकनाथः ॥[२॥*] चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजवनहंश(स)वधूर्मम [।*] मानसे रमतां नि-

5 त्यं सर्व्वशुक्ला स[र*]स्वती[6] ॥[३॥*] परमभट्टारक(के)त्यादिसमस्तराजावली[7]विराजमान परममाहे[श्व*]र अस्व(श्व)पति[8]गजपति-

6 नरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिसी(श्री)वामदेवपादानुध्याता(त)कान्यकुब्जा-धि[9]पतिमही-

7 [प्र]वर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये सी(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेवराज्ये संम(व)त् ९६३ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ७ सोमे दिमं(ने) महा-

8 महत्त(त)कमंति(णि)मंडलकश्रीमलयसिंह[11] व्याभ्रियमाणे संधिव[ही]क[12] ठक्कुरहरिपाल-कोट्टपालवाहड-

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[1] From an ink-impression.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] Metre of this and the following verse: *Mālinī*.

[4] There is one redundant *akshara* in this *pāda*. Read स्मरारि: पुरदहन-.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] The *akshara* [illegible] in [illegible], which was omitted at first, is written above the line.

[8] Read [illegible]-.

[9] Read [illegible]-.

[10] Read सोमदिने, or rather सौम्यदिने.

[11] Read -[illegible].

[12] The vertical stroke of ही is not incised. Read [illegible] ठक्कुरहरिपाले. The following words also should be in the locative case.

9 अर्वलेख्री श्री(श्री)[चं]दलेठि[1] बचावसौमानसमस्तवणिग्जनव्यवहि्यमाणे पंचकुलधर्मा-
धिकरण[2]चितायां

10 श्रोवहट्टपत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलायां यत्र क्वचन शुभप्रवेशसमावासितकटकात(त्)[3] यमनियम[स्वा]-
ध्याय-

11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतपश्चकर्वसि[4]पंडितचक्रचूडामणिवै (सै)वाचार्यभिपतिशार्व्वविद्याकुल (श)क[:*] क-

Second Plate

12 लो द्व्वाशा(सो)वतार: विद्यति(त)राज्याधिपतिश्री(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लपादार्व्चनरत:[5] ध्यानं
कुर्व्वाणो[6]

13 एकाग्रचित्ततया भट्टारकश्री(श्री)मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो(त:) शां(शां)तशिवचरणा:[7] वत्सगो-
त्रान्वये[8] वित(त्त)वं(बं)ध-

14 स्वरूपतया ठ रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणकश्री(श्री)म[द्र]रेकस्य अलौरा[9]ग्रामस्य आयस्रो-
गग्रवणि-

15 करसर्व्वादायसहितं यावचिरण्यस्य दत्तमिति[10] ।। गूरुणा[11]मनुज्ञां (ज्ञां) प्राप्य यमाद्यिगुणोपेत[:*]
समस्त-

16 प्रक्रियान्वितत्रि(त्रि)कालस्नानदेवार्च्चनरत: अग्निपूजारतस्व(श्च) सर्व्वभूतदयापर: सर्व्वेषां
वंदिजना-

17 नामाधारभूत: जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमि[:*] सर्व्वासु कलासु चतुर: ।।[12] शास्त्रशास्त्रविशा(शा)-
रद: भट्टरकश्रीम-[13]

18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि(शि)वशु(सु)त: शांतशिवानुजो नादसिवन[14] पट्टस्य [द्र](ब)धंरूपतया याव-
दीयते तावदवा-

19 पितमिति[15] धि(वि)त्तवं(बं)घतया किंचिकार्यकारणितापि वारणे श्री(श्री)मद्ररेकस्य याव[16]दिच्छा
प्रतिपद्यते[17] ।। अत्रा-

20 र्थे साक्षिण: ।। पट(ट्ट)किल मदने तथा सीले तथा ठ सूपट ठ मांगे वि रणधोल वि गांगादेव पट्ट
वि कवित ।। ठ गोल्-

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[1] Read श्रेष्ठि-.

[2] Read -व्यवह्रियमाणे पंचकुलधर्माधिकरणे. चितायां seems to be superfluous.

[3] This expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage.

[4] Read तपस्विचक्रवर्त्ति-.

[5] Read पादार्च्चनरतो; but as the compound stands it means that the Śaiva ascetic was devoted to the feet of Trailōkyamalla.

[6] Read कुर्व्वाण एकाग्र-.

[7] This expression in the plural number does not fit in with the preceding epithets which are all in the singular. Read शांतशिव:.

[8] वत्सगोत्रान्वयो.

[9] Chakravarti read अलीरा, remarking that लौ which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into ली. See, however, similar *mātrās* of medial *au* in *Kalau*, lines 11-12.

[10] The correct construnction would be अलीराग्रामं....सर्व्वादायसहितं यावाद्धरिण्यं दत्तवानिति ।

[11] Read गुरूणा-.

[12] These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[13] Read भट्टारकश्रीम-.

[14] The writer perhaps intended to write नादशिवेन, but it would not suit the several adjectival expressions in the nominative prefixed to it. Read नादशिवस्तेन.

[15] Read यावदादीयते तावदेवार्पितमिति ।

[16] The *akshara* व in याव-, which was at first omitted, is written above the line.

[17] The text is very corrupt here. Probably the intended sense is किंचित्कार्यकारणे वारणे वा श्रीमद्ररेकस्य येच्छा सा प्रतिपद्यते ।

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

i.

ii.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36–778'51.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Seal

(From a photograph).

21 [illegible] इति कृत्वा प्रविश्ये सति गृ(ग्र)हीतव्यं(व्यम्[1])॥ सु(शु)भं भवतु लेखकपाठकयो: ॥ स्वल्पसु(सु)ध्या(द्धया) मंदमतिरहं यतु(त्) वाल्याति-

22 [2]यु[यी]रितं सुकमसूतं वा[2] पं विस्वेस्वरेण[3] लिखितमिति ॥ पं गंगाधरेण [च] [।*] उत्कीरितं सीरकेण[4] ॥ ॥ ।

Seal

श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्ल[:।*]

TRANSLATION

Ōṁ ! Adoration to Śiva ! Adoration to Gaṇapati !

(Verse 1) May this god, the son of Dēvakī, be victorious ! May this Kṛishṇa, the great luminary of the Vṛishṇi family, be triumphant ! May (*this Kṛishṇa*), who has a delicate person dark like a cloud, be glorious ! May Mukunda, who removes the burden of the earth, attain victory !

(V. 2) May the blue-throated (Śiva), the enemy of Smara and the dear husband of (Pārvatī) the daughter of the snow-mountain, who has a spear in (*his*) hand, protect all people,—(*he*) who was able to burn the three cities[5]; who has the bright moon on his head; who affords protection to all people and is the sole lord of all worlds !

(V. 3) May the all-white Sarasvatī, the female swan (*sporting*) in the assemblage of lotuses which are the mouths of Brahmā, always enjoy herself in my mind !

(Line 5) During the reign of the illustrious **Trailōkyamalladēva**, who looks resplendent with the complete series of royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) the supreme lord of three kings, *viz*., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who is the lord of speech through his study of various lores, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, who is the lord of **Kānyakubja** and whose beneficial and victorious rule is augmenting on the earth,—on **Monday, the 7th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Jyēshṭha in the year 963**, while the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalika*, the illustrious **Malayasiṁha** is present on duty, while the *Sāndhivigrahika* Ṭhakkura **Haripāla**, the *Kōṭṭapāla* **Vāhaḍa** and the *Arthalēkhin* the illustrious *Śrēshṭhin* **Chanda** (*are also present on duty*), (*and*) while the affairs in the court of justice of the *Pañchakula*[6] are being managed by all merchants according to custom,—at the camp fixed at some auspicious place in the **Dhōvahaṭṭa** *pattana* (*situated*) in the **Dhanavāhi** *pattalā*, the holy **Śāntaśiva** of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the holy *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**,—who has become the sovereign of ascetics through the practice of self-restraint, observances, study of sacred texts, and meditation; (*who is*) the crest-jewel of an assembly of learned people, the lord of Śaiva Āchāryas, proficient in all lores, (*and*) an incarnation of Durvāsas in the Kali (*age*); to whose feet is devoted the illustrious **Trailōkyamalla**,[7] the lord of three hundred kingdoms, (*and*) who is (*always*) engaged in meditation with a concentrated mind,—has given, by way of mortgage, the village **Alsurā**, together with all dues (*such as*) *bhāga*, *bhōga*,

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[1] Here also the text is very corrupt. Perhaps the intended reading is इति कृत्वा प्रविश्य ग्रहीतव्यम् ।

[2] Read बाल्यातुरीरितं सुकमसूतं वा.

[3] Read विश्वेश्वरेण.

[4] Read उत्कीर्णं सीरकेण.

[5] These are the three cities of the demon Tripura burnt by Śiva.

[6] The *Pañchakula* (assembly of five persons) corresponds to the *Pañcha-maṇḍalī* or *Pañchaka* mentioned in earlier records and the *Panchāyat* (Village Jury) of modern times.

[7] See above, p. 372, n. 5.